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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



VOL. LXVI.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.)

NOS. I TO IV, AND EXTRA No.—1897.
(WITH 38 PLATES.)

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.”

SIR WM. JONES.

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ERRATUM:

On page 11, heading of N. N. Vasu's article, *dele*: (With Plate II.)
" " 85, " F. E. Pargiter's article,
read: (With Plate II.) *for* (With Map II.)



ERRATA.

Page	5,	line	11,	from top :	<i>read</i> "one-eighth" <i>for</i> "one fourth."
"	123,	"	7,	"	" "Paçupatiḥ" <i>for</i> "Paçupati," <i>and</i> <i>dele the words</i> : "Read Paçupatiḥ" in Note 6.
"	124,	"	4,	"	<i>read</i> "Bhaum-ānvay-" <i>for</i> "Kaumr- ānvay-."
"	126,	"	11,	"	<i>read</i> "bhūmy-apakṛṣṭa" <i>for</i> "bhūmya- pakṣa-ṣṭa."
"	"	"	"	"	<i>dele</i> foot note 59.
"	130,	"	25,	"	<i>read</i> "the inferior or not arable" <i>for</i> "lying by the side of the."
"	"	"	28,	"	<i>read</i> " <i>viz.</i> the (common) people, headed by the District Revenue Officers together with their clerks," <i>for</i> " <i>viz.</i> the account- ants, traders, and other (common) people of the District."
"	137,	"	28	<i>and</i> 31, from top :	} <i>read</i> "at-Ṭā'i'u" <i>for</i> "at- Ṭā'iyu."
"	138,	"	1,	"	
"	177,	"	37	<i>and</i> 38,	} <i>read</i> "Māl Sayyidi" <i>and</i> "Say- yid" <i>for</i> "Māl Saiyyidi" <i>and</i> "Saiyyid."
"	178,	"	24,	"	
"	179,	"	20	<i>and</i> 21,	
"	263,	"	13,	from top :	<i>read</i> "Ṣāhibah" <i>for</i> "Ṣāhibah."
"	290,	"	22,	"	" "Ambā" <i>for</i> "ambā."
"	294,	"	8,	"	" "Vanamāla" <i>for</i> "Vanamala."
"	"	"	19,	"	" "Jayamāla" <i>for</i> "Jayamala."
"	296,	"	9,	"	" "Çāmāyikayā" <i>for</i> "çāmāyikayā."

ERRATUM.

JOURNAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, PART I.

No. 1, for 1897, page 5.

IN "NUMISMATIC NOTES AND NOVELTIES."

Line 11 from top, *for* "one-fourth" *read* "one-eighth."

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1897.

Numismatic Notes and Novelties (Ancient and Mediæval India).—By
VINCENT A. SMITH, I. C. S.

(With Plate I.)

I.

INDO-BACTRIAN.

THEOPHILUS.

I.

Club type.

Square, copper, thick; diameter .75. Wt. 117 grains. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Bust of king to r., apparently bare-headed, in high relief. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΠΕΟ[ΦΙΛΟΥ]

Rev. In field, upright club (as in Menander's coin, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 50, Pl. XII, 6), and a small square. Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa* [*dhramikasa*] *Theuphilasa*. Some of the letters are peculiar in form.

This coin is a novelty, and at present unique. The only specimens of the coinage of Theophilus hitherto known are the two described in *B. M. Cat.*, p. 167 (*Supplement*), Pl. XXXI, 3, 4, which were in Cunningham's cabinet. Of these, the silver coin, which is circular, has a bust resembling that of the coin now described, and on the reverse, Herakles crowning himself. The copper coin, like the new discovery, is square, but has on obverse the bust of bearded Herakles with club on shoulder, and for reverse device a cornucopiae.

The specimen of the cornucopiae type in the Lahore Museum (*Cat.*, Part III, 21), is "not genuine."

AZES.

II.

Horseman and Pallas type.

Copper, narrow, oblong, .85 long, .45 broad. Wt. 47 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Remarkable for its shape, which makes the coin look at first sight like a fragment, and for the distinct Brahmī, or old Nāgarī, legend on the obverse. The legend appears to be intended for *mahārājātirāja*. The म *ma* (at r. lower corner), and तरज *ti raja* are plainly legible.

Gardner (*B. M. Cat.*, p. 90), when describing the corrupt semi-barbarous, billon coins of Azes, with horseman obverse, and turreted personification of city reverse, has the note:—"On most of these is an appearance of various Indian [*scil.* Brahmī] letters in the obverse field which are not here inserted, it being doubtful whether they are not mere blunders."

On the coin now described the Brahmī legend runs round the margin, and is intended as the equivalent of the Kharōṣṭhī legend on the reverse, which includes *rajasa Ayasa*. I cannot read the word preceding *rajasa*.

A rudely executed coin. The metal seems to be copper, without admixture of silver.

II.

IMPERIAL KUṢĀN.

III.

KANIṢKA.

Large, thick, copper, diameter .95. Wt. 246 gr. [RAWLINS.]

This coin resembles that depicted in *B. M. Cat.*, Pl. XXVII, 5, but here only three characters are visible, and they look like Semitic characters. Probably, like the partly similar characters on the *B. M.* specimen, they are to be read *from outside* as [N]ANA. But the characters on this coin have lost all resemblance to Greek letters, and it is therefore worth while to reproduce them.

IV.

HUVIṢKA.

Gold *dīnār*. Diameter .8. Wt. 110 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. The ordinary B form, that is to say, bust of king to l. with jewelled helmet, of pointed shape. (See *Num. Chron.* for 1892, p. 98.)

Rev. Throned goddess (Ardokhṣo).

This coin is remarkable only by reason of its reverse. The goddesses on the reverse of Huviṣka's coins are ordinarily standing. The only instance of a seated goddess reverse yet published is that of Nāno seated on a lion (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, Pl. $\frac{XII}{XXII}$ 19).

The coin now published presents, I think, the earliest example of the throned goddess device, which continued to be used by Samudra Gupta and by Candragupta II, in his early issues.

The throne, or state chair, was a foreign innovation. A cross-legged attitude is that natural to a native of India.

V.

HUVIṢKA.

Copper, diameter .8. Wt. 51 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. King squatted cross-legged (G obverse of Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* for 1892, Pl. $\frac{IX}{XIX}$) as in *B. M. Cat.*, Pl. XXIX, 6. Legend lost.

Rev. Goddess (Lakṣmī or Ardokhṣo), on lotus seat, with remains of Sanskrit legend in Brahmī (Nāgarī) characters round margin. The syllables *yapra* are legible on right margin.

The coin is interesting both for the device and legend of the reverse, which have not been met with before in connection with any of the obverse devices used by Huviṣka. The B. M. coins with similar obverse have a standing deity on the reverse. No coin of Huviṣka with a legend in Brahmī letters has previously been discovered.

VI.¹

HUVIṢKA.

Large copper, diameter 1.1. Wt. 195 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Elephant rider. Legend lost.

Rev. A tall male figure (? Hercules) to r, resting with r. hand on (?) club, and grasping with l. hand the tip of a bow, standing on end with the string turned inwards.

Behind figure a trident, and outside bow on r. margin an imperfect legend in Nāgarī (Brahmī) characters, which look like *ganaga*, or *gaṭaga*.

A very curious coin, the reverse device being quite unknown in the Huviṣka series. It became a favourite obverse device in the Gupta coinage. The unread legend is also remarkable.

III.

LATER GREAT KUṢĀNS.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893, Cunningham discusses the coinage of the Later Great Kuṣāns, as if it were an exclusively gold coinage.

¹ [Another specimen of this coin exists in the Indian Museum Collection in Calcutta. See *Ind. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. IV, p. 47, No. 13339, and plate IV. Unfortunately the photographs of both coins are nearly unrecognizable. The Calcutta specimen is the better one. The obverse very closely resembles that of No. 2 on Plate XXIX of the British Museum Catalogue. It shows the letters NOPA (of the legend *kenorano*) in exactly the same position as on the B. M. C. specimen. The letters on the reverse are distinct enough, and are either *garakha* or *gaḍakha*. Mr. Rodgers' reading is quite wrong; there are only three letters. The figure on the reverse seems to be three-headed, and to represent Īiva. I can see no "trident behind figure," but there is a monogram in the field, above the proper right arm of the figure, not clearly recognizable, but may be Huviṣka's four-pronged emblem. Ed.]

The coins of Class A, which claim to be issued in the names of Kaniṣka and Vasu [Dēva] (*op. cit.*, p. 120) are certainly ordinarily in gold, but I have seen a fine *brass* example, nearly identical with Cunningham's No. 16, which Mr. Rawlins procured from Chitrāl.

Concerning Class B, Cunningham observes that "the coins of this class are chiefly of gold. Some of the copper specimens are undoubtedly ancient forgeries, from which the gilding has worn off."

In reality the brass coinage of this class was extensive, and numerous specimens have recently passed through my hands. The only copper specimens which I have seen are two. Of these one is in the possession of Mr. D. Ernst of Bombay, which is probably an example of Cunningham's No. 2 (*Sita, Bha, Sāka*); and the second, a good specimen of Cunningham's No. 5 (*Saya, Bha, Sāka*) is in my collection.

I either possess or have seen brass examples of the following types out of the 13 enumerated by Cunningham.

No. 2	<i>Sita</i>	<i>Bha</i>	<i>Sāka</i> .
,, 9	<i>Peraya</i>	<i>Kapan</i>	<i>Gaḍahara, Sa</i> .
,, 10	<i>Kirada</i> .		
,, 12	<i>Bhadra</i>	.....	<i>Pakalhdhi</i> .
,, 13	<i>Bāshan</i>	<i>Nu</i>	<i>Pakalhdhi</i> .

With regard to the above names I may note that the name under the king's arm on No. 9, presumably the name of the local ruler, which Cunningham reads as *Peraya*, is really either *Pēyasa*, or *Pērayasa*. Good specimens show the final *sa* very distinctly.

My brass specimen of No. 10 has *Kirada* or *Kērada* under the king's arm, but has *Kaṣa* [na] and *Ṣi* or *Ṣē* in the right and left positions respectively, instead of Cunningham's *Gaḍahara* and *Kapan*. The reverse character on my coin is peculiar, and is not either the *Ghaṣa* or *Yaṣa* of Cunningham. (See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 182.)

The reading of the r. legend on No. 12, as *Pakalhdhi* is really very uncertain, but the monogram is open to various readings, and Cunningham's is as good as any. On No. 13, the king's name seems to me to be *Basana*, or *Bāsana*, and not as read by Cunningham.

The coinage in question also occurs in silver.

Mr. Rawlins has a thin specimen of Cunningham's No. 9, (*Bhu, Sāka*), in silver, with (?) *Vi* in l. position instead of *Te*. He also has an unmistakably silver specimen, of thick, dumpy fabric, of No. 13 (*Basana, Nu, Pakalhdhi*).

Mr. L. White King, I. C. S., possesses an unmistakeable silver example of No. 12 (*Bhadra, Pakalhdhi*), and a second which is mainly of silver, but is slightly yellowish in colour, and may possibly be intended for

very base gold. The Bodleian coins, Nos. 741–746 (*Bhadra*, etc.), also appear to be of silver.

It thus appears that at present Cunningham's 13 types are known to occur in the following metals:—

<i>Gold.</i>	<i>Silver.</i>	<i>Brass.</i>	<i>Copper.</i>
Nos. 1–13.	Nos. 9, 12, and 13.	Nos. 2, 9, 10, 12, and 13.	Nos. 2 and 5.

The gold coins of the Later Great Kuṣāns, Class B, described and figured by Cunningham are all of the full *dīnār* size.

VII. This is a beautiful specimen, in Mr. Rawlins' possession, of a minute gold coin of *Pa Sāka*, apparently one-fourth of a *dīnār* (diameter .55, wt. 16 gr.), which corresponds to Cunningham's No. 8 of *Pra Sāka*, except that in the new coin the sign for *r* is wanting.

Mr. L. White King found Cherāt in the Peshāwar District a very good hunting ground for the Later Kuṣān coins, and Mr. Rawlins seems able to obtain them readily in the Jhēlam District.

The most interesting discovery of Mr. Rawlins in this department is the coin now to be described.

VIII. Brass, medium thickness, well executed, diameter .8. Wt. 62 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. *Basana, Nu, Pakalhdhi*, exactly as No. 13 of Plate $\frac{IX}{II}$ in *Num. Chron.* for 1893.

Rev. Flaming altar, without attendants, as in No. 89 of Plate $\frac{XIII}{IV}$, *ibid.*

When I first saw a drawing of this coin combining a common Kuṣān obverse with a rare Sassanian reverse, I thought it must be a dealer's forgery. But Mr. Rawlins informs me that he obtained it thickly covered with dirt, under circumstances which preclude all suspicion. It is certainly not, as I at first suspected, a dealer's forgery. It is possible, as a friend suggests, that the fire-altar reverse may have been double-struck over the ordinary throned goddess reverse, and he fancied that he could see traces of the original impression, but I am not able to verify the conjecture, though it is probably correct. The coin, as we now have it, is certainly ancient and genuine, and forms an interesting link between the Kuṣān and Sassanian coinages.

It seems to be the numismatic memorial of the fact that King Hormazd II of Persia (A. D. 301–310), who called himself "King of the Kuṣāns," married a daughter of the Kuṣān king of Kābul, who was sent to his court with costly presents and a splendid escort. Probably, as Cunningham suggests, the matrimonial alliance was the

result of a defeat of the Kuṣāns by the Persians, and was accompanied by cession of territory along the Oxus.¹

Our coin, therefore, cannot be earlier than the reign of Hormazd II, and inasmuch as the altar on the reverse is nearly identical with that on a coin of Hormazd's successor, Shāhpur (Sapor) II, and also closely resembles that on a coin of Hormazd himself (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, Pl. $\frac{\text{XIII}}{\text{IV}}$, 8, 9); the conclusion seems justifiable that the date of this curious piece cannot be very far from A. D. 310.

In this manner the date of the Kuṣān king Basana is approximately fixed, and a definite starting point is obtained for the calculation of the chronology of the Later Great Kuṣān coinage.

The 13 types enumerated by Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 124) do not I think, range over a very long period. The coins of King Sita, which he ranks as No. 2, certainly come early in the series, because they are well executed, and occasionally show traces of Greek letters. They may be dated about A. D. 250. Cunningham places the Basana coins last in the series, and he is probably right. Several of the princes whose names are preserved were probably contemporary in neighbouring provinces, the names of which may possibly, as Cunningham suggests, be recorded in the right hand legends of the coins, namely Śaka, or Śāka (both forms occur), (?) Gaḍahara, or (?) Gaḍakhara, and (?) Pakalhdhi or (?) Pakandhi.

IV.

KĀÇMĪR, AND WHITE HUN.

IX.

TU[ÑJĪNA ?]

Copper, diameter .85. Wt. 96 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. King standing to l., sacrificing, dressed in Kuṣān style in long-tailed coat and leggings, grasping in l. hand a trident with bent prongs. Near l. margin the legend श्री तु *Grī Tu* [ñjīna.]

Rev. Goddess seated on lotus, delineated in a peculiar way. In r. field जय

jaya. On extreme l. margin कि *Kidara.*

This is a perfect specimen in brilliant condition of the very rare coin figured in *Coins of Med. India*, Plate III, 1. Cunningham read the name as Turyamāna, and treated it as a variant of Tōramāṇa. But Dr. Stein demurs, and rightly, to this reading. It seems impossible to

¹ The fact of the marriage is taken from Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, pp. 169, 170, 177), who cites *Khondemir*, Rehatsek's translation, II, 340. I have not been able to verify the reference.

get Cunningham's reading out of the letters. Dr. Stein suggests Tuñjīna, which was another name of Raṇāditya, to whom Cunningham (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 39) assigns the approximate date A.D. 580. I cannot read the conjunct character with certainty.

These coins differ widely from the coins of Tōramāṇa (*Coins of Med. India*, Pl. III, 2); on which the king is depicted as wearing frilled breeches, and the reverse differs considerably in detail. The general appearance of the Tōramāṇa coins is quite different. The contrast is much more conspicuous, when the original coins are examined than it is in the plate.

X.

NARĒNDRA.

Wheel type.

Copper, thin, diameter .92. Wt. 50.5 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Sassanian bust to r., with legend in front of face, जयतु श्री नरेन्द्र, *jayatu Śrī Narēndra* (imperfect in this specimen).

Rev. Ornamental wheel or sun with border occupying whole surface.

The commoner type of Narendra's coins has a Sassanian fire-altar with attendants on reverse (Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 286,

Pl $\frac{IX}{XI}$, 12). Cunningham had 9 specimens of that type, and Mr. Rawlins has a fine one. Cunningham notes that "a poor specimen with the king's head has an ornamental wheel on reverse," but he does not figure this wheel type. The reverse of the specimen now figured, the best of four belonging to Mr. Rawlins, is in good condition. Mr. Rawlins has a fifth specimen in poor condition, with the king's bust to l.

XI.

MIHIRAKULA.

Copper, moderately thick, diameter .95. Wt. 104 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. King standing to front, dressed in Kuṣān style, and holding trident in r. hand. Legend on l. margin, षाहि *Śāhi*; on r. margin मिहिरकुल *Mihirakula*, the first two characters of the name being indistinct.

Rev. Blurred and indistinct representation of horseman to r. with his r. arm raised. Probably double-struck on a 'seated Lakṣmī' device.

The *-kula* form of the name is here, as in many other instances, associated with the prefix *Śāhi*. Fleet and Cunningham were mistaken in supposing that the *-gula* form of the name is always associated with the prefix *Śāhi*, and the *-kula* form with the prefix *Śrī*.

This coin now published differs both in obv. and rev. from any coin previously known. The style of the obverse recalls that of the large Yaudhēya coins.

V.

COINS OF PATHĀNKŌṬ (ODUMBARA.)

XII. Thin copper, circular ; diameter .65. Wt. 27 gr. [RAWLINS.]

1. *Obv.* Building, with railing at foot, and high roof with projecting eaves, apparently of thatch, supported on four pillars. Legend to l. in large early characters in relief, पुरुष *puruṣa*, but the third character is doubtful, as there is no cross-bar.

Rev. Tree with horizontal branches (? *dēōdār*) in railing, with snake below.

XIII. Weight 34 gr. [RAWLINS.]

2. *Obv.* Building similar to that of No. 1, but with six pillars, and the coin being in somewhat more perfect condition, the long spike on the top of the roof is visible. The legend differs. It looks like [? भ] युतजा. प [*bha*] *yu ta jā. pa*.

The pictures of buildings on these coins obviously connect them with the rare coins from Pathānkōṭ bearing the legend *Odumbara*, which have been described by Cunningham. Two silver coins of the series are known, and are hemidrachms related to and associated with the hemidrachms of Zoilus. The one figured in *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. IV, 1, has the Kharōṣṭhī legend *Mahadēvasa rajña Dhara Ghōṣasa Ōdumbarisa*, and across field *Visvamitra*.

Cunningham's specimen was found in the Pathānkōṭ District; the other specimen (said by him to be in the Lahore Museum), was found near Juāla Mukhi, in company with 3 silver pieces of the Kunindas, and 28 Philopator hemidrachms of Apollodotus II. The date is thus indicated as being approximately B. C. 100—A. D. 100.

The seven copper pieces known to Cunningham were all found at Pathānkōṭ. Their legend is also in Kharōṣṭhī, and includes the word *Odumbara*.¹

Rodgers describes seven similar coins from Pathānkōṭ as in his collection, which is now in the Lahore Museum (*Catal. of Lahore Museum Coins*, Part III, p. 151,) and notes that "there are many other coins from Pathānkōṭ in the collection, but they are mostly fragmentary and illegible."

He does not give readings of the imperfect legends on the coins catalogued. I presume they are in Kharōṣṭhī characters. All these coins, like Cunningham's, are square or oblong. The weights range from 20 to 32 grains.

¹ Cunningham variously states the number of these coins as 5 (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67); as 6 (*Reports*, Vol. v, p. 154); and as 7 (*Coins of Ancient India*, loc. cit. and *Reports*, Vol. xiv, p. 136). They were found along with coins of Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophares, Kaniṣka, and Haviṣka.

Mr. Rodgers once showed me a thin circular *brass* coin, diameter .65, which had on obverse a two-storied building (? temple), and a worn legend, perhaps in Brahmi (Nāgarī) characters, and, on reverse, tree in railing, with Kharōṣṭhī legend, which I did not read.

Prinsep (*Thomas*, Pl. XIX, 7) gives a drawing of a large circular *copper* coin from Behaṭ near Sabāranpur, which exhibits the characteristic high-roofed building, and traces of letters, probably in the Brahmi alphabet, like those now described. The buildings shown on the coins have a considerable resemblance to the store-houses, or granaries, depicted on the Sōhgaura copper-plate from the Gōrakhpur District (*Proc.*, A. S. B. for 1894, p. 84, Plate I), though the Sōhgaura structures have double roofs.

The coins now published may be safely ascribed to the Odumbara tribe of Kāngrā, and dated somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era.

VI.

XIV. SAURĀṢṬRA (? ARJUNA).

Silver hemidrachm, thick ; diameter .55. Wt. 45.5 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Bust to r., much defaced.

Rev. *Svastika* in centre. Legend round margin in characters similar to those of the earlier Saurāṣṭran coins, but difficult to read. It looks like पर[म]राज अजुणसहिलवोर पुत्रस. The legend seems to include the name of Arjuna, and the word *putrasa*, the genitive of *putra*, 'a son.'

The coin certainly seems to belong to the Saurāṣṭhan series, but no other example of the *svastika* reverse device is known, and the legend seems to be different from that on any published coin. No Rājā Arjuna appears to be known.

VII.

XV. A NORTHERN SATRAP.

Circular, thick, copper ; diameter .65. Wt. 78.5 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Horse to r. grazing. Marginal Kharōṣṭhī legend, read from outside ... mahachatrapasa.

Rev. Female to front, with r. hand raised, and l. on hip, standing in a rectangular frame, of which the right post springs from a railing. A crenellated ornament on top of frame.

The horse connects this unpublished coin with the coins of the Satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsa. (*Coins of Anc. India*, p. 87). But the horse on those coins is to l., and the legend is in Brahmi characters.

VIII.

XVI.


UNCERTAIN.

Thin copper coin ; diameter .65. Wt. 30.5 gr. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Elephant charging to l. marginal legend ... रूपव, ... *rūpava* apparently, which is unintelligible. I cannot read the characters preceding *rūpa*.

Rev. Goddess seated, perhaps on lion. Remains of legend on r. margin.

Like all Mr. Rawlins' coins, this was collected in the Jhēlam District. I cannot guess to whom it should be assigned. The characters seem to be of early date, probably not later than A. D. 500, and possibly much earlier.



Mēghēçvara Inscription of Svapnēçvara Dēva of Orissa.—By

NAGĒNDRA NĀTHA VASU, Editor of Viçvakōça.

(WITH PLATE II).

[Read January 1897.]

The inscription of which I give an account to the Society this night, is engraved on a large slab in the western wall of the court-yard of the famous temple of Ananta-Vāsudēva in Bhuvanēçvara. Just on the right side of this slab is another, bearing inscriptions in eulogy of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva. Dr. Rājēndra Lāla writes about these two slabs as follows :—

‘There are existing two large slabs stuck on the western wall of the court-yard (of Ananta-Vāsudēva), bearing Sanskrit inscriptions. One of these was originally intended for the temple of Brahmēçvara, and the other for that of Ananta and Vāsudēva. Both of them had been removed from their proper places by General Stewart, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at about the early part of this century. When Major (then Lieutenant) Kittoe visited Bhuvanēçvara in 1838, the priests complained bitterly of the sacrilege, and he suggested the restitution of the stones. The Society readily permitted this, but in replacing them, through some mistake or other, the Major selected the outer wall of this temple for both of them, instead of their respective places. Before making the restitution, James Prinsep published transcripts and translations of both the records in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.¹

I went personally to inspect these two slabs, and made rubbings of both. Both the slabs now lie at the identical spot where Dr. Rājēndra Lāla saw them. I was assured by the old Pāṇḍās of the temple that they remained at that very spot from before the time of the Doctor’s inspection, without suffering a change of place or alteration of any kind.

It is, indeed, surprising that there is no conformity at all of the Brahmēçvara inscription described by the learned Doctor with the inscription I inspected. In fact, there is no Brahmēçvara inscription at

¹ Dr. Mitra’s *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 84.

all in the temple. I am quite at a loss to determine how he identified this with the Brahmēçvara slab.

As far as I am aware nobody has yet deciphered the inscription under notice.

This inscription was made under the order of Svapnēçvara Dēva, the founder of the temple of Mēghēçvara. The following occurs towards the end of the inscription :—

‘The poet UDAYANA has by his (SVĀPNĒÇVARA’S) command composed hymns, ever delightful to the learned in consequence of their sweet collocation of words and plentiful figures of speech (V, 33.) CANDRADHAVALA, the son of DHAVALA VĪRA, wrote this eulogy in letters resembling gems upon this slab on the door of Mēghēçvara (V, 35.) Çivakara, a *Sūtradhāra*, engraved these letters like unto a garland of gems on this stone-slab (V, 36).’

It appears, General Stewart had taken away this slab from its proper place in the temple of Mēghēçvara. Subsequently Major Kittoe, yielding to the entreaties of the Pāṇḍās, placed it in its present position along with the inscribed slab of Ananta-Vāsudēva. As to the Brahmēçvara inscription noted above, I made a most searching enquiry for it about the temples of Ananta-Vāsudēva and Brahmēçvara, without being able to find out any trace of it anywhere.

This Mēghēçvara slab measuring 3’ 8½” by 1’ 9”, is incised with great neatness and care, and the letters are in a state of almost perfect preservation. The size of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ”.

The characters may be described as Bangālī of the Kuṭila type of the 12th century, similar to the inscription of Ananta-Vāsudēva, and very near to the characters of the copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṃha Dēva II with a somewhat archaic look. As in most other inscriptions of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, of that period, we find here no distinction between the letters *b* and *v*; besides it may be noted that the superscript sign of *r* is invariably placed on the doubled consonants *gg*, *ṇṇ*, e.g., in *margga* line 22, *sampūrṇṇa*, line 23; and *ll* is sometimes used for *l*, in *llalāṭa* and *llakṣmī*, line 2. Instead of the anusvāra, we have the dental nasal in *Vansottansa*, line 3, and the nasal *ṇ* in *vaṇṇē*, line 6; and the dental sibilant is used for the palatal sibilant in *vansa*, line 3; and the palatal for the dental, in *grōtaḥ*, line 1.

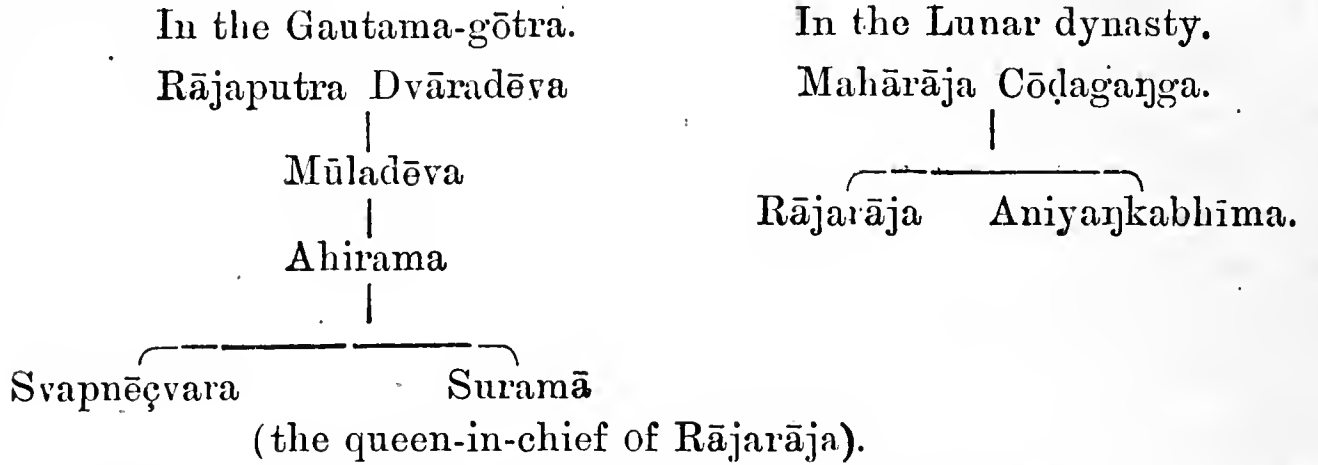
The language of the inscription is high-flown Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory blessing, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The inscription opens with an invocation of the god Çiva, Candra (the moon), and of the sage Gautama. It then relates :—

‘In that family of Gautama was born a prince (named) DVĀRADĒVA, worthy of respect by the learned, the ornament of the world, possessed

of prosperity and great virtue, stable, like the goddess Lakṣmī in the midst of the churning of the sea, in belabouring the enemy, whose good deeds like a creeper surrounded the earth, under whose influence the renown of the enemy was obscured as beneath the rays of the sun the petals of the lily close (V, 3). From this DVĀRADĒVA, descended MŪLADĒVA, the crown of his family, holding the foremost place among the learned, putting an end to the prosperity of the enemy, smiling as the moon, and blooming on the creeper of renown (V, 4). From him was descended AHIRAMA, a mass of virtue, the object of adoration, the resting place of kindness and justice of whom unmeasured fame has sprung up in the same way as the moon rises on the *udayācala* (V, 5). His descendants were many in number, among whom was a son SVAPNĒṢVARA and a daughter SURAMĀ, the former resembling the moon, and the latter the goddess of prosperity. Of them one became the ornament of the world and the stay of all people, and the other the alleviator of the heat of poverty, as Lakṣmī is (in cooling the mind) of Cintāmaṇi (Viṣṇu) (V, 6). There was a celebrated king named CōḍAGAṆGA, the flower of the lunar dynasty, adorned with the several faculties beginning with *aṇimā*. (V, 6). After that king of kings had adorned the abode of Indra his bountiful son, the illustrious RĀJARĀJA, began to rule the world (V, 10). That best of men married SURAMĀ DĒVĪ (V, 13). That king who was the ornament of royal families, after a happy career, had his younger brother ANIYAṆKABHĪMA installed on the throne (V, 14). When the king of the Gaṅga family set about the conquest of the different quarters, SVAPNĒṢVARA DĒVA himself did more service than a host of *Caturayga*. He dealt such mighty blows on his enemies with his sharpened weapons, that from the blood gushing out of their wounds eight oceans were formed (V, 18). He built this temple of MĒGHĒṢVARA, the Lord of Kailāṣa, high as a mountain, with materials at great cost (V, 22). The stone-built wall of (that) conqueror is so lofty that it appears to be ready to check the movements of the clouds (V, 24). (Ladies) with eyes like those of the deer, the effulgence of the diamonds on whose bracelets brightens everything at the time of their dancing, were engaged for the service of the conqueror of Tripura (Śiva) (V, 25). He has laid out a beautiful park in the abode of MĒGHĒṢVARA (V, 26). The friend of that Lord of men had a beautiful tank, full of sweet water, excavated at the abode of MĒGHĒṢVARA. This tank, when looked at, appears to be a brother of the ocean (V, 28). That conqueror, celebrated for his many achievements, had a beautiful *maṇḍapa* erected by the side of the tank. Here people sought refuge from the inclemency of the hot weather (V, 29). Having built the temple of Īṣa, he set up the

god Viṣṇu along with the *Sudarçana-cakra* (the beautiful looking discus), in it (V, 32).’

From the inscription on this slab, we get traces of two royal dynasties, viz.:—



Various petty kings, it appears, reigned at different places in Orissā about the time of the rise of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Prince DVĀRADĒVA is apparently one of them. The fact of none of those who came after DVĀRADĒVA having enjoyed the royal or any other title of equal honour seems to point to the fact that they did not rule as independent kings, but were probably commanders of armies or *Mahāsāmantādhīpatīs*. RĀJARĀJA, the son of CŌḢAGAṂGA the conqueror of Orissā, was married to SURAMĀDĒVĪ, the sister of SVAPNĒÇVARA. Probably by means of this connection, SVAPNĒÇVARA succeeded in gaining such a high position in the court of the Gaṅga king. We know from the 18th verse, ‘that SVAPNĒÇVARA himself did more service than a host of *Caturanga*.’ He was looked upon as *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* or the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Gaṅga king. The large temple of Mēghēçvara is the work of this Svapnēçvara Dēva.

None of the antiquarians of Orissā has referred to this celebrated temple, though it easily comes to the notice of every pilgrim of Bhuvanēçvara. Dr. Rājēndra Lāla has mentioned a Mēghakunḍa from the Yātrā-paddhati of Bhuvanēçvara. He has made no reference at all to this celebrated temple of Mēghēçvara. But the merits of Mēghēçvara are described in the Ēkāmra-purāṇa, the Svarṇādri-mahōdaya and many other works. Here is the mythical account on the origin of Mēghēçvara as related in the Ēkāmra-purāṇa, Ch. 38:—¹

‘(Pārvati) with her eyes beaming with joy, said with a smile. ‘Our past history, although frequently called to mind, cannot give me much delight. O Brahṃa, thou art possessed of all knowledge. My salutation to you, who are Prajāpati (literally the lord of the created

¹ तमुवाच स्मितं वाक्यं हर्षात्फुल्लविलोचना ।

सनातनमिदं ज्ञातं चरितं शङ्करस्य च ॥

beings), who are the incarnation of wisdom, and versed in all the *Çāstras*. I have a desire to hear, O Brahma, the connection we have with the sacred place of Svarṇakūṭa. Knowing that Ṛṣis have an unswerving devotion to God, sitting down for a while in meditation, Brahmā spoke the following words in reply:—

‘Eight wise clouds wishing for the success of their desires presented themselves before Indra with folded arms, and spoke the following words;—

‘We intend to go to a place called Ekāmra to worship Çiva. We shall with your permission, bathe in the sacred *tīrtha* of Vindūdbhava. Sages say, ‘the merits of actions done here become everlasting.’ We intend to build a palace and a temple of Çiva with your permission. Kindly give us therefore our desired boon.’ Hearing this Indra spoke, ‘O, Virtuous clouds, depart soon and perform your religious rites according to your wishes.’ The clouds, commanded by Indra, gladly departed for that sacred place, accompanied by Viçvakarman. When the clouds had got to the place, they looked around and selected the site in the N.-E. direction, 1,750 fathoms from Kalpavṛkṣa. They then thus spoke to Viçvakarman:—

‘O Viçvakarman, the site has been selected; be so kind as to act up to our desire. Then Viçvakarman personally collected stones from a hill and built the high and beautiful palace, having a ditch around it, the entrance gate, the *gōpura*, and the *hōmakunḍa*. Then the clouds, who were proficient in the Çiva-tantras, consecrated the temple. These eight clouds are respectively celebrated as Parjanya, Plāvana, Añjana, Vāmana, Sampatti, Drōṇa, Jīmūta and Atimarṣaṇa. Then thinking it imprudent to lose time they began to conciliate the god Çiva by gifts, worship, austerities and sacrifice.

‘Then Çiva being highly propitiated appeared at the place and thus spoke to them:—

‘I have appeared in the capacity of a giver of boon. Ask for the boon you intend to have. The clouds being highly glad to see Mahādēva personally present said,—‘O god, if you have been satisfied with us and have got the best favour to bestow, then we pray for your presence in this place which has been well set up. Fulfil our desire by granting us this boon.’ To this Mahādēva replied,—‘I shall remain here in the name of Mēghēçvara (the Lord of clouds). This lake (now Vindusāgara) of limpid and dear water will be a source of pleasure to me. Its waters will wash off all sins.”... The clouds on hearing this made obeisance to Mahādēva and departed for heaven.’¹

The famous temple of Mēghēçvara is situated at a distance of 100

¹ The similar account is related in the Svarṇādri-mahōdaya, Ch.18.

yards to the east of the site of Bhāskarēçvara, mentioned by Dr. Rājendra Lāla, in the northern part of the Bhuvanēçvara Kṣētra. It is built of basalt stone. Its former beauty has not yet departed, but with the decline of the worship (ceremony) here, its beauty is nowadays on the wane. The artistic skill displayed by the temple seems to place it in the 12th century A. D. There is a tank to the north of the temple as mentioned in the inscription under notice (V, 28). The people of that place generally speak of a village of Brahmapura, which was originally situated near the temple of Mēghēçvara. This village is mentioned also in the early settlement records. In the 31st verse of the present inscription this village is recorded to have been given to the Brāhmaṇas by SVAPNĒÇVARA DĒVA. There is no trace left of it save the abodes of a few husbandmen. The temple of Brahmēçvara and Brahmakuṇḍa is not far off.

अस्मदीयं पुराष्टत्तं चेत्ते चेन्नवतां वर ।
 प्रीतिरभ्यधिका मेऽस्मात् स्मारितोऽसि पितामह ॥
 शृण्वतो न हि त्वयामि आजन्मचरितं हि मे ।
 अतौव ज्ञानसम्पन्नं भो ब्रह्मंस्त्वयि वर्तते ॥
 अनागतविधात्रे च ज्ञानमूर्तिस्वरूपिणे ।
 सर्वशास्त्रप्रवक्त्रे च प्रजानां पतये नमः ॥
 पुण्यक्षेत्रे शिवे देशे स्वर्णकूटे हराश्रमे ।
 यत् किञ्चिदस्ति सान्निध्यं श्रोतुमिच्छामि पद्मज ॥
 एवं देव्या वचः श्रुत्वा व्यजहार पितामहः ।
 ऋषयस्तव वीक्ष्यन्ते श्रवणौकं तमानसाः ॥
 ज्ञात्वा भक्तिमृषोणां स परमां परमेश्वरे ।
 सुहृत्तद्धानमास्थाय पुनराह यथार्थवत् ॥
 अष्टौ जलधराः प्राज्ञाः सिद्धिकामाः शतक्रतुम् ।
 उचुः प्राञ्जलयः सर्वे पर्जन्या भूतविक्रमाः ॥
 एकाम्रकं गमिष्यामः पूजयामो महेश्वरम् ।
 तीर्थे विन्दूङ्गवेऽस्माभिः स्नातव्यं त्वदनृजया ॥
 यत्तत्र क्रियते कर्म यत्किञ्चित् सुकृतं कृतम् ।
 तदक्षयं फलं लोके प्रवदन्ति मनोषिणः ॥
 वयमिच्छामहे कर्तुं प्रासादञ्च शिवालयम् ।
 नियोगात्तव देवेन्द्र दीयतां वरमौषितम् ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तामुवाचेदं व्रजताशु बलाहकाः ।
 कुरुताभिमतं धर्ममचिरादमर्बुद्वयः ॥
 दृष्ट्वा शसनं प्राप्य सार्द्धं वै विश्वकर्मणा ।
 आनन्यमनसी भूत्वा वव्रजुः सदनोत्तमम् ॥
 आसाद्य अतुलं क्षेत्रं महाप्रलयपरीणतम् (?) ।
 समन्तादिधिदृष्टेन यत्नवन्तो बलाहकाः ॥

कल्पवृक्षाददूरेण धेन्वन्तरसहस्रके ।
 साधिके सप्तशतके रेशानीं दिशिमाश्रिताः ॥
 सुदेशं रचयामासु धौतामलशिलातलम् ।
 ऊचुस्ते विश्वकर्माणमस्माकं कुरु चेष्टितम् ॥
 शैलात् पाषाणमानीय विश्वकर्मा स्वयं तदा ।
 चक्रे सुरचिरं तुङ्गं प्रामादं सुमनोहरम् ॥
 प्रमाणं विपुलं दिव्यं सर्वावयवसंयुतम् ।
 परिखातोरणायुक्तं सकुण्डलं सगोपुरम् ॥
 प्रतिष्ठां तत्र विधिना शिवतन्त्रविदस्तु ते ।
 चक्रुस्ते सुधियो मेघाः सर्व्वकर्मसु पण्डिताः ॥
 पर्जन्यप्लावनौ चैव अञ्जनौ वामनस्तथा ।
 सम्यत्तिष्ठ तथा द्रोणी जौभूतश्चातिमर्षणः ॥
 अष्टौ ते तोयदाः ख्याताः आधिपत्याब्धदृष्टयः ।
 समन्त्राः सदृशाः क्रान्ता शक्रस्य वशवर्त्तिनः ॥
 समयं नाभिवर्त्तन्ते सत्यवन्तो घनास्तु ते ।
 दानार्चनतपोयज्ञैस्तोषयामौश्वरौश्वरम् ॥
 तुतोष भगवान् भर्गः सान्निध्यमभवत् स्वयम् ।
 वरदोऽहमिति प्राह वरं वरयतार्थतः ॥
 ततो वलाहका हृष्टा ऊचुः प्राञ्जलयस्तु तम् ।
 यदि प्रसन्नो भगवान् यद्यनुग्रहतास्ति नः ॥
 प्रासादः सुप्रतिष्ठायमस्माभिः परमेश्वर ।
 अत्र शम्भो महेशान भवान् सान्निध्यमर्हति ॥
 अथोवाच प्रसन्नात्मा मेघान् सर्व्वान् स ईश्वरः ।
 मेघेश्वरो ह्यहं चात्र नाम्ना त्रिषु निगद्यते ॥
 अधिष्ठानो मदौयोऽयं क्षेत्रे प्रवरभोगदः ।
 अस्मात् प्रीतिप्रदो नित्यं हृदोऽयं विमलोदकः ॥
 सर्व्वपापविनाशस्तु कामदः परिचक्ष्यते ।
 मेघेश्वरः शिवः साक्षात्त्रिभूतौ व्यवस्थितः ॥
 इति श्रुत्वा नमस्कृत्य यदुर्मघास्त्रिपिष्टपम् ।

(एकाक्षपुराणे ३८ अध्यायः ।)

L. 5. मलयगो वैजयन्त्योजयन्त्यः ॥ [5]

⁹तस्मान्नैकसुतादभूवतुरपान्नाथा दिवेन्दुश्रियो
श्रीस्वप्रेश्वरनाम नाम सुरमा देवी च साथाह्वया ।
एकः क्षातलमण्डनाय सकलाधारस्तथान्या जग-
दारिद्र्यज्वरनाशनाय जगती चिन्तामणिश्रीरभूत् ॥ [6]

¹⁰नतन्टपतिकिरीटको-

L. 6. टिरत्नद्युतिपटपीठश्यालपादपद्मः ।

अजनिरजनिजानिवंशचूडामणि-
रणिमादिगुणेन चोडगङ्गः ॥ [7]

¹¹यात्रावाजिखुरप्रहारविसरद्भूलिसमुद्रे स्फुर-
तेजो भास्करमण्डले क्षितिभुजामस्तङ्गते निर्भरं ।
यं सङ्ग्रामगृहोदरेषु विजयश्रीः सार्द्धमा-

L. 7. शा सखी-

वन्दैर्भिन्नगजेन्द्रमौक्तिकवती भूयोभिसर्तुङ्गता ॥ [8]

¹¹रे वालाः कुलवृद्ध किन्नु भवतान्दुर्भिक्ष मायास्यति
स्कीतङ्गिं सतु सत्रदः पलभुजां स्वर्माय सन्नह्यते ।
यस्येति श्रुति मा कलथ्य समरे निर्भिस्सवीरद्विषा-
म्वल्लूरैः परिपूरयन्ति परितः प्रेताः कु-

L. 8. शूलोत्तरान् ॥ [9]

¹²तस्मिन् पुरन्दरपुरौ तिलकायमाने
दाने समुन्नतमतिस्तनयस्तदीयः ।
साम्राज्यभारवहनैकधुरीणवाजः
श्रीराजराजन्टपतिः पृथिवीं प्रसास ॥ [10]

¹³यस्योद्यद्वाजिराजीखुरशिखरभरक्षसे भूचक्रसर्प-
द्भूलीजालावकीर्णत्रिदशपुरसरि-

L. 9. [द्वा] रिपङ्के विलग्नं ।

नौरक्रीडानिमज्जत् सुरपतिकरिणं व्याकुलं प्रक्रभ्यथा
धृत्वा लाङ्गुलमेके करतलमपरे तीरमुत्तोलयन्ति ॥ [11]

⁹ Metre, Čardūla-vikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Metre, Puṣpitāgrā.

¹¹ Metre, Čardūla-vikrīḍita.

¹² Metre, Vasanta-tilakā.

¹³ Metre, Srag-dharā.

¹⁴रणाभुवि यदि नित्यन्नाहतः शत्रुसार्थः
तुलित हरिभुजेन क्षमाभुजाऽनेन नूनं ।
कथमिह कलिकाले कल्पितानल्पपाप-

L. 10. प्रणयि-

नि सुरसृष्टिः सद्युरस्यान्दिवि स्यात् ॥

[12]

¹⁵तेनोऽपि पुरुषोत्तमेन सुरमा देवी रमैवार्थतो
नाम्नाऽन्तःपुरसुन्दरीजनशिरोरत्नाकरश्रीरियं ।
प्रत्यारुह्य तुलाः प्रियेण सहसा यत् स्वर्णशैलन्ददा
वेतैः स्मीततराधरार्थिभिरहो जातार्थिनी केवलं ॥

[13]

¹⁶सर्व्वन्न-

L. 11. रेन्द्रतिलकः कलिकालकल्प-

शाखी सुखौघमनुभूय चिरं स राजा ।
वृद्धोऽनुजं मनुजराजनतांघ्रियुग्मं
राज्येऽभिषिक्तमकरोदनियङ्गभीमं ॥

[14]

¹⁵स श्रीमाननियङ्गभीमनृपतिः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीप्रतिः
प्रत्यर्थिर्क्षितिपालमौलितिलकः त्यक्तारिकान्ताल-

L. 12.

कः ।

संप्राप्यैव समुद्रमुद्रितमहीचक्रङ्गरागस्फुर-

चक्रं शक्रपराक्रमस्वमकरोद्गङ्गेन्द्रचन्द्रः क्षणात् ॥

[15]

¹⁵हे भोगीन्द्र किमात्य कूर्म धरणीभारः स तुच्छो महान्
जानासि त्रिकलिङ्गनाथ यशसा ख्यातन्न जाने ष्टणु ।

देवेऽस्मिन्विजयप्रयाणरसिके प्रे-

L. 13.

खत्तरङ्गक्षुर-

क्षोभोद्धूतरजोभिरम्बरमगादृढं क्षमामण्डलं ॥

[16]

¹⁵जाता सङ्गरनीरधेः स्फुरदसि व्यालेन्द्रभास्वरुजा-

मन्वा¹⁷हर सतीव वाञ्छित¹⁸ द प्रीति सदा श्रीरियं ।

अस्मिन्नेव नराधिनाथतिलके स्थैर्यङ्गता यत्पुन-
र्वीजन्तत्र किलास्य साश्वत

14 Metre, Mālinī.

15 Metre, Ārdūla-vikrīḍita.

16 Metre, Vāsanta-tilaka.

17 Obscure.

18 Obscure.

L. 14. [म] सौ जाग्रदयशश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ [17]

¹⁵उद्ग्रहिदिविजयाथ साधनविधौ गङ्गान्वयक्ष्माभुजा-
न्दिव्यास्त्रं चतुरङ्गिनोऽधिकतरः सैन्यात् स एको भवत् ।
श्रीस्त्रपेश्वरदेव एव विलसत् शस्त्रक्षतारिक्षरत्
कीलालौघविनिर्मितायुम महाम्भोधिर्नयाम्भोनिधिः ॥ [18]

¹⁹लक्ष्मीदेव्याः पतिर-

L. 15. [य] म²⁰ धोने चक्रे बलिद्विट्-
गोपोल्लासा [दिह] सुहृद²⁰ यं सर्वकार्येच्युतोऽसौ ।
विश्वक्सेनो धरणिरियमप्युद्धृता येन मग्ना
तस्मिन्जन्मन्यपि सुचरितैरेष विश्वम्भरोऽभूत् ॥ [19]

²⁰यद्दानविगलद्वारि मातृकाभूतमातृका ।
शस्यसम्पत्तिसम्भारैर्हीनहीना भवन्मही ॥ [20]

L. 16. ²¹कैलासाद्रिहिमाचलस्तनतटव्यासङ्गिमन्दाकिनी
ह्रीरश्री यदि कीर्तिरस्य तिलकं चन्द्रङ्गलङ्काशयात् ।
ज्योत्स्नाहासमुखीपयोधिवसनाकुन्दद्युतिनात्यजत्
काप्यस्याङ्गिहचन्द्रशेखरपदारूढो मृडानीपतिः ॥ [21]

²¹भक्तिप्रहसुरासुरेन्द्रविलसन्मौलिस्थ रत्नाव-

L. 17. ली-

च्छाया शक्रधनुः स्फुरत्पदलसन्मेघेश्वरस्यामुना ।
उन्नत्यापरपर्वतो बज्रतरद्रव्यव्ययङ्गुर्वता
प्रासादो रचितस्सदानुविहसत् कैलासशैलेश्वरः ॥ [22]

²¹स्वर्साद्रिः स सुरालयो हरिणखरक्षुस्सश्च पूर्वो गिरि-
र्वारुण्या परिचुम्बितोऽस्तशिखरी मान्यः सगौरी-

L. 18. पकः ।

इत्यद्यापि परामृषन्नवनवस्थानं चलन्मन्दिर-
लङ्गेन्द्रेण शिलोच्चयं गृहमदः प्राप्तोऽनवद्यं शिवः ॥ [23]

²²इह विजयिना प्राकारश्रीर्महोपलनिर्मिता

19 Metre, Mandākrānta. Some akṣaras of this are illegible.

20 Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

21 Metre, Čārdūla-vikrīḍita.

22 Metre, Hariṇī.

जलधरगतीरलुन्नत्यनिरोद्धुमिवोद्धता ।
कलिजलनिधेर्मर्यादालीभयादिव तस्य वै
शरण-

L. 19. मविशद्धर्मा यत्र त्रिनेत्रसुरक्षया ॥ [24]

²³यासान्नेत्राच्चलतरणिमाविश्ववश्यैकमन्त्रः
पादन्यासस्त्रिभुवनगतिस्तम्भनं सन्निधत्ते ।
नृत्यारम्भे वलयमणिभिर्निर्मिताऽयत्नदीपा-
स्तस्मै दत्ता स्त्रिपुरजयिने तेन तास्ता मृगाद्याः ॥

[25]

²⁴उपवनमथ चक्रे तेन मेघेश्व-

L. 20. रस्य

स्फुरितकुसुमरेणुश्रेणिचन्द्रातपश्री ।

अविरतमकरन्दस्यन्दसन्दोहवर्षै-

र्द्धतरतिपतिलीलायन्तधारागृहत्वं ॥

[26]

²⁵वनश्रीमुक्तासूक्तदरदलितपुष्पोत्करमिलत्

परागैर्भङ्गालीकलितसितिमा यत्र जयनी ।

मुनेः पुष्पास्त्रस्य स्फटिकघटिताक्षाव-

L. 21. लि-

रियम्बसन्त्योद्यन्मत्तद्विपशिरसि नक्षत्रविततिः ॥

[27]

²⁶अत्यच्छं शरदम्बरात् सुरसरित्तोयाच्च पापापहं
गम्भीरन्नयशालिनोपि हृदयात् शीतञ्च चन्द्रद्यतेः ।
हृद्यं स्वादुसुधारसादपि सरो धारान्निधेः सोदर-
न्तेनाखानि नरेश्वरप्रणयिना मेघेश्वरस्या-

L. 22. लये ॥

[28]

आनन्दैकनिकेतनं नयनयोः सश्वन्मनः²⁷ कैरव-

ज्योत्स्नौघः खलु विश्वकर्म्मनिपुणं व्यापारवैदग्ध्यभूः ।

ग्रीष्मग्रासभयातिभीतजनताश्रौटीर्यदुर्गालयो-

मार्गः कीर्त्तिविजृम्भणस्य जयिना प्रीतिम्भितो मण्डपः ॥

[29]

²⁶अपां शालामालाः पथि पथि तडागाः प्रति-

²⁸ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

²⁵ Metre, Çikharinī.

²⁴ Metre, Malinī.

²⁶ Metre, Çārdūla-vikrīḍita.

²⁷ Read शश्वन्मनः ।

L. 23.

पुरं

प्रदीपाः सम्पूष्णीः प्रति सुरगृहं यस्य विमलाः ।

मठा वेदादीनां द्विजपुरविहाराः प्रतिदिशं

विराजन्ते सत्राण्यपि च परितस्त्रेतुनिवहाः ॥

[30]

²⁸आराद्रक्षपुरं बृहस्पतिपुरस्पृक्षिरारे सदा-

राय विष्णुमभिस्फुरद्विजवरग्रामाय धर्मात्मने ।

दत्तं तेन मुदा सदोदि-

L. 24.

तमखप्रारब्धधूमध्वज-

स्फुर्ज्ज्वमचयेन यत्र स कलिव्यालः समुत्साहते ॥

[31]

²⁹तं प्रत्यतिष्ठ द्विजराजपूज्यः

प्रासादमौशस्य सनन्दकश्रीः ।

सुदर्शनेनान्वित एष विष्णु-

राचार्यराजः स पृथक् विष्णोः ॥

[32]

³⁰उदयनकविस्तस्यादेशात्प्रशस्तिविलासिनीं

सुललितपदन्यासैः सश्रद्धि-

L. 25.

दन्मनोहरां ।

ध्वनिभिरनिशं कण्ठे श्लिष्टामलंकृतिहारिणी-

मतिरसतया श्रय्या यातां प्रसाधितवानिमां ॥

[33]

³¹यावज्ज्योत्स्नासुधांशूधरणिफणिपती यावदम्भोजलक्ष्म्यौ

यावद्यावच्च गङ्गा हिमधरणिधरौ यावदेवार्सवोम्मी ।

वागर्थौ यावदस्मिंश्चिरमनुवसतोऽद्वैतरूपे-

L. 26.

ण लोके

तावत् प्रासादकीर्तीं त्रिभुवनकुहरे राजतामस्य नित्यं ॥

[34]

श्री ॥

³²दिशि धवलवीरतनयः स चन्द्रधवलः प्रशस्तिमिह पट्टे ।

सरत्नाक्षरमालाभिर्लिलेखमेघेश्वरद्वारे ॥

[35]

³³सूत्रधारः शिवकरस्सदृत्तामक्षरावलीं ।

निचखान शिलापट्टे मुक्ताफलनिभामिह ॥

[36]

²⁸ Metre, Çārdūla-vikrīḍita.²⁹ Metre, Upajāti.³⁰ Metre, Hariṇī.³¹ Metre, Srag-dharā.³² Metre, Āryā.³³ Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

Nādir Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh, a Hindī poem by TILŌK DĀS, contributed by WILLIAM IRVINE, late of the Bengal Civil Service.

[Read February, 1897.]

The poem of which I send a transcript, transliteration and translation, accompanied by some notes, was found last year (1895) among the books of the late Muftī Sultān Ḥasan Khān of Barēli (Rōhilkhand). Access to these books was obtained by my agent, Maulvī ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz, through the good offices of C. Rustomjee, Esq., C. S., at that time Judge of the district.

In the exemplar found at Barēli the verses are wrongly placed, being given in the following order, 1-6, 77-93, 7-76, 94-103. This mistake I have corrected. The numbering gives 103 verses, but apparently they ought to be reckoned as one hundred and five. Verse No. 7, as it has eight lines, ought, I fancy, to be counted as two verses of four lines each; and the *Dohaṛā*, No. 103, is given as one verse of four lines, whereas *Dohaṛā* meaning ‘a couplet,’ the four lines form properly two couplets. After making this correction, I find the kinds of metre used are :—52 *Dohaṛā* (104 lines), 11 *Sōraṭhā* (22 lines), 1 *Kabit Dohaṛā* (2 lines), 18 *Kabit* (17 × 4 and 1 × 2, 70 lines), 2 *Savaiyā Kabit* (8 lines), 9 *Savaiyā* (36 lines), 9 *Arīl* (36 lines), 3 *Chaupāī* (12 lines), giving a total of 105 verses and 290 lines.

Our copy is in the Persian character, as was perhaps to be expected owing to the Muhammadan source from which it has been obtained. I have made further enquiry, but no Nāgarī original is now forthcoming. But we may assume that the work was originally written down by the author, as all other Hindī poems are, in the Nāgarī character. The free use of purely Persian and Arabic words (suggested, no doubt, by the nature of the subject), is to be noticed, making of this poem an early specimen of the Hindī mixed with Persian, which the late Rājā Shiva Parshād advocated as the true literary language (see Grierson, “Modern Vernacular Literature,” 1889, No. 699, p. 148).

I know nothing of the author beyond his name, Tilōk Dās, which appears in the last line of verse 7. The work is not dated and no patron is named. But since verse 103 contains a mention of Nādir

Shāh's death in 1160 H. (May 1747), the poem cannot be earlier than that year, and judging from internal evidence, such as the number of real names and events given with tolerable correctness, I think it would be safe to give as the latest probable limit of composition a period of ten or fifteen years from 1747. The poem is not likely, in my opinion, to be later than 1757–1760 A.D.

From the place at which the work is found we may assume that the author was a native of Rōhilkhand. The language, of which the grammatical forms seem to be somewhat unstable, appears to me to show affinities both to the dialect of the upper part of the Ganges-Jamnā *dūāba* and to that of the country between Farrukhābād and Qannauj, the latter called by Kellogg, I think, Kanaujī. I am more or less familiar with both these dialects, and the language of the poem contains something of both. I suppose it should be classed as written in the Braj variety of the Hindī tongue.

As for the matter of the poem, it must be confessed that it is of no historical value, although, if no other account of Nādir *Shāh's* invasion had come down to us, this might have been otherwise. We might then have been forced to construct out of such materials a history of what really happened. The result would, I think, have been that the outlines of the story would have come out fairly true to fact, but in details there would have been equal redundancy and defect. The story of the faqir's second sight would have been at once rejected by any critic: while he would have mourned over the absence of reasons for the sudden collapse of the Moghul defence, or for the apparently unprovoked slaughter of the unoffending inhabitants of Dihlī. In short, this poem shows us how rapidly in the East, even in modern history, fact and fiction are blended. We see, as it were, myth in the making.

I am no judge of the technical merits of the work as poetry, but it seems to me to present a brisk, lively and interesting narrative, far from devoid of local colour, and at times exceedingly graphic. The poet assumes as a matter of common knowledge that Nādir *Shāh* was invited into India by Nizāmu-l-mulk. The true solution of this question is one of the most difficult problems presented to us in the history of that period. The accusation was current at a very early date (see Fraser's "History of Nādir *Shāh*," published in 1741, pp. 69 and 129, and Rustam 'Alī's *Tārīkh-i-Hindī*, written in 1154 H. (1741-2) [B. Museum, Oriental MS. No. 1628, folio 281 b].) The author of *Risālah-i-Muḥammad Shāh*, however (B. M. Or. 180, foll. 106 b, 107 b), who wrote between 1161 H. and 1167 H. (1748–1754), puts all the blame upon Sa'ādat Khān, Burhānu-l-mulk, *Nāẓim* of Audh. But

Jonas Hanway's judicious remarks ("Revolutions of Persia," 3rd edition, 1762, II, 352) convey the wisest and safest opinion on this very disputable point. "It seems to me highly probable that Nādir did not "stand in need of such instruments for the execution of his ambitious "designs." In short, Nādir Shāh could not look on himself as the world-conqueror that he wished to be, a veritable equal of Changez and Taimūr, without an invasion of Hindūstān, and, as I hold, such an invasion was inevitable, invitation or no invitation.

I, TEXT:

حالات نادر شاہ و محمد شاہ

* دودھہ *

- ۱ سری گنپت گوریس کے گوہند چرن منائے * احوال شاہ نادر کہوں جگت کبت بذای
- ۲ محمد شاہ بادشاہ دلی کا جو سرمور * بہت خوشی تھا عیش کرورا بات نا آور
- ۳ بندوبست سبہہ ملک کا سوہنپ دیا جو شاہ * غازی خان وزیر جو سبہہ کرت ذباہ
- ۴ مجلس راہی دیوان کو سرد فتر تو جان * مخقر کار سبہہ فوج کا خاندوران خان مان
- ۵ نظام الملک امیر تھا توپن کا سردار * بندوبست سبہہ جفگ کا اوسیکی تھا اختیار
- ۶ طرہ بازخان سورمان برآ ہوش کا دھنی * حکمت کو جو حکیم تھا علوی نام یہہ گہنی

* کبت *

- ۷ ملکہ زمانی جو اوسکی بیگم تھی تسکی بس ہو گئے شاہ اپارا -
- ۸ وہ صورت مند جو خوب تھے مانو چندر کو دیت وہی اوجیارا *
- ۹ سبہہ راج سماج کو کاج جوئے تھے کو نہ ہرش رہی گہر بارا -
- ۱۰ اب دیکھ دسا جو نریس لکھو مانو چندر چکور کی پریت نہارا *

* کبت *

- ۱۱ شراب اور کباب کھانا عمل رہ دیوانا دیکھہ مستانا جو عطای سبہہ آوہین -
- ۱۲ دھولکی تندورا ساریدن کو بجاوین باج دیکھو مہاراج سبہہ شاہ کو سناوین *
- ۱۳ جبئے خوش ہوئی شاہ تبتے کرئی بے پرواہ ہیرا موتی لعل مانگ کی لیاوین -
- ۱۴ کب کہت ہے نلوک داس اور نا کچھو آس شاہ کو بنا ہے راگ اور نا بہاوہین *

* سوہیا *

- ۱۵ پریت کی ریت کچھنوں نہیں راکھت جات نہ پات نہ نہیں کل گارو -
- ۱۶ پریم کے نیم کہوں نہیں دیت لاج نہ کان لگیو سبہہ کھارو *
- ۱۷ لین پھینڈو سونشہ عنہہ محمد شاہ کو روپ رہ متوارو -
- ۱۸ اک راگ اور رنگ بنا نہیں پہاوت عاشق ہو رہیڈو شاہ اپارو *

* دوهرة *

۹ روز اٹھوین شاہ کو سبھٹی کرت سلام * آپ اپنے قاعدہ آرت رھت مدام
۱۰ امیر نظام الملک جو گیا شاہ کی پاس * دیکھت ہی ہانسی کری جان کے اپنا داس

* کبت *

۱۱ دیکھو تم آوت ہے بوزنہ کی چال جیسی خوب خوش رنگ سبز پگڑی ات سچی ہے -
دیکھہ کی انوکھی چال کھتر کھتر ہنس تبتے بیکال جوتے کی اواز خوب پت پت کر بچی ہے *
حکم کیا بادشاہ بہت لوگ آوت ہین ایسے چال کیسو کی نہ میرے دل لگے ہے -
امیر ہے بتوہے سیانو بوزنہ کی شکل مانو دیکھہ دل خوش ہوت بوندن کر پگی ہے *
۱۲ امیر ہے بتوہے سیانو بوزنہ کی شکل جانو دیکھت خوش ہوت جبہہ مانو مسرات ہے -
اور جو امیر آوین ایسے چہب نا پاوین چہم چہم کر چلت چال مانو اطرات ہے *
دیکھ پریدن ساجن سوہت درگ خوب آنجن بہاجن کے تکور جیسے ادھک ٹہنکات ہے -
ایسوہے امیر یہہ نظام الملک نام جبہہ سبہہ امیرون سرقاچ جو کہات ہے *

* رل *

۱۳ سنیو جبئے یہہ بچن زبانی شاہ کے -
اوچھلی چہاتے اندر آگ جواہ کے *
گہر کیطرف وہ ہڈیو نظام الملک جو -
تہاپینڈو من منہہ کرودہ لگیو تہہ زخم سو *

* چوپائے *

۱۴ تب یہہ بہاکہہ سونائی بات - جو کچھہ حکم کیا سو سات *
جو کوی دن جیوت رھون - اسے آگ سون چہاتی دھوٹن *
۱۵ سبہہ گنگری قلعہ کے جانو - تپ تپ کری بوزنہ مانو *
سو پھل جزم میروہے تبتے - تپت بوزنہ قلعہ مین جبئے *
۱۶ تب آکر مندر مندر مین فچ ہاتھہ سون پاتے لکھی جو بنائی -
تم شاہ جو نادر نادر ہو اور فوج رھہ تم پئے گھت چہائی *
یہہ دلی کا تخت جو خالی پوتا تمکو اسکی لکھی ہے مین برآی -
ہم نوکر ہین تم مالک ہو اسکو تم آکر لیڈو سنیہائی *

* دوهرة *

۱۷ بہت پتی لکھدئے امیر الملک نظام - ایک بات کے کارن بہیا جو نمک حرام *
۱۸ لے قاصد پاتے چلیو نادر شاہ کی پاس - نظام الملک امیر جو رھيو شاہ کا داس *

* کبت *

۱۹ شاہ سنی بات نہ سمات رس کھای - اوٹھی بلخ بخارا دئے نقارا - آی جان کے -
کابل اور پسرور - زور بڑی تھور تھور - گجنی قندھاری جورے آس مان کے *
چھوٹو نادر شاہ لیدی فوج بے پرواہ - ایران ملک سوئپ دیا نیک خان جان کے -
اوٹری دریائو سندھ - پنجاب ملک کیا بندہ - لاکھا روپئے لے کرین کھان پان کے *

* سویا *

۲۰ تب زکریا خان صوبہ لاہور نے سوچ کرے اپنی من ماہین -
یہہ فوج بڑی جو درانیان کے اسکی سم اور نہین جگ ماہین *
چن کھاوت ہے آدم کو کر دم ناک مین نہ سک کرے من ماہین -
اسکا جو علاج کرے کوئی اج رہے تب لاج نہین ہم ماہین *

* دوہرہ *

۲۱ ہاتھ جوڑ بنتی کرے صورت سنگھ دیوان * حکم ہوئی مین جات ہون سب بندہ ہوئی امان

* سوڑتھا *

۲۲ تو بولیو سرتاج صوبہ جو لاہور کا * تم بن یہہ کاج اور کسو سینڈو نان سپرے

* دوہرہ *

۲۳ رخصت کیا دیوان کو بہنو تحفہ دی ساتھ * نادر شاہ کو جا ملا دونوں باندھے ہاتھ

* سویا *

۲۴ نادر شاہ بڑا بادشاہ نہین کچھو چاہ بنا بادشاہ -
سبہہ فوج جدال قتال بنی اور مستہر رکھین سبہہ جنگ کی آہ *
تب عرض کرے جو محمد خان یہہ حاضر ہے دیوان جو آئی ہے -
نچ گات حوئی تھر تھرات سوئے بن ایس تحفہ قبول ہو یا ناہین *

* سوڑتھا *

۲۵ حکم کیا تب شاہ - تحفہ سبھی اوٹھائی * تو شکچی پہہ جاے - خان محمد سوئپ دئے

* دوہرہ *

۲۶ نادر شاہ نی پوچھیدو سون دیوان مسجان * خان بہادر لڑا کوئے کچھڈو سوچ ندان
۲۷ کرے عرض دیوان نے بہو بنتی کر جور * ای قبلہ جان بخشے کرپا کرو پر یہہ مور

* کدیت *

۲۸ بڑھے بہادر ہے جانت سپہہ جگت دان کو۔ دیس مین پوسدہ سور جنگ کو جو دھنی ہے۔
خان ہو بہادر بہو آور سیئون راکھی فوج جنگ کو سماج بہو بات سبئی بنی ہے *
ایک ہے قصور تا مین اب ہے وہ پر گھت کروں بنا ایک صاحب سب اور چیز تہنی ہے۔
لڑتا ہے سبک یا مین نیک ہوں نہ جھوٹہ ہوت۔ صاحب جو تمارے اور یا لٹی ان بنی ہے *

* سویا *

۲۹ رام سودشت سودشت سبئی جب رام کو دشت سودشت نہ کوئی۔
یا ہئی تئی اٹک رھو من تھتھک۔ نہ کتک کری تمری سم کوئی *
جب صاحب ہے تمرے بل۔ آپ سو یک ہی صاحب اور نہ کوئی۔
یا ہے تئی خان بہادر تم پہہ بہو بنتی کینی ہے سوئی •

* دوہرہ *

۳۰ سون باتان دیوان کے شاہ بہو اند * چھریو شاہ لاہور چھور دئی سب بندہ
۳۱ خان بہادر جا ملیو آگے نادر شاہ * لئی تحفہ بہو ملک کے نذر کئے بادشاہ
۳۲ لوٹن لگے لاہور کو مغل پتھان امیر * بہو دولت کو لوٹ کر سا ہو کئے فقیر

* کدیت *

۳۳ تب ہے دیوان جو ہین بڑی سجان سوہین خان بہومان کے کوی لایق سبہہ جان کے۔
تاہے پوکار کین رعیت سبہہ لوٹ لین شہر جو انوپ ہو تو سو نو پھیان کے *
چنپت اور لکھپت دواہ خان کے دیوان سو شاہ جیو کے پاس گئے بنقی بہو تھان کے۔
لوٹ لیڈو شہر سبہہ نام ہے لاہور ابے جو کداج روک ہوئی عرض مان مان کے *

* دوہرہ *

۳۴ عرض بیگ نے جائی۔ کیدو عرض شاہ کے پاس * پرسن اوٹر کچھو نا کیدو۔ حکم قید بہو تاس

* سویا کدیت *

۳۵ تب دیرہ لاہور سی کوچ کیا اور رعیت لوٹ لئے تہہ ساری۔
سون جرگون بہاگ گیدو جو آدینہ بیگ چلیڈو چھوڑ کے فوجداری *
جائی لوکیدو سو پہار مین خان کیدو سو امان بہئے بہو یاری۔
سبہہ راجا پہار کے مقرر کئے تن سے بہو قول قرار بی چاوی *

* دھرہ *

۳۶ لوٹن لگی پٹھان تب شہر جلندھر آئی * بہو دولت کو لوٹ کر تربت جو بہئے اگہائی
۳۷ جب شہر جلندھر لوٹ لیا تب خبر بہئے سو آدینہ بیگ -
تسنی کچھڑو سوچ کری من منہ دھوے لئے خچر اور تیغ •
گر جور بسمبر داس کہیو ہم کو بخشیدو یہہ سندر تیغ -
تم حکم کرو ہم جاوت ہین یہہ نادر شاہ بڑا ہی بیگ *

* کبت *

۳۸ خان ہون سجان کہہ سون ہو دیوان پدارے تیری تو بس یہہ کام نہ آوی گو -
وہ تو شاہ نادر بہادر پوسدہ قاعے دھگہ جآی کچھڑو کہیں نہ پاوے گو •
تب ہے دیوان کہیو سون ہو سجان خان نمک حرام ہم کیسی جیئے کھاوے گو -
ایمن جو پااون اب فوج ہون لیجاو اون سبہہ پہل بنے ملون نہیں سیس کاٹ لیا وہ گو *

* کبت دھرہ *

۳۹ بہڑو برسوں ہوئے خان دینا جو بہت انعام -
بدان کین دیوان کو جائیڈو پورن کام •

* سویا *

۴۰ تب آپ دیوان سوار بہیڈو اور فوج چڑھے بہو تئے سنگ جاہئے -
پن آیکی جوگت کری تنہوں اور دیکھی سپاہ سبہہ نادر شاہ •
تن سے بہو میل کیو تڈئے پن لے گیڈو نادر شاہ پہ تاہے -
شاہ ولی اور محمد خان کیڈو بہو—ومان دیوان جو آھے *

* دھرہ *

۴۱ نادر شاہ نے پوچھیدو کہو خان کے بات * سن دیوان سجان تون سبہہ بدہ ہے کو سرات
۴۲ عرض کری دیوان نے بہو بفتی کر جور • خان آپ کے کرپا کر بہت ہے خوشی پر یہہ مور

* کبت *

۴۳ پہار کے شکار مین جو بہت ہے خوشے ہے وان کو دیکھے کے فقیرن کو جو بڑھے بلاس ہے -
یاہے تئے اٹک رھيو خان ہے سجان جگ کری بہودان اور بندگے پر کاس ہے •
یاہے تئے مین آیتو اب فوج ہون لیا یو سب ایک لاکھ روپئے دی پٹھایو تم پاس ہے -
اور جوی تحفے مینے بجاگینے آپکی جو لایق ہو قبول کیجیڈو تاہے •

* دھڑہ *
 ۴۴ حکم ہوا تب شاہ کا تحفہ کئے قبول * خوشی بہئے دیوان پرجان ہوس کا مول
 ۴۵ دیوان سجان فہامان عرض کری کر جور * لوٹ لیا تھا قلعہ سبہہ شہر جلندھراور
 ۴۶ شامن کو پرواہ نہ کچھو مال کے جان * جو رعیت اور فوج ہم سبئی آپکی مان
 ۴۷ ہم حاضرہین تم شاہ جی جو کچھو کرو سوساز * جہاں پٹھاو جات ہین تفک نہ کریں آواز

* سوپا *
 ۴۸ حکم کیا تب شاہ جو نادر جو ہماری ہے سپاہ بولای -
 جو اسباب ہو تن یہہ سبہہ دئیگی دیوان رسید لکھائے *
 قوت ہے جائے دیوان سجان نے عرض کری بہو بات بنائے -
 تب ہے پروانہ لکھائے دیو تم خان دواہ کے بیچ سوپائی *

* دھڑہ *
 ۴۹ بہو اوپمان دیوان کے لکھی جو نادر شاہ * دیوہ اپنا کوچ کر ستلج لکھو اتھا
 ۵۰ پروانہ لے قاصد گینو خان صاحب کے پاس * سونت کان ارمگیو بہور بہینو سوٹا ہولاس
 ۵۱ آئی شہر جلندھرمین اس تھتھی کری نواب * بہت دلاسا تھہ کینو بہور بہئی وہ آب

* ازل *
 ۵۲ دریا اون پار جو شہر سے سرھند تھا - لوٹ لیا وہ شہر جو بہت بلند تھا *
 بارہ کوس میں شہر آباد ہوچکا - نادر شاہ کے لوٹ شہر سبہہ ہوا مکا *
 ۵۳ جای اوتریو وہ شاہ جو نادر کھیت میں - پانی پت مقام کیا اس ہدیت میں *
 خد-ر سنتے ہی آيو ایک امید-ر جو - خاندورانخان نام تے پرسدہ سو *

* دھڑہ *
 ۵۴ سبہہ چالی شطرنج کی جو کوئی کری بچار * جیتیگو لاشک وہ کدئے نہ آوی ہار
 ۵۵ ایک چال سون بہول کو بازی ہاری جان * میٹھی بات ہے پھول کے جب ہنکار بکھان

* ازل *
 ۵۶ سونے خبر جب محمد شاہ نے - نادر شاہ جو آيو دلی وہ ہانسے *
 خاندورانخان کو حکم ہوا اب جاہ تو - کیسا لوتا دیکھو نادر شاہ کو *

* کبت *
 ۵۷ چلے درگہ پال بہوپال بہو منڈل کے - چلے وجہہ کچھہ اور چلے راو رانا جو -
 چلے منڈلی بکنٹھہ ہون کو کلپئی راہ لیتے - پھیرت سیدس تڈک ہرکہ جو ریو جانا جو *

بیاکل دل ملیڈو تڈل کیڈو دل شاہن کو - کہیت تے جائی لیڈو ہے نواب خانخانان جو -
 کب کہت تلوک داس کہاں تو کروں بکہاں - پہاگ چلیو پادشاہ جنگ خانخانان جو *
 ۵۸ دلی دل با دل اومگ اومگ آئی عالی دینی ہے دوہائی دونوں و مہمذدے -
 نوے سے اسوار پہاڑ کنیکھونو لاکھن کو - برسیو ہے سار سدہ پہولی ہے بسنت کی *
 کر بنان کر لڑیں - میس بنا دھر لڑیں - صاحب بیچ راہی ہے اپ بھگونت جی -
 ساری بادشاہ کی سپاہی کریں باہ باہ - خانخانان خوب لڑیو بخشش بھئی اپ کی *
 ۵۹ چٹاکہ چار چرن - سمندر سبھہ بہرن - دھک دھول دھرن - کو میر میس آن کے -
 کمان کر کون - دامن دوت ہرن - دھنس بان پھرن - بھڈو بلوان کے *
 سڈا کے جان چرن - چوکیں نران - مغل لاگے مرن - نہانگے کہ - ان پان کے -
 ازائے روڈے پہاگن - سڈا کے کر جاگن - ٹرا کے تیر لاگن - نشانے خانخانان کے *
 ۶۰ دونڈے لاگن باجن مردنگی ڈھول ساجن - تورہ نشان گاجن - سو پھرون پہوکان کے -
 توپوں کے گولی گزن - زبورے جنگی سدن - توپک کر کون - گوارے گن بان کے *
 دمک دل دھوکن - تمک تیج چوکن - گھا اون مول روکن - لوکن باگہ وان کے -
 ۶۱ جگر پھور رہگیڈو گن نہین کورت - کبور تین رہ نہین من نہین لیت تیج نہین
 رھت پون کہن بھڈو -

سندر پدمنی پورک رکھ نہ کرے رت - سونت سروں زور تہہ کیڈو خانخانان بیروم بلی
 جداون کرودہ کر تنگ کیڈو *

* دوہرہ *

۶۲ پانچ کوس پیچھی ہٹیو دیرہ کیڈو نادر شاہ * لکھا نظام الملک کو ہار گئے جو سپدا

* کبت *

۶۳ موکو جو بولایو تم قابل سے - ایو ہم کون کاج کینا - جائے لاج ہم دھاریو ہے -
 ایک ہے امیر آيو کرک کرک دھاریو - جنگ کیڈو خاندوران مو سین نہ سہاریو ہے *
 ایسے امیر بہو ہوت بادشاہن پہ - ایک کی لوآی میں تو ایسے اوکلايو ہے -
 تائین میں آئی کر ولایت سے خراب بھیدو - نمک حرام تم خط کیڈو پٹھایو ہے *

* دوہرہ *

۶۴ امیر نظام الملک نے لکھیو جواب بنائے * فوج ہٹی اسطرف کو جانے ایک نپاے
 ۶۵ دلی تخت جو شاہ کا تمہ مبارک ہوئے * لاج رہے میرو تینے جانیگا سبھہ کوئی
 ۶۶ جب ہت کر خانہ دوراخانان جان * دیا پلیٹا توپ کو فوج اوڑائی مان

* سورہٴا *

۶۷ دلی تئی پنچ کوس توپوں کا لارا لگا * اودے جآے تبھہ ہوس جودیکھی اوس پال کو

* ازل *

۶۸ سبھئی اورآی فوج نظام الملک نے - خاندوران کے لات اودے تب فلک میں *
 نیزہ پکڑے ہاتھ - چلا اسوار سو - جآی تخت کے پاس گرا بے تاب ہو *
 ۶۹ جب سدہ پای آپ شاہ تب پوچھو - کیسا جنگ - جو دیکھا نادر شاہ کو *
 تب بولیو خان سہو شاہ ایک بات تم - جو جیوت رہوں صبح چلوں گا ساتھ تم *
 ۷۰ نادر شاہ کچھ - و چید - نہین ہوں - کری لڑائی خوب جنگ میں بھگیدو *
 تم کو ملنا خوب جنگ نا کیجیدو - ہر ہاں گھر میں بے اتفاق نہ کوآو جیتیدو *
 ۷۱ بہور بھئی مرگیدو نواب امید - ر جو - ملیو - محمد شاہ ج - ای کی شاہ کو *
 دلی پہونچھو شاہ جو نادر اکھئے - گیارہ سے اکیاون سنہ چوپیدا کہئے *
 ۷۲ حکم کیا تب بزن زبانے آپ نے - قتل ہوے تب دلی انت نجا - انئے *
 ایک دن تا سام قتل جب ہو چکی - حکم کیا تو بس خلق تب ہے بچی *

* دوہرہ *

۷۳ نادر شاہ نے پوچھو - و کہو محمد شاہ - بہودولت تم پہ سنے اوسکا کہو جوتہا *

* سورتہا *

۷۴ تب بولیو بادشاہ مجھ کو کچھ سنبھال نہ - دیوان جو مجلس اوسکو سبھئے سنبھال ہے *

* دوہرہ *

۷۵ دستک بھئے دیوان پر روپیہ پانچ ہزار * روز لیو - و دیوان تئے حاضر کرو دربار

* کہت *

۷۶ جای کے سپاھے کہین سون ہو دیوان شاہ آیس جو بہہ ہمہ دیہوروزان کے -
 پانچ ہوں ہزار روپئے دینہ - و آن سبھہ بادشاہ پاس آیس کو مان کے *
 تب ہے دیوان سون راضی نامہ کیو اون روپیہ دئے چلو ساتھ نادر شاہ جان کے -
 جای کے سلام کینی اگی شاہ مان لینی پوچھو دیوان تم کہو بات تہاں کے *
 ۷۷ بہاے محمد شاہ کو درب ہے اتہا - تم کو معلوم ہے سو کہو بات ساچ کے -
 جو کداج جھوٹہ بولیو ابھئے تیرے کان کہو لون مارا لون جان تئے نجا زوبات کاج کے *
 تبتے دیوان کہو بہید نہین جای لیو - بنان دیکھی کاغذ کے جانو باپ باپ کے -
 آیس چوہا زن آپ تین دن سو چوں - تبھہ پاچھی تاکے کہوں جواب آپ کے *

* سور تھا *

۷۸ دیوان جو مجلس رای نمک حلال قدیم * کہی بات سمجھای سنو شاہ نادر جو تم

* دھڑا *

۷۹ حکم ہوا تب شاہ کا تین روز جو جان * کاغذ سبھہ حاضر کرو تھے کسل کو مان

۸۰ گیدو دیوان سجان گھر مین پن سوچی بات * بن ساچے بولے ابھہ کدھئی نہ ہے کو سرات

۸۱ نمک جو کھایو شاہ کا بہو مدت تک جان * اپنے خاص زبان تھے کیا انمان بکھان

* سور تھا *

۸۲ روز تیسری آہ دیوان جو مجلس سوئے گیدو * اندر گھر کے جآی کھای کٹاری مرگیو

۸۳ خبر پئے جب شاہ بہو سوچی مین منہ تبتے * مرد جون لایق آہ مرن لگے نمک پرور سبتے

* دھڑا *

۸۴ بہو بنتی کینی تبتے شاہ محمد جان * نادر شاہ کو بہا کیا شاہ جو سنون مہمان

* سویا *

۸۵ آپکی بدولت جو راج کروں یہہ مرن لگے حویئے مردھین جانو۔

جونہ سری دل مین اوچے پن تاہ کرو ہمیری سرمانو *

تب نادر شاہ کہیو—و من شاہ کرو سو لباس جولئے ہم تھانو۔

تمکو بخشون سبھہ راج سماج یہہ دلی سے اٹک لغایت مانو *

* دھڑا *

۸۶ تبتے جو محمد شاہ نے کیا لباس جو اور * خلقا توپے پہر کر بہیا درانے طور

۸۷ پانچ روز بیتے جبئے ادھے رات کے جان * دونوں شاہ چلے گئے سیر جو دھلے مان

* سور تھا *

۸۸ ایک المست فقیر رھتا تھا ایک کوٹی مین * تاکو دیکھو—سریر نادر شاہ پوچھو—و

* سویا *

۸۹ تم سالک ہو اور مالک ہو کرامات دیکھاو ہمہ اپنے۔

تب دیکھو فقیر کہیو تم نادر شاہ دیکھو—او کچھو اپنے *

تب نادر شاہ کہیو انکھہ میچ دیکھو جوئے چاہت ہو تھپنے۔

انکھہ میچ لینے توفیق دیکھا خوب فوج جو نادر شاہ کہنے *

* دھڑا *

۹۰ دلی سے اٹک تک فوج جو نادر شاہ * ہتیار پہر کرھین کھتری عمدہ بنی سپاہ

* سوہا *

۹۱ تب کہو لکے انکھہ فقیر کہیو اب دیکھو اچنبہا دکھاؤن ائے -
 تم میچ کے انکھہ دیکھو تو شاہ نے موند کے دیکھو تبتے *
 جوی فوج فقیر نے دیکھی کہری تھے کے سر کائے گئے سبتے -
 تب شاہ کہیو وہے فقیر کرو تم مہر کے نظر ابدے *

* سورتھا *

۹۲ کیا جو قول فقیر تون چاہئے کوسرات کون * مت کرو ذرا نہ دھیر حالا جاؤ کابل ابہا۔

* سوہا *

۹۳ تب نادر شاہ بولای سپاہ گو حکم دیا تم کوچ کرو -
 جوئی لعل جواہر خوب پکھے تھے آپ لئے سوی سیدس دھرو *
 پانچ موتے کٹائی جتواو بنا قبضہ تلوار کا خوب کیڈو -
 بہو دوات لیکر لاد لئے اسباب جو خوب تھا سنگ لیڈو *

* دھرہ *

۹۴ علوی نام حکیم پن بیگم کو لینا ساتھ * نادر شاہ سے پوچھو شاہ جو باندھے ہاتھ
 ۹۵ یہ حکیم مرجآے رستی ہے مین جان * دھوپ لگے اگ بتری اسکو دشمن مان
 ۹۶ چھوڑ دیا تسکو تبتے چلا جو نادر شاہ * روا روی ایا چتریا جمنڈا لڈا کا تھا
 ۹۷ امر سنگہ سردار کو قید کیا تب جان * پتیا لہ کا سردار اور ملک تھا وہ مان
 ۹۸ جو بوعورت بہو خوب تھی مانو چمکت پھان * بہت باندی کینی تبتے مغل امیر پتھان
 ۹۹ ستلج کے پتن جبئے پوچھو نادر شاہ * عرض کری پن خلقت چھوٹے اتھا
 ۱۰۰ دیئے خطاب راجا کا امر سنگہ کو جان * چھوڑ دیئے خلقت سبتے راجا کیا امان

* سورتھا *

۱۰۱ پھولچو جب لاہور اے ملیو اموی سبھے * بہت بہیو تھے شور خلقت کو جو عذاب تھا
 ۱۰۲ سبتے چھوڑ دی بند لکھپت اور چنپت دوا * بہیو جو بہت اند نادر شاہ جو نیکے جو سنئے

* دھرہ *

۱۰۳ چھوڑ دیئے خلقت سبتے کابل پھولچو شاہ * سنہ گیارہ سو ساٹھ تک کیا جو راج نباد
 منزل فتح اباد مین آدھے رات سوجان * قتل کیا بادشاہ کو امیر محمد خان

* تمت تمام شد *

II, TRANSLITERATION.

Doharā.

1. Srī Ganpat Gōrēs kē Gōbind caran manāē,
Aḥwāl Shāh Nādir kahū, jagat kabit banāē.
2. Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh Dillī kā jō sar mōr
Bahut khūshī thā, 'aish krōrā bāt nā ōr.
3. Bandōbast mulk kā sōp-diya jō Shāh
Ghāzī Khān Wazīr jō sab-hī karat nibāh.
4. Majlis Rāē Dīwān kō sar-daftar tō jān,
Mukhtār-kār sab fauj kā Khān Daurān mān.
5. Nizāmu-l-mulk amir thā, tōpan kā sardār,
Bandōbast sab jang kā usī kē thā ikhtiyār.
6. Turrah Bāz Khān sūrmān, barā hōsh kā dhanī,
Ḥikmat kō jō ḥakīm thā, 'Alwī nām yah ghanī.

Kabit.

7. Malkah Zamānī jō ūs kī bēgam thī, tis kē bas hō-gaē Shāh
apārā,
Wah šuratmand jō khūb thī, mānō candar kō diat wahī
ujiyārā.
Sabh rāj samāj kō kāj jōī, tah kō na hōsh rahī ghar-bārā,
Ab dēkh dasā jō narēs lakhō mānō candar cakōr kī prīt nahārā.

Kabit.

Sharāb aur kabāb khānā, 'aml rah dīwānā, dēkh mastānā, jō
'aṭāī sabh āwahī,
Dhōlkī, tambūrā, sār, bēn kō bajāwē bāj, dēkhō mahārāj, sabh
Shāh kō sunāwē.
Jabai khūsh hūē Shāh tabai karē bē parwāh hīrā, mōtī, la'l,
sab māṅg kē liyāwē,
Kab kahat hai Tilōk Dās ōr nā kachū ās, Shāh kō banā hai
rāg, or nā pahāwahē.

Savaiyā.

8. Prīt kī rīt kachū nahī rākhat jāt na pāt, na nahī kal gārō,
Prēm kē nēm kahū nahī diat lāj, na kān lagīyō sabh kahārō.
Lēn phīyō sōnshah māh Muḥammad Shāh kō rūp rah
matwārō,
Ak rāg aur rang binā nahī pahāwat, 'āshīq hō-rahīyō Shāh
apārō.

Dohaṛā.

9. Rōz aṭhwē Shāh kō sab-lī karat salām,
Āp apnī qā'idah āwat rahat madām.
10. Amīr Nizāmu-l-mulk jō gyā Shāh kē pās,
Dēkhat hī hāsī karī, jān kē apnā dās.

Kabit.

11. Dēkhō tum āwat hai bōznah kē cāl jaisī khūb khūsh rang sabz
pagrī at saji hai,
Dēkh kē anōkhī cāl khar khar hās tabaē bē-hāl, jūti kī awāz
khūb paṭ paṭ kar bajī hai ;
Ḥukm kiyā Bādshāh bahut lōg āwat hain, aisē cāl kisū kē
na mērē dil lagī hai,
Amīr hai, baṛō hai, siyāw bōznah kē shakl mānō, dēkh dil
khushī hōt, būndan kar pagī hai.
12. Amīr hai, baṛō hai, siyāw bōznah kē shakl jānō, dēkhat
khūsh hōt, jabh māuō susrāt hai,
Aur jō amīr āwē aisi chab nā pāwē, cham cham kar calat cāl
mānō aṭrāt hai,
Dēkhiē parbin sājan sōhat darg khūb ānjan, bhājan kē ṭakōr
jaisī adhak ṭhankāt hai.
Aisō-hī amīr yah Nizāmu-l-mulk nām jabh, sabh amīran
sartāj jō kahāt hai.

Aṛil.

13. Suniyō jabai yah bacan zabānī Shāh kī,
Ūchalī chātī andar āg juwāh kī,
Ghar kī ṭaraf wah haṭiyō Nizāmu-l-mulk jō,
Thāpiyō man māh krōdh, lagiyō tah zakhm sō.

Chaupāī.

14. Tab yah bhākh sūnāī bāt, “Jō kuch ḥukm kiyā sō sāt,
“Jō kōī din jīwat rahū, isī āg sō chātī dhōū.
15. “Sabh gungrē qila'h kē jānō, ṭap ṭap karē bōznah mānō,
“Sō phal janam mērō hī tabai, ṭapat bōznah qila'h mē jabai.”
16. Tab ā kar mandar-sandar mē, nij hāth sō pātī likhī jō banāī ;
“Tum shāh jō Nādir nādir hō aur fauj rah tum pai ghaṭ-chāī,
“Yah Dillī kā takht jō khālī parā, tum kō is kī likhī hī mē
baṛ āī,
“Ham naukar hāī, tum mālik hō, is kō tum ā kar liyō sam-
phāī.”

Dohaṛā.

17. Bahut patī likh diē Amīru-l-mulk Nizām,
Ek bāt kē karan bhayā jō namak-harām.
18. Lī qāsid patī, caliyō Nādir Shāh kē pās,
Nizāmu-l-mulk amir, jō rahiyō shāh kā dās.

Kabit.

19. Shāh sunī bāt na samāt ris khāī, ūthē Balkh Bukhārā, di.
naqārā, āē jān kē,
Kābul aur Pashaur zōr parī ṭhōr ṭhōr, Gajni Qandahārē jōrī
ās mān kē,
Chariyō Nādir Shāh līnī fauj bē-parwāh, Irān mulk sōp diyā
Nēk Khān jān kē,
Ūtarē daryāō Sindh, Panjāb mulk kiyā banda, lākhā rūpai
lē karē khān pān kē.

Savaiyā.

20. Tab Zakariyā Khān ṣūbah Lāhōr nē sōc karī apnē man māhī,
Yah fauj barī jō Durrāniyān kī, is kē sam aur nahī jag māhī
Cun kahāwat hai, “ādam kō kar dam nāk mē,” na sak karē
man māhī,
Is-kā jō ‘ilāj karē kōī āj, rahē tab lāj nahī ham māhī.

Dohaṛā.

21. Hāth jōṛ bintī karī Sūrat Singh, Dīwān,
“Ḥukm hōē, main jāt hū, sab bidh hōē imān.”

Soraṭhā.

22. Tō bōliyō sartāj, ṣūbah jō Lāhōr kā,
“Tum bin yah kāj aur kisū sē nā saparē.”

Dohaṛā.

23. Rukhsat kiyā dīwān kō, bahū tuḥfah diē sāth,
Nādir Shāh kō jā milā, dōnō bāndhē hāth.

Savaiyā.

24. Nādir Shāh barā bādshāh, nahī kachū cāh binā bādshāhī
hai,
Sabh fauj jadāl qatāl banī, aur susthir rakhē sabh jang kē
āhī,
Tab ‘arṣ karī jō Muḥammad Khān, “Yah ḥāẓir hai dīwān jō
āē hai,
“Nij gāt jōi thartharāt, sōi bin is tuḥfah qabūl hō yā nāhī.”

Soraṭhā.

25. Hukm kiyā tab Shāh, tuḥfah sabhī ūṭhāī,
Tōshakcī pah jāē, Khān Muḥammad sōp diē.

Dohaṛā.

26. Nādir Shāh nē pūchiyō : “ Sūn, dīwān sajan,
“ Khān Bahādur laṛahgō kē kacḥū sōc nidān ? ”
27. Karī ‘arṣ dīwān nē, bahū bintī kar jōr,
“ Ai qiblah ! jān bakhshīē, kirpā karō par yah mōr.

Kabit.

28. “ Baṛō hai, bahādur hai, jānat sabh jagat dān kō dēs mē par-
sāddh sōr jang kō jō dhanī hai,
“ Khān hō Bahādur, bahū-āwar, siūn rākhī fauj jang kō samāj
bahū bāt sabai banī hai,
“ Ek-hī qaṣūr tā mē ab hai, wah par ghaṭ karū, binā ēk, ṣāhib,
sab aur ciz ṭhanī hai,
“ Laṛtā bē-sāk, yā māī nēk hū, na jhūṭh hōt, ṣāhib, jō tumārē
aur yā tai an banī hai.

Savaiyā.

29. “ Rām sūdasht sūdasht sabai, jab Rām kūdasht sūdasht na kōī,
“ Yāhī tai aṭak rahiyō man ṭhaṭhak, na kaṭak karē tumrē
sam kōī,
“ Jab, ṣāhib, hai tumrē bal, āp so ēk haī, ṣāhib, aur na kōī,
“ Yāhī tai Khān Bahādur tum pah bahū bintī kinī hai sōī.”

Dohaṛā.

30. Sūn bātān dīwān kē, Shāh bhayō anand,
Chōriyō Shāh Lāhōr, chōr diē sab bandh.
31. Khān Bahādur jā miliyō āgē Nādir Shāh,
Līe tuḥfah bahū mulk kē, nazar kiē bādshāh.
32. Lūṭan lagē Lāhōr kō Mughul, Paṭhān, Amīr,
Bahū daulat kō lūṭ kar, sāhū kiē faqīr.

Kabit.

33. Tab hī dīwān jō haī baṛē sujān sō hī Khān bahumān kē karē
lāiq sabh jān-kē,
Tāhī pūkār kin ra‘yat sabh lūṭ līn shahr jō anūp hō tō sūnō
pahiwān-kē
Campat aur Lakhpat, Dawād, Khān kē dīwān, sō Shāh jīu kē
pās gaē bintī bahū ṭhān-kē,
Lūṭ liō shahr sabhī, nām hī Lāhōr abai, jō kadāj rōk hōē ‘arṣ
mān mān-kē.

Dohaṛā.

34. ‘Arṣ-bēg nē jāē kiō ‘arṣ Shāh kē pās,
Par sūn, ūtar kachū nā kiyo, hukm qaid bhayō tās.

Savaiyā Kabit.

35. Tab ḍera Lāhōr sē kūc kiyo aur ra‘yat lūṭ liē tah sārī,
Sūn jargō bhāg gayō jō Ādīnah Bēg Khān caliyō chōṛ kē
faujdārī,
Jāē lūkiyo sō pahār mē Khān kiyo sō amān bhai bahū yārī,
Sabh rājā pahār kē mitr kiē tin sē bhayō qaul-qarār bēcārī.

Dohaṛā.

36. Lūṭan lagē Paṭhān sab shahr Jalandhar āē,
Bahū daulat kō lūṭ-kar tarpat jō bhai agāhī.

Kabit.

37. Jab shahr Jalandhar lūṭ liya tab khabar bhai sō Ādīnah Bēg,
Tis-nē kachū sōc karī man māh ḍhōh liē khanjar aur tēgh,
Kar jōr Bisambhar Dās kahīyo, “ham kō bakḥshō yah sundar
tēgh,
“Tum hukm karō, ham jāwat hain, yah Nādir Shāh baṛā hai
bēg.”

Kabit.

38. Khān-hō sujān kah, “Sūn-hō, dīwān piyārē, tumrē tō bas yah
kām na āwē-gō,
“Wah tō Shāh Nādir, bahādur, parsiddh, tā kē ḍhagah jāē
kachū kahī na pāwah-gō.”
Tabhī dīwān kahī, “Sūn-hō, sujān Khān! namak-harām ham
kaisē jabai kahāwah-gō?
“Is jō pā-āū ab fauj-hō lejā-āū, sabh phal banī milū, nahī
sis kāt liyāwah-gō!”

Kabit Dohaṛā.

39. Bahū parsann huē Khān, dīnā jō bahut in‘ām,
Bidān kin dīwān kō, jāniyo puran kām.

Savaiyā.

40. Tab āp dīwān sawār bhayō, aur fauj caṛhē bahū tai sang jāē,
Pan āē-kē jūgat karī tinhō aur dēkhī sipāh sabh Nādir
Shāhē,
Tin sē bahū mēl kiyo tabai, pan lē-gayō Nādir Shāh pah tāhē,
Shāh Walī aur Muḥammad Khān kiyo bahūmān dīwān jō āhē.

Dohaṛā.

41. Nādir Shāh puchiyō, “Kahō Khān ki bāt,
“Sun, dīwān sujān, tō sabh bidh hī kō sarāt.”
42. ‘Arz karī dīwān nē, bahū bintī kar jōr,
“Khān āp kē kirpā kar bahut hī khūshī par yah mōr.

Kabit.

43. “Pahār kē shikār mē jō bahut hī khūshī hai, wā kō dēkh kē
faqīran kō jō barō hī bilās hai,
“Yāhī tai aṭak rahiyō Khān hī sujān, jag karē bahū dān aur
bandagī parkās hai,
“Yāhī tai māi āiyō ab fauj-hō lī-yāyō sab ēk lākh rūpai dē
paṭhāyō tum pās hai,
“Aur jōi tuḥfē māi-nē bajā gīnī āp kō jō lāiq hō, qabūl kījīyō
tās hai.”

Dohaṛā.

44. Hukm hūā tab shāh kā, tuḥfē kiē qabūl,
Khūshī bhai dīwān, parjān, hosh kā mūl.
45. Dīwān, sujān, fahāmān, ‘arz karī kar jōr,
“Lūṭ liyā thā qila’h, sabh shahr Jalandhar ōr.
46. “Shāhan kō parwāh na kachū māl kē jān,
“Jō ra’yat aur fauj ham sabai āp kē mān.
47. “Ham ḥāzīr hāi, tum shāh jī jō kachū karō sō sāz,
“Jahā paṭhāō jāt hāi, tanak na karē āwāz.”

Savaiyā.

48. Hukm kiyā tāb Shāh jō Nādir, “Jō hamrī hī sipāh bulāē,
“Jō asbāb hō, tan yah sabh diē-kē, dīwān rasīd likhāē.”
Turāt-hī jāē dīwān sujān nē ‘arz karī, bahū bāt banāē;
Tab-hī parwāna likhāē diō, tum Khān dūāba kē bic sōpāē.

Dohaṛā.

49. Bahū ūpmān dīwān kē likhē jō Nādir Shāh,
Dēra apnā kūc kar, Satlaj likhiyō athāh.
50. Parwāna lē qāṣid gayō khān ṣāhib kē pās,
Sūnat kān ūmagīyo, bhūr bhayo sva-tah hulās.
51. Āē shahr Jalandhar mē as ṭhaṭhī karē nawāb,
Bahut dilāsa tah kinō bhōr bhai wah āb.

Arīl.

52. Daryā ūn-pār jō shahr basē Sarhand thā,
Lūṭ liyā wah shahr, jō bahut buland thā,
Bārah kōs mē shahr ābād hō cukā,
Nādir Shāh kē lūṭ, shahr sabh hūā mukā.

Arīl.

53. Jāē ūtariyō wah shāh jō Nādir khēt mē,
Pānīpat maqām kiyā as haibat sē,
Khabar suntē hī ēk amīr jō
Khān Daurān Khān nām tis sē parsiddh sō.

Doharā.

54. Sabh cālī shatranj kē, jō kōi karī bicār,
Jitē-gō, lā-sak, wah kadaī na āwē hār.
55. Ek cāl sō bhūl kar, bāzi hārī jān,
Mithī bāt hī phūl kē, jab hākār bakhān.

Arīl.

56. Sūnī khabar jab Muḥammad Shāh nē,
Nādir Shāh jō āyō Dillī, wah hāsī;
Khān Daurān Khān kō hukm hūā, “ Ab jāh tō,
Kaisā laṭā dēkhiyō Nādir Shāh kō.”

Kabit.

57. Calē dirg-pāl, bhū-pāl, bhū-mandal kē, calē wach-kach, aur calē
rāō rānā jō,
Calē mandlē bakanṭh hō kō, kalpiē rāh lētē, phērat sis tanak,
harakh jōriyō jānā jō,
Byākul dal miliyō, qatal kiyō dal shāhan kō, khēt tai jāē liyō
hai Nawāb Khān Khānān jō,
Kab kahat hai Tilōk Dās, kahā tō karū bakhān, phāg caliyō
bādshāh-i-jang Khān Khānān jō.
58. Dillī dal-bādal umag-umag āē, “ ‘ Aī ” dīnī hai duhāī,
“ dōnō ō mahmand ” kī,
Nau sai assī aswār pahār khāichiyō nau lākhan kō, barsiyō
hai sūr sudh, phūlī hai basant kī,
Kar binān kar laṭē, sis binā dhar laṭē, Sāhib bic rākhi hai
āp Bhagwant jī,
Sāī bādshāhē kē sipāhī karē, “ Bāh, bāh, Khān Khānān,
khūb laṭiyō, bakhshish bhāī āp kī.

59. Catāka cār ciran, samundar sabh bharan, dahak, dhūl, dharan,
kō Mēr sis ān kē.
Kamān kar-karan, dāmanī-dūt haran, dhās bān pharan, bhyō
bulwān kē,
Satā-kē jān caran, cūkē narāran, Mughal lāgē maran, na
māgē khān pān kē,
Arā-kē rōdai phāgan, saṭa kē kar jāgan, tarā kē tīr lāgan,
nishānī Khān Khānān kē.
60. Dōdi lāgan bājan, mirdangī dhōl sājan, tōrhī nishān gājan,
sūphirō phūkān kē,
Tōpō kī gōlī “ganan,” zambūrē jaugī “sanan,” tōpak “kar-
karan,” guwārē gan bān kē,
Damak dāl dhōkan, tamak tīj cōkan, ghāṭ mōl rōkan, lūkan
Bāghwān kē,
Arā-kē rōdai phāgan, saṭa kē kar jāgan, tarā kē tīr lāgan,
nishānī Khān Khānān kē.
61. Jigar phōr rah-giyō gun nahī karat, kabūr tē rah nahī, man
nahī liyat, tēj nahī rahat, paun kahā bhayō,
Sundar padmanī pūrakh rakh na kara rat sūnat sarō zōr tak
kiyō Khān Khānān, bairam, balī, jadō krōdh kar tang kiyō.

Doharā.

62. Pāc kōs pīchē haṭiyō dēra kiyō Nādir Shāh,
Likhā Nizāmu-l-mulk kō, hār gaē jō sipāh.

Kabit.

63. “Mō kō jō būlāyō tum Kābul sē, āyō ham kōn kāj kīnā, jā tai
lāj ham dhāriyō hai,
“Ēk hī amīr āyō, karak karak dhāyō, jang kiyō Khān
Daurān, mō-sē na sahāriyō hai,
“Aisē amīr bahū hōt bādshāhan pah, ēk hī larāī mē tō aisi
ūkalāyō hai,
“Tā tē māi āē kar wilāyat sē kharāb bhayō ; namak-harām,
tum khat kyū pathāyō hai ? ”

Doharā.

64. Amīr Nizāmu-l-mulk nē likhiyō jawāb banāē,
Fauj haṭi is taraf kō, jānē ēk na pāē.
65. Dillī takht jō shāh kā, tumha mubārik hōi,
Lāj rahī mērī tābāi jānēgā sab kōi.
66. Jab haṭ kar āyō Khān Daurān jān,
Diyā palitā tōp kō fauj ūrāē mān.

Soraṭhā.

67. Dillī tai panj kōs, tōpō kā larā lagā,
Ūḍī jāē tabh hōs, jō dēkhē ūs pāl kō.

Aṛil.

68. Sabhai ūṛāi fanj Nizāmu-l-mulk nē,
Khān Daurān kē lāt ūḍī tab falak mē,
Nēzah pakṛī hāth calā aswār sō,
Jāē takht kē pās girā lē-tāb hō.
69. Jab sudh pāē āp shāh tab puchiyō,
“Kaisā jang jō dēkhā Nādir Shāh kō?”
Tab bōliyō Khān, “Sunō, shāh, ēk bāt tum,
“Jō jīwat rahū, subh calūngā sāth tum,
70. “Nādir Shāh kachū ciz nahī hō,
“Kaiē laṛāi khūb, jang mē bhagiyō,
“Tum kō milnā khūb, jang nā kijiyō
“Harhān ghar mē bē-itifāq na kō āo jītiyō.”
71. Bhōr bhai mar gayō nawāb amir jō,
Miliyō Muḥammad Shāh jāē kē Shāh kō,
Dillī pahūchiyō Shāh jō Nādir akhiē,
Gyāra sai ikyāwan sauh chaupyā kahiē.
72. Hukm kiyā tab ba-zan zabānī āp nē,
Qatal hūi tab Dillī, anat na jāniē,
Ēk din tā sām qatal jab hō cukī,
Hukm kiyā tō, “Bas!” khalq tabhī bacī.

Dohaṛā.

73. Nādir Shāh nē pūchiyō, “Kahō, Muḥammad Shāh,
“Bahū daulat tum pah sunē, us kā kahō jō thāh.”

Soraṭhā.

74. Tab bōliyō bādshāh, “Mujh kō kuch sambāl na,
“Dīwān jō Majlis us kō sabai sambhāl hai.”

Dohaṛā.

75. Dastak bhai dīwān par rupaiyah panc hazār,
Rōz lihō dīwān tai, hāzir karō darbār,
76. Jāē kē sipāhī kahē “Sūn-hō, dīwān, shāh āēs jō bhai hama
dihō rōzān kē,
“Pāncōn hazār rupai dīnhō, ān sabh bādshāh pās calō, is kē
mān kē.”

Tab-hi diwān sūn rāzīnāmah kiyō, ūn rupaiyah diē calō sāth,
Nādir Shāh jān kē,
Jāē-kē salām kīnī, āgē shāh mān linī, pūchīyō “ Hē diwān !
tum kahō bāt thān kē,

77. “ Bhāi jō Muḥammad Shāh kō darb hai athāh tum-kō ma'lūm
hai, sō kahō bāt sāch kī,
“ Jō kadāj jhūṭh bōliyō, abhī tērī kān khōlū, mār dālū jān
tai, na jānō bāt kāj kī.”
Tabai diwān kahiyō, “ Bhēd nahī, jāe liyō, binā dēkhī kāghaz
kī, jānō bāt pāp kī,
“ Ais cuhā-āū āp tīn dīn sōcū, tabh pāchī tā-kē, kahū jāwāb
bāt āp kī.”

Sorathā.

78. Dīwān jō Majlis Rāē, namak-ḥalāl qadīm,
Kahē bāt samjhāē, “ Sunō, Shāh Nādir jō tum.”

Doharā.

79. Ḥukm hūā tab shāh kā, “ Tīn rōz kē jān,
“ Kāghaz sabh ḥāzīr karō, tabai kusal kō mān.”
80. Gayō diwān sujān ghar mē pan sōcī bāt,
Bin sācī bōlī abh kadhī na hai kūsarāt.
81. Namak jō khāyō shāh kā bahū muddat tak jān,
Apnī khāṣ zabān tai kyā anmān bakhān ?

Sorathā.

82. Rōz tīsri āh, diwān jō Majlis sōi gayō,
Andar ghar kē jāē, khāē kaṭārē mar gayō.
83. Khabar bhāi jab shāh, bahū sōcī man māh tabai,
Mard jō lāiq āh, maran lagē namak-parwar sabai.

Doharā.

84. Bahū bintī kīnī tabai Shāh Muḥammad jān,
Nādir Shāh kō bhākiyē Shāh jō, “ Sūnō, mihmān,

Savaiyā.

85. “ Āp kē ba-daulat jō rāj karū, yah maran lagē jōi mard-hī
jānō,
“ Jō tumrē dil mē ūpjē pan tāh karō, hamrē sar mānō,”
Tab Nādir Shāh kahiyō “ Sun, Shāh ! karō tō libās jōi ham
thānō,
“ Tum kō bakhshū sabh rāj-samāj yah Dillī sē Aṭak laghai-
yat mānō.”

Dohaṛā.

86. Tabai jō Muḥammad Shāh nē kiyā libās jō aur,
Khalqā tōpī pahī kar, bhyā Durrānī ṭaur,
 87. Pāc rōz bīti, jabai adhī rāt kē jān,
 Dōnō shāh calē gaē sair jō Dihlī mān.

Soraṭhā.

88. Ēk al-mast faqīr rahtā thā ēk kūṭī mē,
 Tā kō dēkh sarīr Nādir Shāh pūchīyō.

Savaiyā.

89. “Tum sālīk hō aur mālīk hō, karāmāt dēkhāō hama apnī.”
 Tab dēkh faqīr kahīyō, “Tum, Nādir Shāh, dēkhāō kachū
 apnī.”
 Tab Nādir Shāh kahīyō “Āikh mic dēkh jōī cāhat hō ṭhapnī.”
 Āikh mic līnī tō faqīr dēkhā khūb fauj jō Nādir Shāh khanī.

Dōhaṛā.

90. Dillī sē Aṭak tak fauj jō Nādir Shāh,
 Hathyār pahī kar hāī, kharī ‘umdaḥ banī sipāh.

Savaiyā.

91. Tab khōl kē ākh faqīr kahīyō, “Ab dēkhō, acambhā dēkhā-
 ū abai,
 “Tum mic kē ākh dēkhō.” Tō Shāh nē mūd kē dēkhīyō
 tabai,
 Jōī fauj faqīr nē dēkhī kharī, ta kē sar kaṭē gaē sabai,
 Tab Shāh kahīyō hai, “Faqīr! karō tum mihr kē naṣar abai.”

Soraṭhā.

92. Kiyā jō qaul faqīr tō “Cāhiyē kūsarāt kōn,
 “Mat karō zarrā na dhēr, calē jāō Kābul abhī.

Savaiyā.

93. Tab Nādir Shāh bülāē sipāh kō ḥukm diyā, “Tum kūc karō,”
 Jōī la’l juwāhir khūb pakhiyē ta āp hē sōī sīs dhariyō,
 Pāc mōṭī kaṭāē jāṛāō banā, qabzah talwār kā khūb kiyō.
 Bahū daulat lē kar lād liē, asbāb jō khūb thā sang liyō.

Doharā.

94. 'Ulwī nām ḥakīm pan bēgam kō lēnā sāth,
Nādir Shāh sē pūchiyō shāh jō bāndhē hāth.
95. "Yah ḥakīm mar jāē rāstē hī mē jān,
"Dhūp lagī, āg parī, is kō dushman mām."
96. Chōṛ diyā tas kō, tabai calā jō Nādir Shāh,
Ravā-ravī āyā caṛiyā Jamnā lankā thāh,
97. Amr Singh sardār kō qaid kiya tab jān,
Paṭiyāla kā sardār aur mulk thāwah mām.
98. Jō 'aurat bhau khūb thī mānō camkat pahān
Bahut bāndhī kinī tabai, Mughul, Amīr, Paṭhān.
99. Satlaj kē paṭan jabai pūchiyō Nādir Shāh,
'Arz karī sardār pan khalqat chūṭī athāh.
100. Diē khitāb Rājā kā Amr Singh kō jān,
Chōṛ diē khalqat sabai, Rājā kiya amān.

Sorathā.

101. Pahūchiyō jab Lāhōr, āē miliyō umrāē sabh
Bahut bhayō tah shōr, khalqat kō jō 'azāb thā.
102. Sabai chōṛ diē band, Lakhpat aur Campat, Dawād,
Bhayō jō bahut anand, Nādir Shāh jō nekī jō sunīē.

Doharā.

103. Chōṛ diē khalqat sabai, Kābul pahūchiyō Shāh,
Sanh gyāra sau sāth tak kiya jō rāj nibāh,
Manzil Fathābād mē ādhī rāt sō jān,
Qatl kiya bādshāh kō Amīr Muḥammad Khān.

III, TRANSLATION.

THE STORY OF NĀDIR SHĀH AND MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

1. Having worshipped the feet of Ganpat and Gōbind,
I indite an epic on the deeds of Nādir.
2. Muḥammad Shāh, king of Dihlī, who was our ruler,
Was fond of pleasure, delighted only in numberless enjoyments.
3. The rule of the kingdom had the king confided
To Ghāzī Khān, his Wazīr, who fulfilled all the duties.
4. Know that Majlis Rāē, the diwān, was chief official;
Understand, Khān Daurān had power over all the army.
5. Nizāmu-l-mulk, a noble, commanded the artillery;
All the orders for war were under his control.

6. Turrah-bāz Khān, a hero, richly endowed with wisdom,
The physician who prescribed was called 'Ulwī.
7. Malikah Zamānī, his queen, was idolized by the king ;
So lovely was she, you might say the moon drew its light from
her face.
All business, public and private, was neglected.
See the state of the king, he gazed full of love like the *cakōr*
at the moon ;
They ate roast-meat, drank wine, were mad with opium. Seeing
him drunk, they all came for largess.
Drums, guitars, fiddles, flutes were played. Behold, good sir,
the king listened to every kind of music.
When pleased, the king heeded not his acts, sent for diamonds,
pearls, and rubies to adorn her.
Tilōk Dās sings this song, hopes for nought, has made a tune
for the king, and that is all.
8. The ways of love preserve neither house nor name nor tran-
quillity ;
Love has no constraint nor shame, no obedience to any one.
Having tasted of the cup, Muḥammad Shāh was drunk from
her beauty.
Never without song or dance, the king was beyond measure in love.
9. Once a week all men did homage to the king,
Each in his own fashion always used to come.
10. When the noble, Nizāmu-l-mulk, came before the king,
On seeing him the king forthwith laughed, looking on him as
his servant :
11. "Look you, how with a monkey's gait he comes, adorned with
a nice, pretty-coloured, green turban."
Seeing his strange gait, they burst into hoarse laughter. His
shoes sounded nicely "thump, thump."
The king declared, "Many come, but no one's walk has so de-
lighted me.
"A great noble, he looks like a black monkey ; on seeing him
my heart o'erflows with joy.
12. "He is noble and great, he looks like a black monkey ; to see
him is a pleasure, know this is my delight,
"No other noble is so lovely, he goes tinkle-tinkle, his gait is a
joy to behold.
"See, clever one, the shining of the lamp-black on his eyes, he
sounds like drum-beating, how he jingles as he goes,
"Such is this noble, named Nizāmu-l-mulk, he who is called
the greatest of all the nobles."

13. When he heard this speech from the lips of the king,
A flame of fire leapt up within his breast.
He went to his house, this Nizāmu-l-mulk;
Anger beat in his mind, it hurt like a wound.
14. Then spoke he aloud these words,
“The king’s commands are truth,
“If I live a little longer
“Of this fire I will cleanse my breast.
15. “When on all the battlements of the fort
“The monkeys leap hither and thither,
“Then will my life reach its fruition,
“When the monkeys bound into the fort.”
16. Then entering his dwelling, with his own hand he prepared a
letter:
“You are Shāh Nādir, the all-powerful, you have a formidable
army,
“This throne of Dihlī is vacant, this greatness has been re-
corded as yours,
“I am your humble servant, you are my lord, come and take
possession.”
17. A long letter was written by the noble Nizāmu-l-mulk,
Having by reason of one word become untrue to his salt.
18. The post runner took the letter, went to Nādir Shāh,
From noble Nizāmu-l-mulk, the servant of the Shāh.
19. The Shāh listened to nothing, but fell into a rage, quitted Balkh
and Bukhārā, arrived with drums beating.
Ruin fell on Kābul, Pashāwar and other places; Ghaznī and
Qandahār submitted,
Nādir Shāh led on his army never heeding; the realm of Irān
was made over to Nēk Khān.
He descended the river of Sindh, enslaved the Panjāb country,
took lakhs for his sustenance.
20. Then reflected Zakarīyā Khān, Governor of Lāhōr, in his mind,
“This great host of Durrānīs, there is not its equal in the
world;
“As the saying is ‘it would bring the breath into a man’s
nose;’ of this there is no doubt.
“Whoever may be able to cope with it, I have not the
capacity.”
21. Joining his hands, Sūrat Singh, Dīwān, made petition,
“If ordered I will go, in some way make peace.”
22. Then spoke the ruler of Lāhōr province,
“By none other than you can this work be completed.”

23. The Diwān was sent off, taking many presents with him.
Before Nādir Shāh he appeared, both hands joined.
24. “Nādir Shāh a great king with no greed but sovereignty,
Makes his army fight, and stands firm in every battle.”
Then petitioned Muḥammad Khān, “Here is this Diwān who
has come ;
“His whole body trembles ; are these presents accepted or
not ? ”
25. Then the Shāh gave this order, “Take up the presents !”
Khān Muḥammad took them, and delivered them to the ward-
robe-keeper.
26. Nādir Shāh asked, “Listen, you clever Diwān !
“Has Khān Bahādur the least intention of fighting ? ”
27. The Diwān replied respectfully, with many invocations,
“O polestar of the world ! grant life, bestow on me this
grace !
28. “He is great and brave, he holds all earthly gifts, the whole
country knows he is rich in all required for war.
“Khān Bahādur is very powerful, has a good army and all
things ready ;
“He has one defect, one thing is wanting ; except that, my
lord, everything else is at hand.
“He would fight, without a doubt (I am a true man and no
liar), my lord, if it had been any other than yourself.
29. “When Rām is friendly, all are friendly ; Rām adverse, there
are no friends ;
“On this he stuck, this was his hindrance, no army could
equal yours.
“When, my lord, one has your strength, there is but one lord
and none other ;
“Therefore has Khān Bahādur made to you these many en-
treaties.”
30. Having heard the Diwān, the Shāh was pleased.
The Shāh quitted Lāhōr, released all the captives.
31. Khān Bahādur went and presented himself to Nādir Shāh.
Taking gifts from many lands, he laid them before the Shāh.
32. Plundering began in Lāhōr by Mughul, Paṭhān and noble.
Much wealth was plundered, bankers were turned into paupers.
33. Then the Diwān, who was very clever, and the respected Khān
did what was for the good of all.
They cried aloud, “All the people are plundered, the incompar-
able city [to sūno pahīwān kē ?”]

Campat and Lakhpat, Dawād, the Khān's dīwāns, went to the Shāh and made many protestations,

"All Lāhōr city is plundered, now only the name is left, this should now be stopped." Again and again they prayed.

34. The 'Arz-beg went and made petition to the Shāh ;
But hearing he answered naught ; they were ordered to prison.

35. Then camp was struck at Lāhōr, all the people were plundered.
Hearing this, the chief men fled ; Adīnah Bēg bolted from his district ;

He hid himself in the hills ; the Khān made overtures greatly terrified.

He made friends of all the hill rājās, entered with them into covenants.

36. Then began the Pathāns to rob the whole town of Jalandhar,
Much wealth they gathered and were contented.

37. When Jalandhar had been harried, Adīnah Bēg learnt it.
He began to think of plans, cleaned his swords and daggers.
Bisambhar Dās petitioned, " Give me this lovely sword,
" If you pass the order, I go at once ; this Nādir Shāh is a great lord."

38. The clever Khān said, " Listen, O Dīwān, my friend, this work, to be plain, will not prosper with you.

" He is king Nādir, a hero, famous, he will in no way succumb to deceit."

Then said the Dīwān, " Hear, O Khān, how can you in any case style me untrue to my salt.

" If now I am given troops, I will start and gain the fruit ; if not, you may behead me."

39. The Khān was much delighted, gave many rewards,
Gave the Dīwān leave to start, bearing full instructions.

40. Then the Dīwān mounted, many troopers mounted and followed.

Then using clever devices, he saw all the army of Nādir Shāh,
Made good friends with them. After that he was taken to Nādir Shāh.

Shāh Walī and Muḥammad Khān announced the Dīwān's arrival.

41. Nādir Shāh asked, " State the Khān's message,
Hear, clever Dīwān, give details of the whole affair."

42. The Dīwān made his statement with many protestations,
" If you have mercy on the Khān, he will be highly pleased with me.

43. "He is very fond of hunting in the hills, he has much
delight in visiting the holy men there,
"There the Khān lingered, and prayed, and gave many pre-
sents,
"Thus I have come with troops, and have brought for you
one lakh of rupees,
"Also presents of value, thought worthy of you ; be so good
as to accept them."
44. Then the Shāh gave his order, the presents were accepted.
The Dīwān was happy, that clever one, that root of wisdom.
45. The Dīwān clever and full of understanding, then petitioned
with joined hands,
"They have plundered the whole fort and city of Jalandhar.
46. "Know that kings should have no regard for wealth.
"On this people, on this army, on every one look as your own.
47. "We are ready, Lord King, for whatever you direct,
"Wherever you choose to send us, we breathe not a sound."
48. Order then was made by Shāh Nādir, "Call back the soldiers,
"Whatever goods there are, give all to the Dīwān, and take
a receipt."
- Forthwith the clever Dīwān made prayer with many words.
Then a patent was written making over the Duāba to the Khān.
49. Nādir Shāh having written much praise of the Dīwān,
Marched off, and raised his tents on the Sutlaj bank.
50. The messenger took the order, went to the Khān Sāhib.
Hearing it, his ears stood up with joy, in his mind he was
highly delighted.
51. The Nawāb came to Jalandhar town, after making these pre-
texts,
He took his ease, was very resplendent.
52. On the further side of the river lay Sarhind town.
The city was plundered, a very high city,
The habitations thereof covered twelve kos.
From Nādir Shāh's plundering silence fell on that city.
53. Then went that Shāh, called Nādir, to the battle field,
Made Pānīpat his resting place in greatest state.
On hearing this, there came one warrior and noble,
Khān Daurān is the name by which he is renowned.
54. All the moves at chess, if one reflects well,
Will be won without fail; never will a player be defeated ;
55. But know the game as lost, if one move be thoughtless :
Soft words flourish, when bawling overturns.

56. When Muḥammad Shāh was told,
 "Nādir Shāh is come to Dillī," he laughed.
 Khān Daurān was told, "Now go thou;
 "I will see how you fight with Nādir Shāh."
57. The lord of forts, the chief of many countries set out, crowds
 followed him, with him went the princes,
 Went towards the realm of death, took the road to grief, throw-
 ing their heads from side to side, know them to be full of
 joy.
 In a mass they met the army, slaughtered the Shāh's troops;
 thus has the field been taken by Nawāb Khān Khānān.
 Tilok Dās writes a poem, but words cannot express it, how
 hastened on that king of war, that lord of lords.
58. The mighty host of Dillī came leaping and bounding with cries
 of "God, the Faith, the Faith, and Muḥammad,"
 Nine hundred troopers stood like a hill against nine lakhs, per-
 fect valour was poured out, yellow flowers sprang forth,
 Hand fought without hands, bodies fought without beads, the
 leader was upheld in the midst by Holy Bhagwān,
 All the royal soldiers cry, "Bravo! Khān Khānān! you have
 fought well, the victory is due to you."
59. Limbs split with a crash, all the oceans fill, heat and dust
 collect, rise to the head of mount Mēru,
 The bows crackle, the lightning-messengers seize, with a whish
 the rockets whirl, to affray the strong man,
 They strike and take life, thousands miss, the Mughuls begin
 to die without calling for betel leaf,
 The bowstrings are drawn with a hiss, the hand lays hold and
 sets in motion, the arrows resound as they strike their target,
 the Lord of Lords.
60. Drum-beating began to sound, short drums, long drums, my
 beloved, trumpets, *nishān*, horns, brazen trumpets blew,
 The cannon boom, the war-swivels whistle, the matchlocks
 rattle, the rockets scream,
 The army bows low before the blaze, abandons its pride and
 yields, deep wounds stop them, they behold Bhagwān,
 The bow strings are drawn with a hiss, the hand lays hold
 and sets in motion, the arrows resound as they strike their
 target, the Lord of Lords.
61. They lay with their vitals cut open, they had no advantage, the
 graves were filled up, one cannot count them, no vigour was
 left, they may be likened to air,

- Lovely women could not save their husbands for their love,
 blood flowed fast from heads, when the Lord of Lords, the
 champion and strong man, raging, girded his loins tightly.
62. Retiring a distance of five kōs Nādir Shāh encamped,
 Wrote to Nizāmu-l-mulk, his men having been defeated,
63. “You have called me from Kābul, for what end did I come, to
 be thus disgraced,
 “One noble only came, he rushed with great speed, Khān
Daurān fought, you did not aid me,
 “Many such nobles must be with the king, from the attack
 of one I have been made uneasy,
 “Thus have I come from Wilāyat to be defeated. Unfaithful
 man, why sent you the letter?”
64. Nizāmu-l-mulk, the noble, made up and wrote an answer,
 “If the army comes this way, be certain of meeting no one,
65. “Congratulations to you on getting the king’s throne at Dihlī.
 “The shame put upon me, then will it be known to all.
66. “Know that when he returns, Khān Daurān will be attacked,
 “Know that the match will be put to the guns, his army will
 be dispersed.”
67. Five kōs from Dihlī was ranged the line of guns,
 A man lost his wits, when he saw that barrier.
68. Nizāmu-l-mulk blew up all the army,
Khān Daurān’s men like a pillar rose into the sky,
 Seizing their lances, the horsemen used them,
 Then went and fell worn-out before the throne.
69. When the king learnt this, he asked,
 “What sort of fight have you shown to Nādir Shāh?”
 Then spoke the Khān, “Hear, O king, a word from me!
 “If I live, to-morrow I will start along with you.
70. “Nādir Shāh has proved a thing of nought,
 “When well fought with, he fled from battle,
 “But better for you to visit him, do not fight,
 “When there is strife within a house, no victory can be won.”
71. When the morn came the noble Amīr died.
 Muḥammad Shāh went forth and visited the Shāh.
 When the Shāh Nādir had reached Dihlī,
 The end of year eleven fifty-one (1151) had come.
72. Then gave he the order with his own lips.
 Then was Dihlī slaughtered, know it was there only,
 In one day till sunset the slaughter was ended.
 When he said “Enough!” then were the people spared.

73. Nādir Shāh enquired, "Listen, Muḥammad Shāh !
"I heard you had much wealth, tell the place where it is."
 74. The king spoke, "I have no recollection,
"The Dīwān called Majlis, he has all the details."
 75. A written order issued to the Dīwān for five thousand rupees,
"Take them daily from the Dīwān, bring him to *darbār*."
 76. The sepoy went and said, "Hear, O Dīwān, he who is king of
the age, has given us a daily allowance,
"Give us every one of the five thousand rupees, come to the
king, obey the order."
- Forthwith the Dīwān took an acquittance and gave the rupees,
and went with the men from fear of Nādir Shāh.
- He went and made obeisance before the Shāh. He asked,
"Are you the Dīwān, speak, be careful of your words,
77. "The store-house of Brother Muḥammad Shāh's boundless
wealth is known to you, now tell the truth.
"If in the least you speak lies, at once I will open your ears,
will kill you outright, such words will not avail you."
Then said the Dīwān, "I have not the details, I will fetch them,
without seeing the papers my reply would be wrong,
"I will have search made, will reflect for three days, after that
I will answer your lordship's question."
 78. The Dīwān called Majlis, an ancient loyal servant,
Spoke, having understood, "Hear, O king Nādir!"
 79. Then the Shāh's order was, "You have three days,
"Bring all the papers, know this is your only safety."
 80. The well-minded Dīwān went to his house, then thought it out,
"Unless the truth be now told, there will be no salvation.
 81. "Know, that for many a day having eaten the king's salt,
With his own very tongue how make revelation"
 82. When the third day came, Majlis, the Dīwān,
Went into his house, stabbed himself with a dagger and died.
 83. When report was made to the king, he thought much in his
mind;
"The men of worth begin to die, all true to their salt."
 84. Know, that then Muḥammad Shāh urgently entreated;
The king spoke to Nādir Shāh, "Listen, my guest,
 85. "Behold, those true men by whose help I rule, begin to die,
"Do whatever arises in your heart, and be it on my head."
Then said Nādir Shāh, "List, O king, apparel yourself like me,
"Behold, then will I grant you this realm from Dihli to
Atak."

86. Then did Muḥammad Shāh change his raiment,
Put on a coat and light cap, turned himself into a Durrānī.
87. Know, after five days had passed, at midnight,
Behold both kings went forth to visit Dihlī.
88. One Almast, a holy recluse, lived in a house.
Seeing his body, Nādir Shāh enquired,
89. "You are an ascetic and holy man, show me your miracles."
Then the faqīr looked and said, "Nādir Shāh, first display
your own."
Then Nādir Shāh said, "Shut your eyes, behold whatever you
like."
Shutting his eyes the faqīr saw a fine army with Nādir Shāh.
90. From Dihlī to Aṭak was that army of Nādir Shāh,
Standing fully armed, a splendid array.
91. Opening his eyes then said the faqīr, "Behold, I will now
show wonders,
"Shut your eyes and look!" Then when the Shāh had closed
them, he saw
The soldiers the faqīr had seen arrayed, all lying headless.
Then said the Shāh, "Holy man! look favourably on me."
92. Then spoke the faqīr, "If you wish to be preserved,
"Delay not one moment, at once set out for Kābul."
93. Then Nādir Shāh sent for his men, ordered them to march.
What rubies and stones were best, he took and put on his
head,
Five pearls were cut and mounted to make a lovely swordhilt,
Much wealth was laden, all of value was carried away.
94. The doctor called 'Ulwī and a princess were to be taken
away;
The king spoke to Nādir Shāh with joined hands:
95. "Be sure this doctor will die on the journey,
"The hot sun and the heat are his deadly enemies."
96. Having released him, Nādir Shāh departed.
Going on his way, he came to the side of the Jamnā.
97. Know, that he made a captive of Amr Singh;
Know, that he was chief and ruler of Paṭiāla.
98. The good-looking women, who attracted them,
They made slaves of, did the Mughuls, and nobles, and Paṭhāns.
99. When Nādir Shāh reached the towns near the Sutlaj,
The chiefs petitioned, then were the people released.
100. Know, that the title of Rājā was given to Amr Singh.
He released all the people, pardoned the rājā.

101. When he reached Lāhōr, all the nobles attended,
There was much noise, much oppression on the people.
102. All the bonds were undone of Lakhpat and Campat, Dawād.
Nādir Shāh was much pleased on learning their good qualities.
103. All the people were released, the Shāh reached Kābul.
Up to the year eleven hundred and sixty he ruled.
At the camp of Fathābād, at the hour of midnight,
The emperor was slain by the noble, Muḥammad Khān.

NOTES.

3. *Ghāzī Khān*.—This title did not belong to Qamru-d-dīn Khān, I'timadu-d-daulah, the chief minister, but is no doubt adopted owing to the difficulty of getting the true names into the line.
4. *Majlis Rāē*.—Rāē Majlis Rāē, Brāhman, the *dīvān* of I'timadu-d-daulah Qamru-d-dīn Khān, being oppressed in the troubles raised by Nādir Shāh, took his own life at Shāhjahānābād in the end of Muḥarram 1152 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*). The 29th Muḥarram=8th May, 1739, but for the exact date see note to verse 82.
4. *Khān Daurān*.—Khwājah Muḥammad 'Āṣim, first Ashraf Khān, then Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Amīru-l-umarā, Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Manṣūr Jang, son of Khwājah Qāsim, Naqshbandī, was wounded on the 15th Zu-l-qa'dah 1151 H. (23rd February, 1739), in a battle with Nādir Shāh. He died on the 19th of the same month (27th February), aged 68 years, (*T-i-Mḥdī*).
5. Nizāmu-l-mulk's appointment as Mir Ātash could only have been a recent one. On his last visit to Court he reached Dihlī on the 16th Rabī' I, 1150 H. (13th July, 1737). Five days afterwards, on the 21st Rabī' I, 1150 H. (18th July, 1737) Mḥd. Muqīm, entitled Muqīmu-d-dīn Khān, *dārōghah* of the *Tōpkhānah*, died at Shāhjahānābād, aged about 70 years (*T-i-Mḥdī*). It was to this man that Nizāmu-l-mulk must have succeeded. At the moment, I can find no authority for his having become Mir Ātash, but the statement is, I think, correct.
6. *Turrah-bāz Khān*.—Khwājah Muẓaffar, entitled Zafar Khān, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, Ba-wafā, son of Khwājah 'Abdu-l-qādir of Pānīpat, died in 1148 H. (1735-6), (*T-i-Mḥdī*). Turrah-bāz was a nickname, due to the way in which this

noble and his men wore their turbans, the protruding end being likened to a falcon's crest (*turrah-i-bāz*). The populace knew him as *Turrah-bāz Khān*.

6. '*Ulwī Khān*.—*Mirzā Muḥammad Hāshim*, second son of *Ḥakīm Hādī*, was born at *Shīrāz* in *Muḥarram* 1080 H. (June 1669). He emigrated to India in 1111 H. (1699–1700), and died at *Shāhjahānābād* on the 5th *Rajab* 1162 H. (20th June, 1749.) *Bayān-i-wāq'ī*, my copy of the text, 196. Gladwin, 218, has the 29th *Rajab*.
7. *Malikah Zamānī*, daughter of *Farrukhsīyar*, married to *Muḥammad Shāh* in 1135 H. (1722), Beale, 237. Francklin, "*Shāh Aulum*," 205, says she died in 1203. H. 1 (788–9).
11. This story of *Nizāmu-l-mulk*'s having been likened to a monkey was in circulation at a very early date. Fraser, p. 68, who wrote as early as 1742, attributes it to *Khān Daurān* and his friends. They are supposed to have said, "Observe how the Deccan monkey dances;" and he places the event after *Nizāmu-l-mulk*'s last return to *Dihlī*, which happened in July 1737. Hanway, another contemporary writer, II, 351, says *Khān Daurān*, styled *Nizāmu-l-mulk*, a *maimūncī* "a quack doctor or cheat;" but this word must be the same as that in Steingass, 1864, *maimūnbāz*, "a leader of performing monkeys," from *maimūn*, baboon, ape, monkey.
19. *Nādir Shāh* stormed *Qandahār* on the 3rd *Zu-l-Hijjah* 1150 H. (23rd March, 1738), "The Compleat History "of *Thamas Kouli Kan*... written in French and rendered into English..." 12 mo., London, n. d. (about 1745), Part II, p. 5. He started from *Qandahār* for *Kābul* on the 8th *Muḥarram* 1151 H. (27th May, 1738), *Anand Rām*, *Mukhlis*, in Elliot, VIII, 77, (*Jonas Hanway*, II, 357, "middle of year"). He arrived at *Kābul* about the end of *Ṣafar* 1151 H. (29th = 17th June, 1738), *Anand Rām*, l. c. (*Hanway*, II, 357, "month of June." He left *Kābul* against the *Sāfis*, 12th *Rabī'*, II, 1151 H. (29th July, 1738), *Raverty*, "Notes," 106, (founded on the *Nādirnāmah*), and see a letter from *Nādir Shāh* in "Compleat History," part II, p. 27. He returned to *Kābul* and moved to *Gandāmak* 20th *Jumādī I*, 1151 H. (4th September, 1738), *Raverty*, l. c. He reached *Jalālābād*, 20th *Jamādī*, II, (4th October, 1738), id. 110. The defeat of *Nāṣir Khān*, governor of *Kābul*, took place on the Indian side of the *Khaibar*, 13th *Sha'bān* 1151 H. (25th November, 1738), Elliot, VIII, 78, and *Nādir Shāh*'s own letter

of 14th Sha'bān, "Compleat History," part II, 27, written from same place between Jamrūd and Pashāwar.

20. *Zakarīyā Khān*, usually called *Khān Bahādur*, was Saifu-d-daulah, Z. K., Bahādur, Dalēr Jang, son of Saifu-d-daulah, 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad *Khān*, Bahādur, Dalēr Jang. He succeeded his father in 1150 H. (1737) as *ṣūbahdār* of Lāhōr and Multān. He died on the 12th or 13th Jamādī II, 1158 H. (11th or 12th July, 1745), aged about 56 years (*T-i-Mḥdī*).
20. *Nāk mē dam ānā*, to be at the last gasp.
20. *Zakarīyā Khān* formed a camp on the Rāvi outside Lāhōr on the 17th Ramaẓān 1751 H. (28th December, 1738), Elliot, VIII, 79. *Nādir Shāh* was at Pul-i-Shāh Daulah, some miles north-west of Lāhōr, on the 9th Shawwāl (19th January, 1739), and reached the *Shālihmār* garden east of Lāhōr on the next day. There was some fighting that day and again on the 11th. An agreement was then patched up.
- 24 and 40 *Muḥammad Khān*, or 25, *Khān Muḥammad*. This man is most probably the M. K. "Beglar-begī" who brought the third letter addressed by *Nādir Shāh* to *Muḥammad Shāh*, see *Ṣaḥīfah-i-iqbāl*, B. Museum, Oriental Ms. 3281, fol. 71 a, 72 b, 73 a, 74 b.
31. *Zakarīyā Khān* visited *Nādir Shāh* on the 11th and 12th Shawwāl (21st, 22nd January, 1739), Elliot, VIII, 80.
33. *Campat and Lakhpāt*. I do not know the meaning of the epithet appended to their names, which I read *Dawād* or *Dāwad*. It occurs again in verse 102 with the alternative form of *Dūdah*. I take it to be the name of some branch of the Khatri caste, but I cannot find it in Ibbetson, "Panjab Ethnology." According to B. M. Or. M. 2043, fol. 51a, Lakhpāt Rāō was *dīwān* to *Zakarīyā Khān*, *ṣūbahdār* of Lāhōr, and Campat was his brother. The same work, fol. 50a, asserts that Dalpat, son of Lakhpāt Rāō, was seized as a hostage by *Nādir Shāh*.
35. *Adīnāh Bēg Khān*, a Hindu convert of the Arāin caste, was born at Sarakpūr Pattī near Lāhōr. When *Nādir Shāh* took Lāhōr, this man was faujdār of Sultānpur in the Jālandhar *dūāba* (B. M. Or. 2043, fol. 50a). A. B. K. died in Muḥarram 1172 H. (3rd September—2nd October, 1758), while faujdār of Sirhind, (*T-i-Mḥdī*,) year 1172. His tomb is at *Khānpur* near Hoshyārpur (Beale, 34).
37. According to B. M. Or. 2043, fol. 50a, the *dīwān* of A. B. K. was Bhawānī Dās, Dhēr, a caste which, according to Ibbetson,

para. 605 (Dher), is on a par socially with the camārs. But I see that Rieu, "Catalogue of the Persian MSS," copying from one of the manuscripts of the *Khulāsat-t-tawārīkh*, styles its author Sujān Rāe *Dhīr*; and as we know that he was a Khatrī, the epithet may denote here a sub-division of the Khatrī caste. I do not find the word, however, in *Tawārīkh-i-qaum-i-khatrīyān* by Amīn Cand (Dihli, Fauq Kāshī Press).

40. Muḥammad Khān, see ante, 24 (3). Shāh Walī was, I think, the chief minister of Aḥmad Shāh, Durrānī, and not of Nādir Shāh. There seems some mistake here.
52. *Sirhind*.—Nādir Shāh reached Sirhind about the 7th Zu-l-qa'dah (15th February, 1739), Ghulām 'Alī Khān *Muqaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmah*, B. M. Addl. 24,028, fol. 59b.
53. *Pānīpat*.—Nādir Shāh's last march, before the fighting with the imperial army, was made on the 15th Zu-l-qa'dah (23rd February, 1739), Elliot, VIII, 81. His last camp was at 'Aẓīmābād Talāwarī (or Tarāorī), between 9 and 10 miles N.-W. of Karnāl. Pānīpat is altogether a mistake. It lies about 26 miles south of Karnāl, the place where Muḥammad Shāh was encamped, and Nādir Shāh could not have passed beyond the emperor's position without a pitched battle.
53. *Khān Daurān*, see note to verse 4. His attack was made on the day that Nādir Shāh had moved his camp from Talāwarī nearer to Karnāl, namely on the 15th Zu-l-qa'dah (23rd February, 1739), Elliot VIII, 81, Fraser, 156.
58. *Alī dīnī duhāī dōnō ō mahmand kē*.—The perversion does not seem greater than we find in our own early writers, for instance, at Baksar (October 1764): "Our seapoys gave the enemy a ding or huzza," Caraccioli, "Clive," I, 59, and Orme writes of "ding Mahomed," "Military Transactions," II, 339.
58. *Khān Khānān*, that is Khān Daurān.
59. *Narārān*.—As I can make nothing of this word, I read *hazārān*, thousands. [Perhaps a barbarous plural of *nar* 'man.' Ed.].
60. *Nishān*.—From its position in the line, I take this to be some kind of musical instrument; and *suphēr* I suppose to be a corruption of *nafīr*.
62. This retreat and the letter to Nizāmu-l-mulk are both, I should say, unhistorical.

66. The distance of five kōs from Dihlī is quite impossible, seeing they were all, Nizāmu-l-mulk included, some seventy miles north of Dihlī at this time.
68. There is no foundation for saying that Nizāmu-l-mulk attacked Khān Daurān's men, though the two nobles were, no doubt, on very bad terms and intensely jealous of each other.
71. Khān Daurān died on the 19th Zu-l-qa'dah (27th February, 1739).
71. Muḥammad Shāh's first visit to Nādir Shāh in his camp took place on the 20th (28th February, 1739), Fraser, 162.
71. Nādir Shāh's entry into the palace at Dihlī took place on the 9th Zu-l-Hijjah, 1151 H. (19th March, 1739), that is, twenty days before the end of the Hijrī year 1151.
72. This general slaughter lasted from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. of the 11th Zu-l-Hijjah (21st March, 1739), Elliot, VIII, 88, Fraser, 181.
82. Majlis Rāē, Brāhman, was *dīwān* to the wazīr, Qamru-d-dīn Khān, see back note to verse 4. Fraser, 199, says that on the 6th Muḥarram 1152 H. (14th April, 1739), his ear was cut off in open darbar. He committed suicide on the 12th (20th April, 1739).
86. I know not what truth there is in this story of Muḥammad Shāh adopting Persian attire, but Anand Rām, Mukhlīṣ, tells us, *Mirātu-l-Iṣṭilāḥ*, B. M. Or. 1813, fol. 108a, that in 1157 H., after Nādir's invasion, Persian customs were copied by the fashionable youth of Dihlī. He refers especially to a fashion of carrying a stick called a *khundī*.
- 88-92. I think that I have seen this marvellous story told in prose somewhere, but I cannot find the reference to it at present.
96. 'Ulwī Khān was not released, see his story in the *Bayān-i-wāqī'* of Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Karīm, Kashmīrī, and translation thereof by F. Gladwin, Calcutta, 1788. The ḥakīm was not allowed to leave, until the 16th Rabī' II, 1154 H. (30th June, 1741), Gladwin, 95. He went from Kazwīn to Mecca, and finally reached Dihlī again on the 10th Jamādī II, 1156 H. (31st July, 1743), having come from Jeddah by sea to Chandernagore.
97. *Amr Singh*. Butā Shāh, *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb*, places him in the time of Aḥmad Shāh, Durrānī, about 1761, and speaks of the title of Mahārāja being conferred by this later invader.
103. Nādir Shāh reached Kābul on the 1st Ramazān, 1152 H. (1st December, 1739), Gladwin, 13.
103. The *Bayān-i-wāqī'*, Gladwin, 166, calls the place Qūjūn, not

Fathābād, and locates it three stages from Mashhad. An anonymous history of Nādir Shāh, lately received by me from India, names Fathābād, two farsakh's from Khyūshān, as the place of assassination. Qūjūn and Khyūshān are no doubt the Koochan of Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, about 100 miles north-west of Mashhad. Ernst Beer, "Das Tārīkh-i-Zendīje" (Leiden, 1888), XIV, spells the name *Khabūshān*, and this in popular use became *Khūjān*, and finally *Qūchān*.

The Antiquity of the poet Nāgarī Dās and his concubine Rasik Bihārī alias Baṇī Ṭhaṇī.—By PANDIT MŌHANLĀL VIṢṆULĀL PANDIA, M.A.S.B., M.R.A.S., M.G.V.S., &c. *Late Prime Minister of the Partābgarh State in Rājputānā.*

(Read February 1897.)

It is generally believed by the native vernacular scholars of our country, that there lived in Braj four Bhāshā poets bearing the name Nāgarī Dās. The first of them is said to be a disciple of Vallabhācārya, the second, the successor of Svāmī Hari-dās, the third, the follower of the Gōsvāmī Hit Harbans sect, and the fourth is one who is noticed by Dr. Grierson in his well-known work 'the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān' and Çivasimh in his 'Sarōj' and Bābū Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Dās of Benares in his little brochure the 'Life of Nāgarī Dās.'

Leaving the first three Nāgarī Dās for some other occasion, I take this opportunity to give a more extended notice of the fourth, who is well-known as a good poet, and also of his concubine, poetess Rasik Bihārī *alias* Baṇī Ṭhaṇī, who is still known to the public as some male poet. In the present paper, I have to endeavour to establish satisfactorily the antiquity of this couple of poetic talents.

For the sake of easy reference, I give the following summary of the enquiries of the previous researchers :—

(I) Dr. Grierson has the following notice in his work 'the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān,' at Nos. 95 and 638, pages 33 and 138 :—“The poet Nāgar, b. 1591 A.D. Haj. Possibly the same as a Nāgarī Dās mentioned in the preface to Rāg.”

And in the same work at Nos. 405 and 638, pages 101 and 138, he says :—“Rasik Bihārī, b. 1723 A.D. Rāg.”

Both notices are taken from Çivasimh's work, as quoted below.

(II) Çivasimh, in his Hindī work 'Sarōj,' has the following notices at pages 441 and 491 respectively :—

११ नागर कवि सं० १६४८ में उ० ॥ हजारों में इन के कवित्त हैं ॥

१७२ सफ़ा ॥

८० रसिक विहारौ सं० १७८० में उ० ॥

And he quotes the following specimens of Nāgarī Dās' metrical composition.

- (1) भादौ की कारौ अँधारी निशा लखि वादर मन्द फुहौ वरसावै ।
 श्यामा-जी अपने ऊँचे अटा पै ककी रस रीति मलार है गावै ।
 ता समै नागर के दृग दूरिते चातक खाति की मौज में पावै ।
 पौन मया करि घूँघुट टारै दया करि दामिनी दीप दिखावै ॥

i.e., Seeing the darkness of the very dark night of Bhādō clouds are showering a slight mizzle. Āyāmā-jī¹ (sitting) in her lofty attic contentedly sings after the manner of Malār.² Then the eyes of Nāgara, looking, like (those of) Cātaka,³ at Svāti⁴ from a distance, get intensely delighted.

The wind pitifully unveils her face, and the lightning kindly illuminates it.

- (2) गाँस गसीली ये बातें क्पिपाइये इश्क ना गाइये गाइये होलियाँ ।
 गैद बहाने न बीरा चलाइये सूधै गुलाल उड़ाइये भोलियाँ ।
 लोग बुरे चतुरे लखि पावैँगे दाबे रहौ दिल प्रीति कलोलियाँ ।
 पाइ परौँ जी डरो टुक नागर हाइ करौ जिनि बोलियाँ ठोलियाँ ॥

i.e., Do not utter these piercing words and do not sing love, but sing the Hōlī songs. Do not throw Bīrās⁵ under pretext of throwing the ball, but throw the bags of Gulāl⁶ in a straightforward manner. The men are clever and vicious, they will perceive it; hence suppress the frolics of this heart-felt love. Being afraid, O Nāgara! I fall at thy feet. Ah! Do not fling these jeers at me.

- (3) देवन की औ रमापति की दोऊ धाम की वेदन कीन बडाई ।
 शङ्ख चक्र गदा पुनि पदम स्वरूप चतुरभुज की अधिकाई ।
 अमृत-पान विमानन बैठिवो नागर के जिय नेक न भाई ।
 स्वर्ग वैकुण्ठ में होरी जो नहिँ तौ कोरी कहा लै करै ठकुराई ॥

i.e., The Vedas have sung the praises of the Dēvas and Ramāpati and also of both the worlds. They have over-praised Chaturbhuja (Viṣṇu) who holds in his four hands a conch shell, discus, club, and

¹ Wife of Kriṣṇa.

³ The Indian Cuckoo.

² Songs of rainy season.

⁴ The star Arcturus.

⁵ A betel-leaf made up with a preparation of the areca nut, spices and chunam, &c.

⁶ A farinacious powder dyed red, which the Hindūs throw on each other during the indecent festivities and drunken frolics of the Hōlī.

lotus. The drinking of nectar and sitting in the car of the gods is not pleasing to the heart of Nāgara. When there is not Hōlī in Svarga or Vaikunṭha (heaven), then our getting the mere Ṭhakurāī (or chiefship) there, would be of no use.

(III) Babū Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Dās, in his 'Nāgarī-dās-jī kā Jiwan Charitra,' says :—

(1) चौथे नागरीदास-जी हमारे ग्रन्थ के नायक महाराज जसवन्तसिंह-जी कृष्णगढ (राजपूताना) नरेश उपनाम श्री-नागरीदास-जी हैं ये महाप्रभु वल्लभाचार्य संप्रदाय के शिष्य थे । Page 5.

i.e., The fourth Nāgarī Dās-jī, the hero of our work, was Mahārāja Jasvant Simh-jī, king of Kṛṣṇagarh (Rājputānā) *alias* Śrī Nāgarī Dās-jī. He was a disciple of Mahāprabhu Vallabhācārya's sect.

(2) सब से पहिला ग्रन्थ जो इन का मिला उस का नाम 'विहार-चन्द्रिका' है । यह संवत् १७८८ में बना था । Page 10.

i.e., The first of all his works, which has been found, is entitled the Vihāra Candrikā. It was composed in Samvat 1788.

(3) तथापि यदि इसे प्रथम भी मान लीजिए तो इस में तो सन्देह नहीं कि इस समय इन की अवस्था बीस वर्ष से कम न रही होगी, अतएव इन के जन्म का समय संवत् १७६८ के लगभग मानिए । Page 10.

i.e., Even if we accept it to be the first work, then there is no doubt that his age at this time was not less than twenty years. Hence the year of his birth should be taken to have been about 1768.

(4) माघ संवत् १८१९ में 'वन-जन-प्रशंसक' ग्रन्थ बनाया जिस का वर्णन हम ऊपर कर चुके हैं । इस के पीछे का कोई ग्रन्थ नहीं मिलता यदि संवत् १७६८ के लगभग जन्म और संवत् १८१९ के लगभग मृत्यु मानी जाय तो ५१ वर्ष की अवस्था पायी । Page 22.

i.e., He has composed his work, Vana-jana-praṇamsa in Māgha of Samvat 1819, as we have stated above. And no work, composed after it, has yet been found. Thus, if we take his birth to have been in Samvat 1768 and his death in 1819, then it proves that he lived to an age of about 51 years.

(5) वहाँ श्रीवांके विहारी-जी (श्री-खामी हरिदास-जी के सेव्य ठाकुर) का दर्शन किया और वहाँ रसिक-विहारी काप दे कर कई पद बनाए । Page 16.

i.e., There (at Brindāban) he visited Śrī Bāṅkē Bihārī-jī, the god

worshipped by Swāmī Ārī Haridās-jī, and composed several verses bearing the poetic name Rasik Bihārī.

Now, first of all, it is worth consideration whether the poet Nāgarī Dās who is the subject of this paper, and Nāgar, noticed by Dr. Grierson and the author of the Sarōj, is the same, or someone else, his name-sake. I believe, he is the same poet, because I have been able to identify the above mentioned specimens of the poet's metrical composition in the manuscript in my possession, which contains 57 works of this Nāgarī Dās. They are identified thus :—

A. There is an incomplete work in the manuscript in my possession at No. 38, and page 192, entitled Barkhā kē kavitta, which contains eight kavittas only. The first specimen of the Āivasimh Sarōj is to be found there, at No. 7, with slight differences in its reading. It reads thus :—

भादौं की कारी अंधारी निसा भुक्ति वादर मन्द फुहौं वरसावै ।
 स्यामा जू आपनी ऊँची अटा पै ककी रस मीत भला रहि गावै ।
 ता समै मोहन के द्विग दूरितै आतुर रूप की भीष सौं पावै ।
 पौन मया करि घँघट टारै दया करि दामनी दीप दिखावै ॥ ७ ॥

The great difference in the above reading is the word *Mōhan* instead of the name of the poet Nāgar in the third line.

B. There is a complete work in the MS. at No. 35, and page 184, entitled the Hōrī kē kavitta, containing 19 kavittas in all. The second specimen is found there, at No. 19, the reading of which is as follows :—

गाँस गसीली ये बातें छिपाइये इस्क न गाइये गाइये होलियाँ ।
 गैद वहानै न वीरा चलाइये सूधै गुलाल चलाइये भोलियाँ ।
 लोग बुरे चतुरे लखि पावैगे दावै रहो दिल प्रीति कलोलियाँ ।
 पाय परी जी डरौ टुव भावते हाय करो मति बोलियाँ ठोलियाँ ॥ १६ ॥

In this also the word *bhāvatē* occurs instead of the name of the poet Nāgar in the fourth line.

C. And there is another complete work, called the Phāga Bihāra, in my MS. at No. 41, and page 256, in which the third specimen of the Sarōj is mentioned at No. 8, as a Savaiyā. The following is a reading thereof :—

देवनि के रू रमापति के दोऊ धाम की देवनि कीनी बडाई ।
 सङ्ग औ चक्र गदा अरु पद्म सरूप चतुर्भुज की अधिकारी ।

अमृत-पान विमाननि बैठि बोली जेती कही तेती एक न भाई ।

स्वर्ग वैकुण्ठ मैँ होरी जो नाहौँ तो कोरी कहा लै करै ठकुराई ॥ ८ ॥

The latter part of the third line greatly differs in reading from that of the specimen. In this work the poet has signed only the concluding stanzas, No. 43, 45, 46 and 48 with the name of Nāgariyā, Nāgar, Nāgarī and Nāgarī Dās and the rest are without his poetic name.

Having made the identification of our poet's metrical compositions, I now proceed to show the result of my independent researches. I have spared no trouble in checking my inquiries by reference to the Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh State, in Rājputānā, of which the poet was really a ruling Chief. Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh is a petty Native State under the Jaipur Residency. And the Rāṭhaur clan which rules over it, is an offshoot of the illustrious House of Jōdhpur. The founder of the State was Mahārāj Kṛṣṇa-simh, second son of Mahārāja Udaya-simh of Jōdhpur.

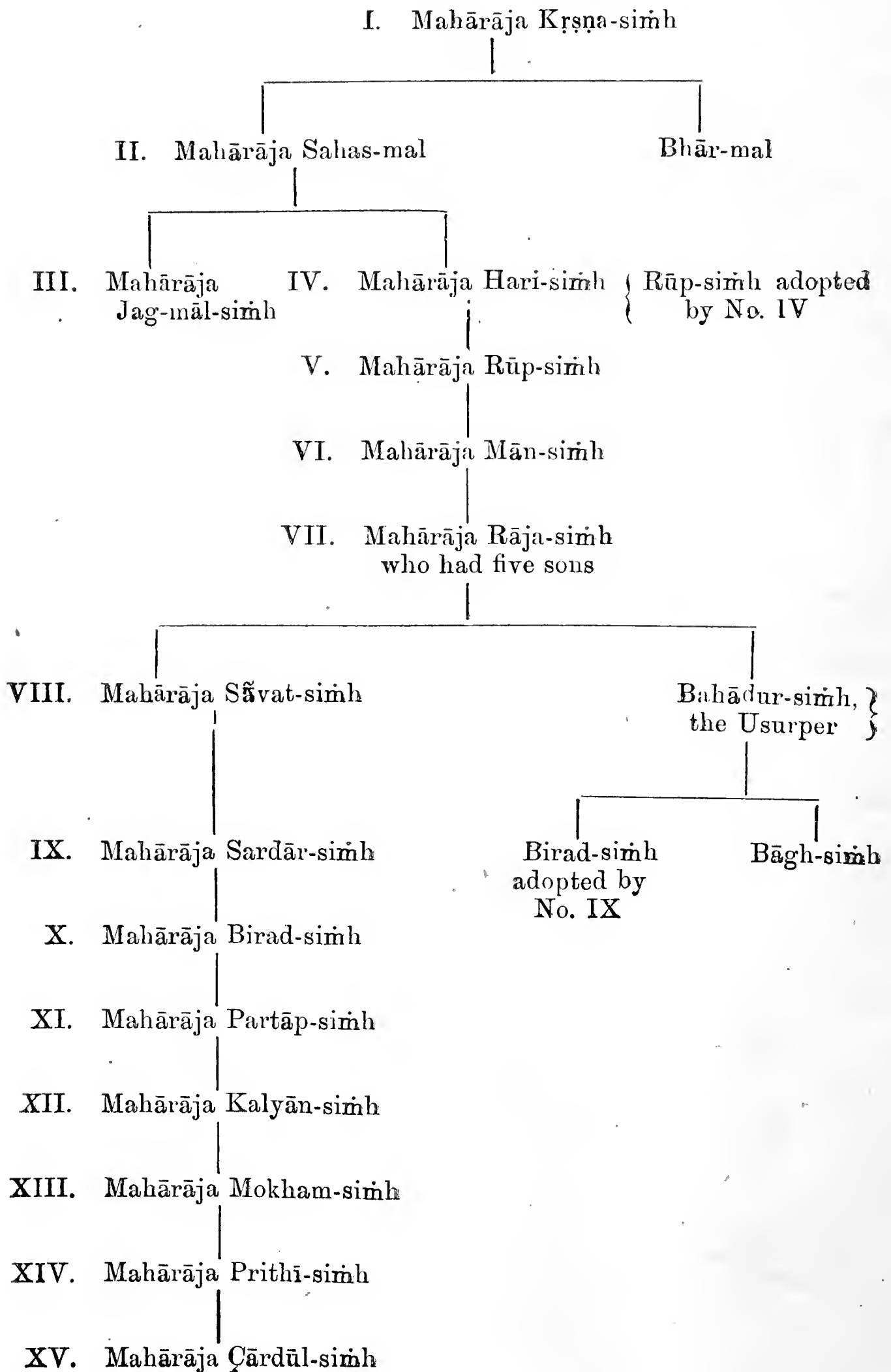
Our poet, Nāgarī Dās, was the eighth in descent from the founder of the Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh State. He was the third son of Mahārāja Rāja-simh. His royal name was Mahārāja Sāvāt-simh, and the Vaiṣṇava appellation was Nāgarī Dās. He has signed his verses by his poetic names, such as Nāgar, Nāgariyā, Nāgarī, and Nāgarī Dās, &c. Bābū Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Dās, in his Hindī book, wrongly names him Mahārāja Jasvant-simh of Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh. For, he is generally known throughout Rājputānā as Mahārāja Sāvāt-simh of Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh, and we find this name in all the biographical treatises of the Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh family extant in Rājputānā. The genealogical table on page 68 will show that there had been no such ruling chief as Jasvant-simh in the Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh family from its commencement.

He (Nāgarī Dās) was born in Vikrama Samvat 1756 on the 12th of Pauṣa Vadi=1699 A.D., was installed on the throne in V. S. 1805 on the 15th of Vaiçākha Çudi=1748 A.D., and placing his son Sardār-simh upon the Gaḍī on the 10th Āçvina Çudi of V. S. 1814=1757 A.D., retired to lead the life of a Vaiṣṇava devotee at Brindāban, and finally died there on the 3rd Bhādrapada Çukla of V. S. 1821=1764 A.D., thus living to an age of 64 years 8 months and 6 days. When these dates have been confirmed by the Darbār's office of Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh, I do not see any reason why we should believe Samvat 1648=1591 A.D. of the Sarōj and that conjectured by Bābū Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Dās of Benares to be the date of our poet.

The poet's exploits of his early days are thus related in the memorandum received by me from the Kṛṣṇa-gaṛh State:—

(1.) In the V. S. year 1766, when he was only ten years old, he was once coming back from the Imperial Darbār at Dehli. In the way he

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KṚṢṆAGARH FAMILY:



met a rabid elephant, who in his fury defied all control of the Mahauts (drivers) who were loudly warning people to get out of the way. But he did not care a bit about it, and undauntedly faced the infuriated animal, which rushed upon him, but was driven back by a stroke of his sword upon the trunk. The picture representing this scene is kept at the Kṛṣṇagarh Darbār, together with a photograph of it.

(2.) In V. S. 1769, when 13 years old, he received some wounds in slaying Hārā Jaita-simh of Būndī.

(3.) In 1771 V. S., at a grand dancing party in which were present his father Mahārāja Rāja-simh, Mahārāja Bhīma-simh of Kōtā, Mahārāja Gaja-simh of Čivapur, and Mahārāja Gōpāla-simh of Bhadōriyā, &c., a venomous serpent somehow made its way into his *jāma* (garments). He did not cause excitement by revealing the fact, but simply crushed out the fangs of the reptile, and leaving the hall on some excuse, threw it off at some distance. This was afterwards told by his servants. He was at this time only fifteen years old.

(4.) In V. S. 1774, an expedition conducted by the Mahārājas of Jaypur and Kōtā, &c., was sent by the Emperor against the Chief of Thūn, and although fighting continued for some time, it was not conquered. Afterwards the poet was sent there. He no sooner reached the place, than he stormed the fortress, and the gate of it was broken open by his elephant.

(5.) When he was only twenty years old, he alone killed a lion while hunting.

(6.) In 1792 V. S. when the Dakhanī Malār went from Gujarāt into Mārvār, the poet did not pay him any tribute, though there was a deal of fighting between them. Thereupon Bājī-rāv said to Malār the following couplet :—

दोहा ॥ वाजी-राव मलार सँ कहतो गयो कथाह ।

और राव सब राव है साँवत बात अथाह ॥

i.e., 'Thus said Bājī-rāva to Malār—All other Rāvas are simply Rāvas in name, but Sāvat's case is too deep to be fathomed' (*i.e.*, he is a really powerful prince).

It is said, the old father of our poet, Mahārāja Rāja-simh, had entrusted him with the administration of the state, a few years previous to his death. Accordingly Nāgarī Dās, then the Mahārāja Kumār Sāvat-simh, managed the affairs with great prudence and kept uninterrupted tranquillity during this period, until his father died. When, in 1804 V. S., he was attending the Imperial Court at Dehli, his old father died suddenly at Kṛṣṇagarh. So he was formally installed there by the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh on the 5th Vaiçākha Čudi, of V. S. 1805, to the Chiefship of Kṛṣṇagarh. Having assumed for-

mally the royal title, he prepared to march to the capital, but in the meantime he received the unhappy intelligence that his younger brother Bahādur-simh had usurped the throne. Thereupon he was sent to his principality with a small imperial force by the Emperor. On his return, a desperate fight took place between the two brothers, but Bahādur-simh could not be subdued. Being utterly routed he returned to Dehli and tried all he could to obtain fresh military assistance from the Emperor. But as Bahādur-simh had secured the aid of the Mahārāja of Mārvār, and the Emperor himself was too weak a ruler at that time to side with him, so he declined. Being greatly disheartened, he left Dehli and came to Braj and lived there. From this place he again endeavoured his utmost to gain the favour of the Mahrāthas, and after a short time he sent his son Sardār-simh with their army into Rājputānā. Thus Sardār-simh, by the co-operation of the Mahrāthas, regained the Rāj of Kṛṣṇaṅgarh. Then, in V. S. 1814, he proceeded to his capital and having placed his son, Sardār Simh, upon the throne, on the 10th Āṣvina Çudi, he finally returned to Brindāban to devote himself to the duties of asceticism. What a pity it is, that our poet's reign has been both unhappy and troublesome, from the beginning to the end !

The following is a complete list of the poet's Hindī works. I have very carefully compared it with the one received from the Kṛṣṇaṅgarh State. All the works can be had from the State Library at Kṛṣṇaṅgarh. The first fifty-seven works mentioned in the list I have with me. And the last two, namely, Baina-bilās and Gupta-ras-prakāṣa are not available even at Kṛṣṇaṅgarh.

List of Works.

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| 1. Singār-sāra or Braj-līlā-pada-prasaṅga. | 15. Phāga-bilāsa. |
| 2. Gōpī-prēma-prakāṣa. | 16. Grīṣam-bihāra. |
| 3. Pada-prasaṅga-mālā. | 17. Pāvāsa-pacīsī. |
| 4. Braj-vaikunṭh-tulā. | 18. Gōpī-baina-bilāsa. |
| 5. Braj-sāra. | 19. Rāsa-rasa-latā. |
| 6. Bihāra-candrikā. | 20. Raina-rūpa-rasa. |
| 7. Bhōr-līlā. | 21. Çīta-sāra. |
| 8. Prāta-rasa-mañjarī. | 22. Ishq-ciman. |
| 9. Bhōjan-ānand-āṣṭaka. | 23. Majlis-mandan. |
| 10. Jugala-rasa-mañjarī. | 24. Aril-āṣṭaka. |
| 11. Phūla-bilāsa. | 25. Sādā kī mājha. |
| 12. Gōdhan-āgamana. | 26. Barkhā kī mājha. |
| 13. Dōhn-ānand. | 27. Hōrī kī mājha. |
| 14. Lagan-āṣṭaka. | 28. Kṛṣṇa-janmōtsava-kavitta. |
| | 29. Priyā-janmōtsava-kavitta. |

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| 30. Sāñjhī kē kavitta. | 54. Nakha-sikha. |
| 31. Rāsa kē kavitta. | 55. Chūtak-kavitta. |
| 32. Cāndnī kē kavitta. | 56. Carcariyā. |
| 33. Divārī kē kavitta. | 57. Rēkhata. |
| 34. Gōvardhana-dhāran. | 58. Manōratha-mañjarī. |
| 35. Hōrī kē kavitta. | 59. Rāma-caritra-mālā. |
| 36. Phāga-gōkul-āṣṭaka. | 60. Pada-prabōdha-mālā. |
| 37. Hindōrā kē kavitta. | 61. Jugal-bhakti-binōda. |
| 38. Barkhā kē kavitta. | 62. Ras-ānukram kē dōhā. |
| 39. Bhakti-maga-dīpikā. | 63. Çarad kī māñjha. |
| 40. Tīrth-ānand. | 64. Sāñjhī-phūla-bīnana-samain-samvad. |
| 41. Phāga-bihāra. | 65. Basanta-barnan. |
| 42. Bāla-binōda. | 66. Phāga-khēlan-samain-ānukram kē kavitta. |
| 43. Sujān-ānanda. | 67. Ras-ānukram kē kavitta. |
| 44. Bana-binōda. | 68. Nikuñja-bilāsa. |
| 45. Bhakti-sāra. | 69. Gōvinda-parcaī. |
| 46. Dēha-dasā. | 70. Bana-jana-praçaṁsa. |
| 47. Bairāga-batī. | 71. Chūtaka-dōhā. |
| 48. Rasika-ratnāvalī. | 72. Utsava-mālā. |
| 49. Kali-bairāga-ballī. | 73. Pada-muktāvalī. |
| 50. Arila-pacīsī. | 74. Baina-bilāsa. |
| 51. Chūtaka-pada. | 75. Gupta-rasa-prakāṣa. |
| 52. Pārāyan-prakāsa. | |
| 53. Sikha-nakha. | |

According to the laudable practice of the vernacular poets of our country of dating their works, the poet has dated some of his important works. I give here a list of those which I have seen and read in chronological order, and trust that it may be useful in many cases :—

I. Manōratha-mañjarī, dated Āçvina Vadi 14th, Tuesday, Vikrama Samvat 1780 = 1723 A.D.

दोहा ॥ संवत सतरा सै असी, चोदस मङ्गल-वार ।

प्रगट मनोरथ-मञ्जरी, वदि आसू अवतार ॥

II. Rasika-ratnāvalī, dated Bhādō Çudi 1st, Tuesday, V. S. 1782 = 1725 A.D.

दोहा ॥ सत्तरै सै वइयासिये, भादेँ सुदि भृगु-वार ।

तिथि परिवा कीनी इहै, लौजो सन्त सुधार ॥

III. Bihāra-candrikā, dated Sāvan, V. S. 1788 = 1731 A.D.

दोहा ॥ सत्तरै सै अक्यासिया, संवत साँवन मास ।

नव विहार यह चन्द्रिका, करी नागरीदास ॥

IV. Nikuñja-vilāsa, dated V. S. 1794 = 1737 A.D.

V. Kali-bairāga-balli, dated Sāvan, V. S. 1795 = 1738 A.D.

दोहा ॥ सत्तरा सै पच्याण्वै, संवत् सावण मास ।
कलिवल्लीबैराग की, करी नागरीदास ॥

VI. Bhakti-sāra, dated Sāvan Vadi 2nd, Thursday, V. S. 1799 = 1742 A.D.

कुण्डलिया ॥ सुख पायौ परन भयै, ग्रन्थ जु भाषा चार ।
सतरा सै निनाँनवै, द्वेज घोस गुरुवार ॥
द्वेज घोस गुरुवार माँस सावन मन भावन ।
दृष्टापक्ष सुभ मन्त्र सन्त जन अवन सुहावन ।
भक्ति-सार उच्चार कियौ निज मन समुभायौ ।
नागरीदास न कहँ विमुष काहँ सुख पायौ ॥

VII. Pārāyan-bidhi-prakās, dated Sāvan, V. S. 1799 = 1742 A.D.

दोहा ॥ सत्तरै सै निनाँनवै संवत सावन मास ।
पारायन जु प्रकास-विधि कियौ नागरीदास ॥

VIII. Braja-sāra, dated Pōṣa Ćudi 9th, Sunday, V. S. 1799 = 1742 A.D.

दोहा ॥ सतरै सै निनाँनवै, पोस जु सुदि रवि-वार ।
नौमी नागरीदास यह कियौ ग्रन्थ ब्रज-सार ॥

IX. Gōpī-prēma-prakāṣa—dated Jēṭha Ćukla, V. S. 1800 = 1743 A.D.

दोहा ॥ संवत अठारै सै सुकल पक्ष जेठ सुभ मास ।
गोपी प्रेम प्रकाश यह, कियौ नागरीदास ॥

X. Braja-baikunṭha-tulā, dated the Basant-day, i.e., Māgha Ćukla 5th, which is called Vasanta-pañcamī, V. S. 1801 = 1744 A.D.

दोहा ॥ संवत अठारै सै जु इक, दिन वसन्त सुभ मास ।
ब्रज-वैकुण्ठ-तुला कियौ ग्रन्थ नागरीदास ॥

XI. Bhakti-maga-dīpikā, dated Kvāra Kṛṣṇa 3rd, Thursday, V. S. 1802 = 1745 A.D., at Rūp-nagar (former capital of Kṛṣṇagarh State).

दोहा ॥ संवत अष्टादस सत जु द्वै, वार तीज गुरु-वार ।
रूप-नगर विचि दृष्टापक्ष भयौ ग्रन्थ विस्तार ॥

XII. Phāga-bihāra, dated Madhu Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa, V. S. 1808=1751 A.D., on the banks of the river Gaṅgā.

दोहा ॥ संवत अष्टदस सत जु पुन, अष्ट वर्ष मधु मास ।
ग्रन्थ गङ्ग-तटि कृष्ण-पक्ष, कियो नागरीदास ॥

XIII. Jugala-bhakti-binōd, dated Māgha, V. S. 1808=1751 A.D., at Kamāñ.

दोहा ॥ अष्टदस सत अष्ट पुनि, संवत माघ सुमास ।
जुगल-भक्ति-गुन ग्रन्थ यह, कियो नागरीदास ॥
निकट कमाऊं पर्वतनि, विकट विटप की भीर ।
तहाँ ग्रन्थ रचना भई, नदी कौसिकी तीर ॥

XIV. Bana-binōd, dated Madhu and Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa, V. S. 1809=1752 A.D.

दोहा ॥ समत अठार स जु नव, कृष्ण-पक्ष मधु मास ।
बन बिनोद कल ग्रन्थ यह कियो नागरीदास ॥

XV. Bal-binōd—dated Āçvin Çukla 6th, Tuesday, V. S. 1809=1752 A.D.

दोहा ॥ समत अष्टदस सत जु नव, मास अस्नि भृगु-वार ।
तिथि षष्ठी अरु शुक्ल-पक्ष रच्यो ग्रन्थ विस्तार ॥

XVI. Tirth-ānanda, dated Māgha, V. S. 1810=1753 A.D., at Brindāban.

दोहा ॥ माघ अष्टदस सत जु दस, विचि चन्दावन वास ।
ग्रन्थ तीरथानन्द यह, कियो नागरीदास ॥

XVII. Sujan-ānand, dated at Barsānā in the Mathurā District, V. S. 1810=1753 A.D.

दोहा ॥ समत अष्टदस सत जु दस, बरसाने के वास ।
ग्रन्थ सु-सुजनानन्द यह, कियो नागरी दास ॥

XVIII. Bana-jana-praçamsa, dated Māgha, V. S. 1819=1762 A.D.

दोहा ॥ अष्टादस सत दस जु नव, संवत माघ सु मास ।
बन जन-प्रसन्न ग्रन्थ यह, कियो नागरी-दास ॥

It is clear that the poet was a staunch follower of the Vallabhācāryan sect of the Vaiṣṇavas. So, all his works on religious subjects are pervaded by a spirit of the doctrines peculiar to that sect. They are written in the erotic style of poetry, representing his passionate adora-

tion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. There are only two of his works, named the Pada-prasaṅga-mālā and Tīrth-ānanda, from which we can extract a few threads of historical value. In the former he gives the legends of the previous Vaiṣṇava saints in connection with their metrical compositions, and in the latter an account of his own pious ramblings in and beyond Braj is related.

It is still wrongly believed by the vernacular poets of our country that the verses, bearing the poetic name Rasik Bihārī, which are found here and there in the works of this poet, are either of his own composition, or of some other male poet. During the long period of my services in Rājputānā, I have been able to make out that there was a concubine of this poet, named Baṇī Ṭhaṇī (*i. e.*, elaborately adorned or decked out). She was a poetess and signed her composition by the aforesaid poetic name. In support of this my discovery, I think it necessary to quote here the following text of a passage of the Hindī memorandum received by me from the Kṛṣṇaṅgarh State :—

और जहाँ रसिक-बिहारी जी के भोग के कवित्त तथा पद इन साहिबों के ग्रंथों में हैं सो इन साहिबों की खवास पासवान यानी उपस्त्री थी। उन का नाम बणी-ठणी जी था। वह भी कविता बज्जत सुन्दर बनाते थे। रसिक-बिहारी का भोग रखते थे। और जहाँ महाराज श्री-नागरीदास-जी अपने ग्रंथ में इन के पद या कवित्व लिखते वहाँ आन कवि ऐसा सङ्केत लिखते हैं ॥

i. e., 'The Kavittas and Padas, bearing the poetic name Rasik Bihārī, which are found in the works of this gentleman (Nāgarī Dās), are (the compositions) of his Khavāsa or Pāsavāna (*i. e.*, concubine). Her name was Baṇī Ṭhaṇī. She also wrote very beautiful poetry and used to sign her verses with the poetic name of Rasik Bihārī. Where Mahārāja Ṣrī Nāgarī Dās-jī has introduced her padas or kavittas in his works, he has mentioned her name emblematically as *Ān Kavi* (or 'another poet').'

I am still trying my best to find out the real name of this woman, because I do not believe 'Baṇī Ṭhaṇī' to be her true name. I think it to be what they call in English a sobriquet. It is said that this woman remained faithful and devoted to her lover even in the days of his adversity. It is evident from the following verses of the poet which occur in the Tīrthānand, that she was with him, when he visited the shrine of Bāṅkē Bihārī-jī at Brindāban in his pilgrimage through the Braj :—

दोहा ॥ बनी विहारनि रससनी निकट विहारी-लाल ।
पान कियो इम द्विगन तैं अनुपम रूप रसाल ॥

पद्धरी ॥ तहाँ पद गाये औसर सझोग ।
विचि रसिक-बिहारी ही कौ भोग ॥

i.e., 'She became a lively sensuous maiden with the deity Bihārī-lāl, and drank with her eyes the excellent juice of the sugar-cane of divine beauty. On this occasion we both sang there the verses, bearing the poetic name of Rasik Bihārī.'

'The following verses, occurring in the Utsava-māla, are a specimen of her metrical composition :—

कुञ्ज महल मैँ आज रङ्ग होरी हो ।
फाग खेल मैँ बना-बनी कौनै रही पटगठ जेरी हो ॥
मुदितनै नारि गुलाल उडावैँ गावैँ गारी दुजँ ओरी हो ।
दूलह रसिक-बिहारी सुन्दर दुलहिनि नवल किसोरी हो ॥

i.e., 'To-day there is the merry-making of Hōlī in the bowery palace In playing Phāga (or frolics of Hōlī) the edges of the shawls of the Banā-Banī (*i.e.*, bride and bridegroom) were tied together. The women, in pleasure, blow up Gulāl powder and sing abusive songs on both sides. The bridegroom is the beautiful Rasik Bihārī, and the bride is Naval-Kisōrī, (*i.e.*, the beautiful young maiden).'



Upagupta, the Fourth Buddhist Patriarch, and High Priest of Aṣṭōka.—
By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D.

[Read March, 1897.]

The name of Upagupta occurs incidentally in the scriptures and commentaries of the so-called Northern or Mahāyāna Buddhists, as the patronymic of the fourth member of the series of patriarchs of the Buddhist Church, in direct succession from the epoch of Ṣākya Muni's death.¹ He is also referred to therein, as being the converter and spiritual adviser of the great emperor Aṣṭōka;² and it is in this respect, as the alleged inspirer of Aṣṭōka's great missionary movement, which led to Buddhism becoming a power in the world, that Upagupta claims our special notice. Of such importance is he considered, that his coming is alleged to have been predicted by both Buddha himself³ and by his favourite disciple Ānanda.⁴ And of him Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, writes: 'since the death of the Guide (Buddha) no man has been born who has done so much good to living beings as this man.'⁵

In the scanty references to Upagupta by European writers it is generally stated that "he is not known to the Southern school of Buddhism."⁶ This statement, however, is probably not strictly true. For, I find that a great Buddhist *arahat* of the same name, and apparently this identical person, is well known to the Burmese. The circumstances, however, under which he is known to them are peculiar. Although he is one of the most popular of the Buddhist Saints in Burma, and a special festival is held in his honor every year, as will

¹ Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, and the early history of his Order, 170; and the Chinese lists by Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 6-7, etc.; Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.* II, 1201; also Beal and Eitel and my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 8.

² Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 88. Burnouf's *Introduction du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 118, 197, 336, 378.

³ Burnouf's *Intro.*, 336. Tāranātha's *Hist. of Indian Buddhism*, fol. 12.

⁴ Rockhill's *Life, &c.*, 164.

⁵ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, I, 182, n. 48.

⁶ Tāranātha's *op. cit.*, fol. 12.

presently be described, and his name is familiar to all the monks as well as the laity; still the former could not point out to me any reference to him in their scriptures, either ancient or modern. The fact seems to be that Upagupta is not now an orthodox character in Burma, and his traditional worship or veneration is probably a survival of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, which prevailed in mediæval times in both Burma and Ceylon. But why he should be regarded as unorthodox by the puritan modern Sthaviras or the so-called Southern Buddhists, is remarkable, seeing that Upagupta was himself a Sthavira and the leader of the Sthavira sect of primitive Buddhists, who followed the simple ethics of the original *Vinaya* code. Perhaps it may have been owing to his having been credited with disreputable magic powers, while he had not like his great wizard prototype, Māudgalyāyana, ('Mogalli') the saving fortune of being a personal follower of the Buddha.

In this connection it is noteworthy that Upagupta holds in most of the Northern chronicles, the identical position in regard to Aṣōka which the relatively vague and less trustworthy Ceylonese traditions ascribe to 'Mogalliputta Tissa' (Maudgalyiputra Tiṣya), a name which is unknown to the Northern authorities. So it is perhaps worth considering whether this latter name may not be merely a title of Upagupta, and formed possibly by fusing the names of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, Maudgalyī-putra,¹ and Upatiṣya (or Ḍāriputra), to bring him, as the great patron monk of Ceylon, as near as possible to Ḍākyā Muni himself.

However this may be, as Upagupta seems a personage of considerable historical importance, I propose here to string together the notices of his life which I have gleaned from various sources.

Legendary versions of his life are to be found in the Tibetan in the 3rd and 4th chapters of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*;² and in the 47th chapter of the Mongolian *Dsaṅ-Blun*.³ Tāranātha, a Tibetan who never visited India and who wrote less than three centuries ago, makes Upagupta precede Aṣōka by about one generation, but the much more trustworthy Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in common with the Nepalese accounts⁴ state that Upagupta was the chief monk and adviser of Aṣōka at Pāṭaliputra. In the

¹ He is often so-called, e.g., Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, I, 39, 40, 59, 61, 108, 180, 183, 187, 235; II, 6, 7, 9, 175 *et seq.* Also in colloquial Tibetan where his name is shortened into 'Mongal-pu' and Mohugal-pu'; while Ḍāriputra is called 'Shāri-pu.' Conf. also Csoma's *Analysis of the Kah-gyur*, &c., in Vol. XX. of *Asiatic Researches*, pp. 49, 52.

² Translated into German by Schiefner.

³ Translated into German by I. Schmidt as 'Der Weise und der Thor.'

⁴ See preceding footnote No. 2.

following biographical account the details where not otherwise stated are taken from the original Tibetan text of *Tāranātha*.

Upagupta is said to have been the son of one Gupta, a perfume-seller¹ of Benares,² (or 'Chali'³ or Mathurā;⁴) and he entered the Buddhist order at the age of seventeen,⁵ "one hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of the Blessed one (Çākya Muni)."⁶ This date is given according to the same generally consistent chronology of the Northern Buddhists which also places the great Açōka at one hundred years after the Nirvāṇa,⁷ and which knows of no second Açōka or the Kālāçōka of Ceylonese tradition.

He was converted by the *arahat* Yaças or Yasheka, who seems to be the same as the president of the council of Vaiçālī, which as both northern and southern accounts agree was held one hundred and ten years after the Nirvāṇa.

Three years after entering the order, he attained Arahatsip, of an exceptionally high order, becoming 'a Buddha without the marks,' (Alakṣaṇakō Buddhaḥ);⁸ and he converted many to the faith.

Succeeding to the patriarchate of the Buddhist Church on the death of Çāṇavāsika, the third patriarch, in Campā (Bhagalpur) "he crossed the sunken Ganges (or 'the Bargal river') to Vidēha (Bettiah) in western Tīraḥuti (Tirhut) and went to the monastery erected by the householder Vasusāra." After a short stay there he proceeded to Mt. Gandha⁹ where he made many converts. Thence he went to "Mathurā in the north-west of the Middle Country" and resided at the monastery on the top of Mount 'Shira' (Çira or Uçira or Urumuṇḍa¹⁰ or Muruṇḍha¹¹) founded during the time of the patriarch Çāṇavāsika, by the two chief merchants of the place Naṭa and Bhaṭṭa.¹² While here, he converted crowds of people who had been beguiled

¹ Rockhill's *Life*, &c., p. 164. Burnouf's *Intro.*, p. 336. Schiefner, his translation of *Tāranātha* has omitted the word *Gupta* which occurs in the Tibetan text.

² *Der Weise und der Thor.*, 47 chap.

³ So a Chinese gentleman reads for me the Chinese word in Eitel's *Dictionary*, p. 187, and which Mr. Eitel renders 'Pāṭaliputra.'

⁴ Burnouf's *Intro.*, 336.

⁵ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 182 n.

⁶ Rockhill's *Life*, &c., p. 164. Baniyo Nanjio's *History of Japanese Buddhist Sects*, 24.

⁷ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 85, and Burnouf's *Intro.*, 330.

⁸ Cf. also Burnouf's *Intro.*, 337 and n. 1: Rockhill's *Life*, &c., 164.

⁹ Or Gandhara, or Gandamādāna.

¹⁰ Conf. also Burnouf's *Intro.*, 337.

¹¹ Rockhill's *Life*, &c., 164.

¹² Conf. also Rockhill and Burnouf as above.

by Māra in the shape of a dancer with attendants male and female. Upagupta overcomes these by magical means bestowing on them garlands which he turns into clinging corpses, from which he sets them free only on condition that they cease their wicked ways. In this regard it is curious to find that dancing girls are the subject of some very fine sculptures which were found at an ancient Buddhist site at Mathurā.¹ A slightly different and more dramatic version of this personal contest with Māra is given by Aṣvaghōṣa as an *Avadāna*.² According to this version "Māra found Upagupta lost in meditation and placed a wreath of flowers on his head. On returning to consciousness and finding himself thus crowned, he entered again into *Samādhi* to see who had done the deed. Finding it was Māra, he caused a dead body to fasten itself round Māra's neck. No power in heaven or earth could disentangle it. Finally Māra returned to Upagupta, confessed his fault and prayed him to free him from the corpse. Upagupta consented on the condition that he (Māra) would exhibit himself under the form of Buddha 'with all his marks.' Māra does so and Upagupta overpowered by the magnificence of the supposed Buddha falls down before him in worship. The tableau then closes amid a terrific storm."

At Mathurā, both Hiuen Tsiang and Tāranātha mention a large cave into which Upagupta was in the habit of throwing a chip of wood to register the number of individuals who attained Arahatsip through him, until the cave ultimately became filled with the chips.

From Mathurā he proceeded to Aparānta³ (Sindh), during the reign of a king called Mahendra and his son 'Chamasha,' and there the inhabitants of Bagal erected for him a retreat in 'the grove of the duck-herd,' which was called 'the *Saṅghārāma* of the Duck'—this certainly does not seem to be the Kukkuṭārāma or monastery of the Cock, as Schiefner translates.⁴ Hiuen Tsiang also states that "Upagupta the great *Arahat* frequently sojourned in this kingdom (Sindh)," ⁵ a country which, he notes, was famous for its salt. And as

¹ *Archaeol. Survey of India Repts.* Vol. XVII, Plate XXXI. The sculptures represent dancing girls dancing on dwarfs, which have been supposed to symbolize Energy acting on Matter.

² Beal's *Fo-sho-hing-tsano-king*, p. XII (Sacred Bks. of East), and in *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 182

³ Tāranātha *op. cit.*

⁴ This place was in Aparānta in the extreme west of India, while the Kukkuṭārāma was in Pāṭaliputra. Conf. Schiefner's translation of Tāranātha's History, p. 18. The Tibetan word is 'bya-gag' which according to Jaeschke's *Dictionary* is the name of a species of water-bird or duck. And my MS. Tibeto-Sanskrit Dictionary gives the Sanskrit equivalent as *Bakah*, and the feminine as *Nākuli*.

⁵ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 273.

the word Sindh means in Sanskrit 'Sea-salt' it is possible that the Burmese legend which makes Upagupta reside in the salt sea, may have its origin in a too literal translation of this word. Hiuen Tsiang records that "the places where he (Upagupta) stopped (in his explaining the Law and convincing and guiding men) and the traces he left are all commemorated by the building of *Saṅghārāmas* or the erection of *stūpas*. These buildings are seen everywhere."¹

He visited 'Kha-chhe' (Kashmir), in a miraculous manner, says a Tibetan account,² and there he erected "the long stone." This seems a reference to his planting of an Aṣoka-pillar. During his three months stay in that country, he preached the law, worked many miracles, and amid lightning and earthquakes he descended to the watery palace of the Nāga dragon-king of the lake of Kha-chhe, and afterwards "disappeared into the sky."

At Pāṭaliputra, his hermitage was, as in Mathurā, on a hill which is described by Hiuen Tsiang as "a little mountain. In the crags and surrounding valleys there are several tens of stone dwellings which Aṣoka Rāja made for Upagupta and other *arahats* by the intervention of the genii."³ The ruins of this artificial hill now form the *Chōtī Pahārī* or 'small hill' to the south of Patna, as was identified by me some years ago;⁴ and this identification has been confirmed by the excavation of the ruined tower by its side, as described by the great Chinese pilgrim. Aṣoka's conversion to Buddhism according to the Chinese account was effected by Upagupta, who also, it is stated, advised the erection of monasteries and *stūpas* all over India. Amongst the first of these monasteries was the *Kukkuṭārāma* or 'Garden of the Cock,' erected to the south-east of the city and capable of holding a thousand monks.⁵ This building was the scene of the dialogues reported in the *Divyāvadāna*, in the *Mahāyāna Sūtra* entitled the *Guṇa Karaṇḍa Vyūha*, purporting to have been held between Aṣoka and Upagupta, and translated in part by Burnouf.⁶ A Tibetan version also is said to exist.

Upagupta's first visit to Aṣoka, is made in the Indian *Divyāvadāna* to come some time after Aṣoka's conversion, and his erection of relic-*stūpas*. But it is Upagupta who is associated with Aṣoka in the latter's pilgrimages to the sacred Buddhist spots, and his marking of them by the

¹ *Idem*.

² A MS. extract from the Tibetan translation of the *Kālacakra* (Tib. 'Dus-'khor.)

³ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II,

⁴ Preliminary Report on the Ruins of Pāṭaliputra. Calcutta, 1892, p. 15.

⁵ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 88.

⁶ Burnouf's *Intro.*, pp. 338, *et seq.*

magnificent monuments which later tradition ascribes to the agency of the genii. Interesting details are also given of the manner in which Aṣōka made these pilgrimages. It is related,¹ how Aṣōka at the instance of Yaças, the elder, invites Upagupta who was at Mathurā to come to his assistance at Pāṭaliputra, and the king provides the boats for this long river journey. On his arrival, Aṣōka receives him with the highest honours and exclaims: "You who resemble the Master! You who are the sole eye of the universe, and the chief interpreter (of the Law) be my refuge Sir, and give me your commands! I shall eagerly hasten, accomplished sage, to obey thy voice!" The sage replied 'O great king, Bhagavat, the Venerable Tathāgata, the perfect and complete Buddha has entrusted to me as well as to *you* the depository of the Law. Let us make every effort to preserve that which the Guide of beings has transmitted to us, when he was in the midst of his disciples.'

* * * *. Then (the king) falling at the feet of the Sthavira Upagupta cried out, 'This O Sthavira, is my wish: I wish to *visit, honour, and mark by a sign for the benefit of remote posterity all the spots* where the Blessed Buddha has sojourned.' 'Very good, O great king,' replied the Sthavira, 'this thought of thine is good. I will go this day to show you the spots where the blessed Buddha sojourned'²

* * * * *. "Then the king equipped with an army of the four bodies of troops, took perfumes, flowers and garlands, and set out in the company of the Sthavira Upagupta. The latter began by conducting the king to the garden of Lumbinī. Then extending his right hand he said to him: '*Here O great king, was the Bhagavat born.*' And he added 'Here (at this site), excellent to see, should be the first monument consecrated in honour of the Buddha' * * * * *. The king after giving a hundred thousand (golden coins) to the people of the country raised a stūpa and retired."³

Now it is remarkable that the words here used are almost the identical words which Aṣōka himself uttered at this place, as inscribed on his edict-pillar which has just been found by Dr. Führer in the place which was first indicated by me,⁴ and by me also were made the arrangements for the recovery of this lost site. This inscription on the Aṣōka-edict-pillar at the actual birth-place of the Buddha is translated by Dr. Bühler in the *Times* of the 25th ultimo (January), as recording

¹ Burnouf's *Intro.*, p. 337.

² Burnouf's *Intro.*, p. 340.

³ *Idem.*, p. 342.

⁴ See my article sent to this Society on the 11th May, 1896, entitled a *Tibetan Guide-book to the site of Buddha's birth and death*, and afterwards published in more detail in the *Englishman* of 1st June, 1896.

that “king Piyadasi (Açōka), twenty years after his accession (literally ‘anointing’) himself came to this very spot and there worshipped saying ‘Here was the Buddha, the Çākya ascetic born,’ and that he erected this stone pillar which records that ‘Here the Venerable One was born.’”

Thus it would almost appear as if Açōka had merely repeated the words put into his mouth by Upagupta. However this may be, this remarkable coincidence seems to strengthen materially the historical value of this part of the somewhat legendary *Divyāvadāna*, which in spite of the internal evidence of its having been composed much later than the epoch of Açōka, still Burnouf had already considered it to be semi-historical.¹

This Açōka-legend goes on to relate how Upagupta conducted the king to most of the chief sites hallowed by Buddha and his chief disciples. Amongst these latter, especial prominence is given to Maudgalyāyana with whom as has been mentioned Upagupta seems possibly to have had his name associated. Certainly the following reference to Maudgalyāyana invests him with much the same attributes as those ascribed to Upagupta at Mathurā and Kashmir; and these are also mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang² and others.³ The *Avadāna* says:—

“The Sthavira Upagupta showing afterwards the stūpa of the Sthavira Mahā Maudgalyāyana thus spoke, ‘Here, O great king, is the stūpa of (the remains of) the great Maudgalyāyana; you ought to honour it.’ ‘What are the merits of this sage,’ queried the king. The Sthavira replied ‘He has been designated by Bhagavat as the chief of those who possessed supernatural power, because with the great toe of his right foot he shook Vaijayanta, the palace of Çakra, the Indra of the gods. He converted the two Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda.’ And he uttered this verse: ‘It is necessary to honour, all that one can, Kōlita (*i.e.*, Maudgalyāyana) the foremost of Brāhman, * * * * Who in this world could surpass the ocean of power of this sage in the perfect Intelligence—he who has conquered the serpents, those famous beings, so difficult to subdue?’ The king having given a hundred thousand (golden pieces) for the stūpa of the great Maudgalyāyana⁴ exclaimed with hands joined in respect, ‘I honour with bended head the celebrated Maudgalyāyana, the foremost of sages, gifted with supernatural power, who has freed himself from birth, old age, sorrow and pain.’”⁵

¹ Burnouf's *Intro.*, 378 n.

² Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 176.

³ Conf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 98-99.

⁴ This Açōka Stūpa was visited by Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 175.)

⁵ Burnouf's *Intro.*, p. 348.

Nāgās
Nanda

As to Upagupta's death, accounts differ. Some state that he died¹ and that this event occurred at Mathurā;² but I find no reference to his relic-stūpas. The Japanese legend relates,³ that "there was an earthquake and he transcended (or crossed over;)" or it may read, "he went to 'Shin-tam.'" The Burmese tradition seems to make him yet alive like Mahākasyapa and a few other *Arahats* by getting outside the circle of re-births. His personal entity or *Sattva* while it still retained a body has by mystical means become liberated from the influence of Avidyā and the operation of the Causal Nexus, and in this way by his supernatural power or *Rddhi*, he has secured immortality.⁴

The residence in the sea, allotted to this immortalized Upagupta, as a sort of king of the Nāga or dragon-spirits, could be explained by his reputation for supernatural power and his special association with Sindh or 'sea-salt,' his coming to Aṣōka by boat, and the connexion of his name with the conquest of Nāga-kings.⁵ And Aṣōka himself is also credited with having become reborn as a Nāga. A slightly different and more humorous version of the legend of the popular Burmese saint, is given by Mr. Scott in his charming book on the Burmese. He relates⁶ that 'Oopagoh' is condemned to existence as a water-god through having in his previous existence "carried off the clothes of a bather, and for this mischievous pleasantry is condemned to remain in his present quarters till Areemadehya (Maitreya) the next Buddha shall come. Then he will be set free and entering the Thenga (*Sangha*) will become a Rahan and attain Neh'ban (Nirvāṇa). He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses."⁷ This version, however, does not indicate why 'Oopagoh' should be worshipped with such zeal by Burmese Buddhists; while the version given me by a learned Burman, as above noted, relates that the hero is a great *Arahat* who by his magical power has secured long life or immortality, and can confer luck.

The Burmese festival in honour of this 'Upagu,' resembles some-

¹ Eitel's *Dict.*, p. 187.

² Tāranātha, fol. 11.

³ *Butsu dso dsoi*, p. 151.

⁴ Conf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 120.

⁵ Burnouf's *Intro.*, p. 336. And his doings at Kashmir as above related.

⁶ *The Burman, his Life and Notions*, by Sway Yoe, I, 272.

⁷ This reference to corpses may be compared with the Mathurā incidents in his biography.

what the feast in honour of the great Indian Nāga king, Mahākāla, the 'Dai Koko' of the Japanese Buddhists who also celebrated this festival in a somewhat similar manner, a leading feature of which is the treasure-boat of the Nāga dragon-spirits.¹

It is held on the last day of the Buddhist Lent or Varṣa (Wās), at the end of the rainy season, about October. All the houses are ablaze with lamps and nearly every Burman builds a tiny boat, decorates it with flowers, illuminates it and then launches it on the river, with music, and the prayer that it may be carried on to 'Upagu,' and bring back to them the luck-giving saint—a procedure which recalls the incident of Aṣōka sending boats to bring Upagupta, the saintly interpreter of the Law, which confers religious fortune. The effect of this miniature flotilla is often very fine. A thousand tiny specks of light dancing on the dark bosom of the waters. During the night all eagerly expect to have the good fortune of a visit from the 'Upagu' somewhat like the visit of Santa Claus (St. Nicholas) on Christmas eve; for those who are thus favoured are endowed with long life and good luck. On such occasions many clandestinely sprinkle water on their door steps for good luck in pretence that the water-god has paid them a visit. Such seems to be the popular hero-worship in Burma, now-a-days, accorded to the great High Priest of Aṣōka.

¹ W. Anderson's *Catalogue of Chinese and Japanese paintings in the British Museum*, p. 38.

Ancient Countries in Eastern India.—By F. E. PARGITER, ESQ., B. A., C. S.

(With Map II.)*

[Read March, 1897.]

The countries into which Eastern India was divided in ancient times consisted of four groups, (1) Magadha, Vidēha and the small kingdom of Vaiçālī; (2) Aṅga, Varga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, with Ōḍra and Tāma-lipta; (3) Prāg-jyōtiṣa and the Kirātas; and (4) Utkala. The last three groups are always recognized in Sanskrit writings, and were without doubt based on real ethnological differences; but Magadha and Vidēha denoted territory rather than races, for these countries in their conditions resembled those to their west in Madhya-dēça, viz., Kōsala and Kāçi, and their inhabitants appear, especially in Magadha, to have been a mixture of the Āryas with earlier races, as in Madhya-dēça, the chief difference being that the earlier races do not seem to have been so completely subjugated and incorporated by the Āryas as in Madhya-dēça.

I propose in this paper to collect and examine all the passages of any importance, that I have been able to find, bearing on these countries, and to determine their position as exactly as possible. In a map illustrating the paper on “Ancient Cēdi, Matsya and Karūṣa” in this Journal, Vol. LXIV, Part I, No. 3, 1895, I have shown nearly all these countries in the positions which I proposed in the notes to the Translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, cantos lvii and lviii; but on fuller and more careful consideration I have been led to modify those views somewhat, especially with regard to Puṇḍra, and would offer the present paper as a revised contribution to the ancient geography of Eastern India.

Most of the passages cited here are taken from that vast storehouse of information, the Mahā-Bhārata, and therefore in giving the references I have dropped the name of the book for the sake of convenience and specified the Parvans only. For passages cited from other books the references have been given in full, and the Rāmāyaṇa is quoted according to Gorresio's Edition.

* It is not free from blemishes; e.g., for *Modagiri* read *Mōdāgiri*; for *Tr-srotas* read *Tri-srōtas*; &c.

MAGADHA.

Magadha is too well known to call for much notice here. It comprised the modern districts of Patna, Gaya and *Shāhābād*. Its ancient capital was *Giri-vraja* (*Sabhā-p.*, xx. 798-800; *Hari-V.*, cxvii. 6598; and *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādi-k.*, xxxv. 1-9), which Cunningham has identified with the modern *Giryek* on the *Pañcana* river about 36 miles north-east of *Gayā* (*Arch. Surv. Repts.*, I. 16 and plate iii). *Rāja-grha* appears to have been another name of the capital (*Ādi-p.*, cxiii. 4451-2; and *Āçvamēdh.-p.*, lxxxii. 2435-63), but Cunningham identifies it with the modern *Raj-gir* about six miles west of *Giryek* (*Arch. Surv. Repts.*, I. 20 and plate iii). The people were called *Magadhas* and *Māga-dhas*.

Magadha appears to have been the arena of many early conflicts. Its oldest name is said to have been *Kikāṭa*, which occurs in *Rg.-V.*, iii. 53.14 (*Muir's Sansk. Texts*, II. 362-3). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Viçvā-mitra* gives the youthful *Rāma* an account of Magadha and the countries near it. He says its old name was *Vasu*; *Kuça*, a great king who was sprung from *Brahmā*, had four sons who established four kingdoms, (1) *Kuçaçva* at *Kauçaçvī* (or, *Kuçāmba* at *Kauçāmbī*; according to another reading), (2) *Kuṣanābha* at *Mahodaya* or *Kānyakubja*, (3) *Amūrtarajas* in *Prāg-jyōtiṣa*, and (4) *Vasu* at *Giri-vraja* (*Ādi-k.*, xxxv. 1-10 and 35). This story professes to hand down what occurred several generations before *Rāma's* time, but presents many difficulties, and clashes in some of its details with the next event that I now cite. According to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, at a later time about half way between *Rāma's* age and that of the *Pāṇḍavas*, *Vasu Upari-cara*, king of *Cēdi*, conquered Magadha and established his son *Vṛhad-ratha* as king over it (see paper on "Ancient *Cēdi*, *Matsya* and *Karūṣa*" mentioned above).

The later history of Magadha is well-known, and it played the leading part in Buddhism.

VIDĒHA.

Vidēha derived its name from *Māthava* the *Vidēgha* who colonized it according to the *Çata-P. Brāhmaṇa* (I. iv. 1). The passage runs thus, briefly, according to Dr. Eggeling's translation. "Māthava, the (king of) *Vidēgha*, carried *Agni Vaiçvānara* in his mouth. The *Rṣi Gōtama Rāhūgaṇa* was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter) he made no answer to him, fearing lest *Agni* might fall from his mouth. [The priest continued to invoke *Agni*, and at length *Agni Vaiçvānara* flashed forth from the king's mouth and fell down on the earth.] *Māthava* the *Vidēgha* was at that time on the river *Sarasvatī*.

He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gôtama Rābhūgaṇa and the Vidēgha Māthava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that (river) which is called Sadā-nīrā flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain; that one he did not burn over. That one the brāhmanas did not cross in former times, thinking it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiṣvānara. Now-a-days, however, there are many brāhmanas to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadā-nīrā) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiṣvānara. Now-a-days, however, it is very cultivated, for the brāhmanas have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that (river), as it were, rages along; so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiṣvānara. Māthava the Vidēgha then said (to Agni), 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this river be thy abode!' said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Kōsalas and Vidēhas; for these are the Māthavas."

Sadā-nīrā means "the river that is always full of water." Sāyana says it is the river Karatōyā, the modern Kurattee which flows through the Bogra district; and Dr. Muir (Sansk. Texts, II. 419-422) and Dr. Eggeling (see note in his edition) prefer to identify it with the Gaṇḍakī, the modern Gaṇḍak. Sāyana's explanation must be mistaken, because there can be no doubt Vidēha could never have been east of the Kurattee. Nor can the river be well identified with the Gaṇḍakī, because they are mentioned as distinct rivers in Sabhā-p., xix. 794. This passage is noticed by Dr. Muir. Though it is hardly intelligible in its description of the route taken by Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma in going from the Kurus to Magadha, unless they took a zigzag course eastward, south-westward and again eastward, in order to avert suspicion before finally making for Magadha; still it indicates plainly that the Gaṇḍakī and Sadā-nīrā were different rivers. Moreover the Gaṇḍakī flows *through* the country which has always been considered to be Vidēha, and could not therefore have been its western boundary.

It seems then that the Sadā-nīrā must lie further to the west, and it should probably be identified with the Rapti. I have not been able to find any Sanskrit name for the Rapti. Lassen calls it the Ajita-vatī (Ind. Alt., Map), but this name is not in the dictionary, nor have I met with it anywhere. This identification then fills up a blank and agrees with the well-known situation of Vidēha. It offers also an explanation of the marshy nature of ancient Vidēha, viz., the Gaṇḍak flows through the middle of the country, it has always been liable to shift its course greatly, its numerous channels intersect the country, and its floods would have rendered the soil extremely marshy.

A further consideration of the facts will, I think, throw some light on this passage from the Çata-P. Brāhmaṇa. Vidēha in ancient times must, like most other parts of India, have been more or less covered by forest, the remains of which survive at the present day along the foot of the Himālayas in the tract called the Terai, and was no doubt inhabited by aboriginal tribes such as inhabit the Terai now. The deadly malaria of such a forest is well-known, and only such tribes have been able to live in its climate. To this must be added the effect, which periodic floods from the Gaṇḍak during the rainy season must have produced in the rank vegetation of such a region. Very swampy and uncultivable would be moderate expressions to apply to it. No Ārya could have ventured within it, and the only way in which Āryas could have colonized it was by felling and burning the forest down wholesale, and opening out the soil to the purifying rays of the sun. That is what (it seems to be implied) Māthava must have done.

Prof. Weber considers Agni Vaiṣvānara to be a personification of the sacrificial worship of the brāhmans, and Dr. Muir and Dr. Eggeling appear to acquiesce in this interpretation (*loc. cit.*); but I venture to submit that the wide import of the epithet Agni Vaiṣvānara, “the fire that burns for all men,” hardly expresses the narrow view that the brāhmans would have of their own peculiar sacrificial fire. May it not rather mean “fire which is the common property of all men,” that is, not sacrificial fire, but fire in its ordinary every-day uses as applied to human wants? It seems to me a distinction is implied between the Agni Vaiṣvānara that Māthava himself had and the sacrificial fire of the brāhmans.

The explanation suggested here, regarding Agni Vaiṣvānara’s going burning along the ground and his tasting and improving the soil, portrays with poetical force, how the fire seized on the forests and raged along devouring them with its flames, and how it licked and scorched the pestilential soil, and so laid the marshy ground bare to the sun’s parching heat.¹ The races who preceded the Āryas appear to have been forest tribes. Agni must have cleared away the primeval forests from the Sarasvatī to the Sadā-nīrā, and there the course of the colonizing Āryas stopped, until (as seems implied) Māthava carried Agni on to the east of the latter river. It seems highly

¹ It is in the light of this explanation that I would interpret the curious statement in Sabhā-p., xxix. 1078, which Dr. Muir notices (*loc. cit.*), that Bhīma in his conquest of Eastern India went to a *jalōdbhava* country bordering on Himavat (*tatō Himavataḥ pārçvam samabhyētya jalōdbhavam*). In such a connexion *jalōdbhava* surely cannot mean “of aqueous or oceanic origin,” but might well mean “reclaimed from swamp.”

probable the forest tribes were not acquainted with fire. They shun the bright life of the open country, and would have retreated terrified and silent into the depths of the forest; and it is noteworthy that no mention is made of any fighting before Māthava established himself there.

It has pleased the brāhmins in this passage to ascribe the improvement in the land to their sacrifices, but the passage implies, as Prof. Weber observes, that they did not venture across the Sadā-nirā till Māthava with his devouring fire had cleansed the ground before them. I would therefore suggest that we have here described how Māthava, with no doubt his comrades, burnt the forest down and began cultivating the land, and how the brāhmins, finding the new tract developing into a good land, followed afterwards and soon appropriated the merit to themselves and their sacrifices. I venture to commend this explanation to those who know the country.

Vidēha then comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rapti to Darbhanga, with Kōsala on the west and Anga on the east. On the north it approached the hills, and on the south it was bounded by the small kingdom of Vaiçālī. Its capital was called Mithilā (Çānti-p., cccxxvii. 12233-8; and Rāmāy., Ādi-k., xlix. 9-16); and this name often designated the country itself, especially in the Rāmāyaṇa. The people were called Vidēhas, Vaidēhakas and also Mithilas (Vana-p., ccliii. 15243). Its kings traced their descent from Nimi (Rāmāy., Ādi-k., lxxiii. 2-12) and were generally called Janaka, which seems to have been the ordinary royal title (Vana-p., cxxxiii. 10637). They were often highly educated (Çānti-p., cccxxvii. 12215-25; Kauṣītaki Up., iv. 1; Brhad-Āraṇ. Up., II. i. 1, and IV. i. and ii.). Cunningham says the capital was Janakpur, which is now a small town just within the Nepal border, north of where the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet (Arch. Surv. Repts., XVI. 34, and map), but I have not met this name in Sanskrit works, and it is not in the dictionary.

THE KINGDOM OF VAIÇĀLĪ.

Between Magadha and Vidēha lay a small kingdom on the north side of the Ganges, with its capital at Vaiçālī, for Viçvāmitra, when taking the youthful Rāma from the slaughter of Tāḍakā in the Shāhābād district to Mithilā, stopped at Vaiçālī on the way. Their route appears from the Rāmāyaṇa to have been as follows: crossing the R. Çōṇa or Sone from the Shāhābād district and travelling north-east they reached the Ganges near the site of the present city Patna (Ādi-k., xxxvii. 1-7); and then crossing the Ganges by boat, and travelling northwards towards Mithilā the whole of one day, they reached Vaiçālī

at evening (*id.*, xlvi. 5-11; xlviii. 21-25; and xlix. 1-8). This agrees with the situation of the modern town Besāṛh, 27 miles north and a little east of Patna, which Cunningham has identified with Vaiçālī (Arch. Surv. Repts., I. 55, and XVI. 6 and 34).

No name appears to be given to this country and it plays a very small part in Sanskrit writings. Its kings claimed descent from Ikṣvāku, the founder of the Solar dynasty of Ayōdhyā, and called themselves all Ikṣvākus (Rāmāy., Ādi-k., xlviii. 13-20). In the Buddhist writings the country is called Vṛji (Mahāvamsa, early chapters; and Arch. Surv. Repts., XVI. 34), but this name is not in the Sanskrit dictionary nor have I met with it in any Sanskrit work. It played however an important part in early Buddhist history, for Buddha is said to have announced his approaching Nirvāṇa at Vaiçālī, and the second Buddhist Synod was held there.

THE SECOND GROUP OF FIVE NATIONS.

The Angas, Vāṅgas, Kalingas, Puṇdras and Suhmas were habitually classed together, and the first two, with the third often added, are generally found linked together, partly no doubt because they were neighbouring nations, but chiefly it seems because the names made a jingle. They are stated in the legends and genealogies to have been the descendants of five brothers of the same names, Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga, Puṇdra and Suhma, who were the sons of king Bali's queen Sudēṣṇā by the ṛṣi Dīrgha-tamas or Dīrgha-tapas. The accounts vary somewhat, but agree in this—that the ṛṣi (who had been blind from his birth in consequence of a curse) was abandoned on a raft in the Ganges, was carried down the stream and was rescued by king Bali, and that Bali who wanted children commissioned his queen and the ṛṣi to raise up offspring for him. The story is told with much circumstantial detail, as if it was a well known event, and it is said these five sons were called “Bālēya-kṣētra” and even “Bālēya brāhmans,” though Bali himself is called a Dānava (Ādi-p., civ. 4179-4221; Hari-V., xxxi. 1682-97; Matsya Pur., xlviii. 23-78; and Viṣṇu Pur., iv. 18). Bali is styled “king of the East,” and is shown in the genealogies as a descendant of Titikṣu, king of the East; but Titikṣu's descent is uncertain for the Hari-Vamṇa traces it from Pūru king of Madhya or the Middle region (xxx. i.), and the Viṣṇu and Matsya Purāṇas from Anu, king of the East (*e. g.*, Matsya Pur., xlviii).

Statements, like this one regarding these five brothers, that a certain person was the progenitor of a certain people, occur frequently in Sanskrit genealogies and legends. They do not invite ready belief, and their meaning is a matter of uncertainty and difficulty, but looked at in

the light of history they may admit of one probable interpretation. It is a trite saying that history repeats itself, and certainly one feature that appears in all ages of Indian history is the course of conquest. A handful of strangers have invaded a part of the country, conquered the old inhabitants and established themselves in it, their leader as king and themselves as the aristocratic class; and the contest has rarely been an internecine one, unless religion or patriotism has been involved in it. The earliest struggles, in which the Āryas fought their way into India, seem to have been rendered fiercer by the strong religious and social differences between them and the aboriginal races; but after the time when the Āryas established themselves in Madhya-dēça, and universal respect was accorded to them because of their chivalry and prestige, it is hard to find traces of a fierce struggle between them and the aborigines except in the story of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. The Āryas, being the dominant race, considered themselves, and were esteemed by the other nations, as the elite of India. Those nations gradually imitated them and adopted their customs. What happened then between the Āryas and aborigines may no doubt be compared to what is happening now between the English and the natives in South Africa.

Ṛṣis and ascetics exerted a strong influence towards extending the Aryan supremacy. They wandered through every country in ancient India, and established themselves in every spot, where the bracing air of the hills or the cool temperature of a well-watered shady wood attracted them and induced them to linger. In this way they became pioneers of the religion and civilization of the Āryas, and afford a strange parallel to the part which Christian missionaries have played in extending British influence over barbarous countries. Where the ascetics were received with favour and reverence, they soon brought the people of their new country more or less effectually within the pale of Aryanism, as in the case of the ṛṣi Dīrgha-tamas; but where they were harassed or cut off, their sufferings and complaints brought retribution on the offending nation, as in Rāma's slaughter of the so-called Rākṣasas in Jana-sthāna on the Gōdāvarī, which is commemorated in simple and grateful terms in Drōṇa-p., lix. 2226-7; and no doubt to somewhat similar incidents must be assigned the frequent yet vague mention of wars in which kings aided the gods against the demons.

In the same direction tended ancient sentiments regarding marriage. In early times the rules restricting inter-marriage between different classes were very easy, if indeed it can be said there were any definite prohibitions of that kind. The Mahā-Bhārata is full of instances of mixed unions, which were manifestly regarded at the time as involving no slur or stain, and the ṛṣi Dīrgha-tamas is said to have bestowed his

favours freely and indiscriminately, and to have left a numerous progeny of various ranks in Anga and Magadha, not only without incurring any reprobation but even with emphatic approval and blessing from Surabhi (Matsya Pur., xlviii. 60–63 and 79–84; and also Sabhā-p., xx. 802 with Ādi-p., civ. 4193–4216). The result of such practices must have been an infusion of Aryan blood into the populace and the growth of classes, which (like the Eurasians of the present day) would have sought to connect themselves more with the Aryan aristocracy than with their aboriginal kindred; and it would not be an altogether unreasonable and extravagant assertion to say that, in countries where an extensive blending of that sort occurred, the people were descended from the invading leader who founded a new dynasty or territorial sovereignty.

Looked at in this way the story may therefore possibly be true that five brothers Anga, Vajga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma may have conquered five countries, established five kingdoms, and given their names to their countries and the inhabitants; but it cannot be pushed beyond this, nor can they have been the progenitors of the bulk of the people, because the genealogies make king Lōma-pāda, who was the contemporary of Daṣa-ratha and Rāma, only the fifth or sixth descendant of Anga; and because it is impossible that the country of Anga could have been uninhabited before Anga's time, or that his descendants could have extirpated the previous inhabitants or filled the country themselves in so short a time.

There is, however, one serious objection to this explanation, *viz.*, there is no mention that these countries had any other names prior to the age of these five brothers, and they bear the same names in the earliest allusions. The two most prominent of these countries in the most ancient times were Anga and Kalinga, and the earliest references to them occur, I believe, in the marriages of kings of the Lunar dynasty with princesses of these countries (*e.g.*, Ādi-p., xcv. 3772–80). From the general tenor of the old stories, and according to the genealogies if they are traced downward from Pūru or Anu, it appears incontestable that those kings belonged to a prior time (*e.g.*, see the two lines of Ṛcēyu and Kakṣēyu in Hari-V., xxxi. and xxxii.); but if the genealogies are reckoned upwards from the Pāṇḍavas' time, this inference is much weakened, so that it does not seem absolutely impossible the founding of Anga and Kalinga may have been earlier than those kings, and thus the difficulty might disappear. Otherwise it may be, supposing there is truth in this story of the five brothers, that, if Anga was really the later name, it superseded the ancient name so completely that it was substituted for the ancient name in the genealogies; for it seems a

reasonable supposition that (apart from the deliberate fabrication of genealogies for the purpose of gratifying vanity, ambition or religious arrogance) all ancient genealogies and legends would be gradually modified by the substitution of current words in lieu of obsolete words, in order to render them intelligible to new generations and without any intention to falsify them.

The estimation in which these five nations were held by the brāhmans of Madhya-dēça varied remarkably. The curious harangue in which Karṇa abused Çalya, king of Madra, and Çalya's retort (Karṇa-p., xl.-xlv.) disclose some strange and inconsistent remarks on the composition and character of various races in India, which no doubt represent the handiwork of different authors and ages.

Çalya asserts that it was the custom in Anga to abandon the sick and sell one's wife and children (xlv. 2112); and in one passage it is said that the Kalingas should be shunned as unrighteous, together with certain other people picked here and there out of Southern and Western India (xlv. 2066-7). Yet in other passages it is said—the Angakas (Angas) and Māgadhas when old live according to the rules of righteousness which they have learnt (xlv. 2101); and Paṇḍras, Kālingas and Māgadhas are held up to honour along with the people of Madhya-dēça as being conversant with eternal righteousness (xlv. 2084-5).

Originally these nations did not belong to the Aryan stock; they appear to have been mlēcchas. The story of the five brothers no doubt indicates that these nations were brought within the Aryan pale, yet they did not rank high, for even at the time of the Great War the Anga prince is styled a mlēccha (Karṇa-p., xxii. 877 and 880), and if such a term could be applied to him, when Anga was the foremost of these nations, it is certain the others must have been in a lower plight. The elevation of the Angas, Kalingas and Paṇḍras to the same degree of esteem, which the nations of Madhya-dēça enjoyed, must be a later development, and be the sign of some marked change which passed over Northern India. The alteration is most marked in the estimation of the Kalingas. Does it represent the opinion of the age when Brahmanism hard-pushed by Buddhism found a refuge in Orissa?

The Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa says the Paṇḍras, the Andhras and certain rude tribes in Central India are most degraded; they were Viçvāmitra's descendants and were reduced to that state by his curse (vii. 3. 18). Manu says, the Paṇḍrakas, Ōḍras and Drāviḍas and various well-known nations on the northern and north-western confines of India were kṣattriyas and sank gradually to the rank of Çūdras by reason of the neglect of sacred rites and the absence of brāhmans (x. 43-4.)

These statements seem to represent an intermediate opinion of doctrinaire speculation, or the dogmatism of a late and ignorant period.

We may now consider the position of these five countries and their extent.

ANGA.

The position of Anga is well-known and requires only a few remarks. It was at all times closely connected with Magadha. The kings of Anga and Vanga used to frequent Dirgha-tamas' or Gautama's dwelling at Giri-vraja (Sabhā-p., xx. 802-4; and the passages cited above regarding Dirgha-tamas; and Çānti-p., cccxliii. 13183-5). The famous king Anga Vṛhad-ratha sacrificed on Mt. Viṣṇupada, which appears to be a hill at Gayā (Çānti-p., xxix. 924-31). Jarāsandha king of Magadha bestowed the city Mālinī, the capital of the Angas, on Karṇa as a fief (*id.*, v). It adjoined Magadha on the east as appears from the description of Bhīma's conquests in the Eastern region, which is quoted here as it will serve to elucidate the position of the other eastern nations considered in this paper.

Marching from Magadha, Bhīma conquered Karṇa (king of Anga) in battle and brought him into subjection. Then he vanquished the kings who dwelt in the hills. Next he slew a very powerful king in battle at Mōdāgiri. Then he conquered Vāsudēva, the mighty king of Puṇḍra, and the valiant king who dwelt in Kauçikī-kaccha, both powerful heroes, both fierce in prowess. He attacked the king of Vanga. Conquering Samudra-sēna and king Candra-sēna (who appear to have been kings of Vanga), and the Tāmralipta king and the lord of Karvata, he vanquished also the lord of the Suhmas, and those who dwell beside the sea, and all the tribes (*gaṇa*) of Mlēcchas. Then he went to Lauhitya. He made all the kings, who dwell in the marshy tracts near the sea (*sāgarānūpa*), pay tribute (Sabhā-p., xxix. 1094-1100).

This description appears unusually clear and natural. Marching from the Patna and Gaya districts Bhīma met and defeated Karṇa on the western limits of Anga, that is, in the west of the Monghyr or Mungir district; then turning aside and subduing the petty kings in the northern part of Chutia Nagpur, he marched on eastward to Mōdāgiri. Lassen has identified Mōdāgiri with the modern town of Monghyr or Mungir; this is extremely probable both from the resemblance of the names and from the situation and natural features of the town. Mōdāgiri or (nasalized, as so frequently happens in Indian vernaculars) Mōndāgiri might easily be corrupted into Mungir. The king of this place would then have been one of Karṇa's vassals.

The capital was called Mālinī or Mālina at first, and this name was superseded by that of Campā bestowed on the city in honour (it

is said) of Lōma-pāda's great grandson, king Campa (Çānti-p., v. 134-5; Hari-V., xxxi. 1699-1700; and Matsya Pur., xlviii. 97); but the latter name is often used indiscriminately in regard to time, and the city is called Campā in an account of Lōma-pāda's reign (Rāmāy., Ādi-k., xvii. 23). It was situated on the Ganges (Vana-p., lxxxv. 8156; and cccvii. 17150-51), and is identified with the modern town of Bhāgalpur.

Cunningham says Mudgala-puri, Mudgalāçrama and Mudga-giri were the old names of Mungir; and an earlier name was Kaṣṭa-haraṇa-parvata (Arch. Surv. Repts., XV. 15 and 18). Madgurakas are mentioned as a people in Eastern India (Matsya Pur., cxiii. 44), and Mudakaras (Mārkaṇḍ.Pur., lvii. 42); probably the correct reading should be Mudagiras. The Mudgalas are cursorily mentioned in Droṇa-p., xi. 397. None of these names, however, can well be older than Mōdāgiri in the Mahā-Bhārata.

Anga therefore comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, and also extended northwards up the river Kauçikī, the modern Kosi, and included the western portion of the district of Purnia. For it was on that river that Kāçyapa Vibhāṇḍaka had his hermitage, there his son Ṛṣyaçṛṅga was brought up in the strictest seclusion, and from there the young ṛṣi was beguiled by a courtesan of Mālinī into a boat and brought down the river to the capital (Vana-p., cx. 9990-10080; and Rāmāy., Ādi-k., viii. and ix.). The forest in which Ṛṣyaçṛṅga lived is said to have bordered on Anga (Ādi-k., ix. 55-61), and the whole of this quaint story implies that he was living within the territory of Anga, for no embassy was sent to any other king for permission to bring him away, as when Daça-ratha paid a special visit to Lōma-pāda to invite the ṛṣi's attendance at Ayōdhyā to perform the sacrifice which was to bless the king with a son (*id.*, x. 14-23).

The tract near Campā was called Sūta-viṣaya, "the land of bards or charioteers." It was there that Karṇa, Kuntī's illegitimate son, was adopted and brought up by the Sūta Adhi-ratha (Ādi-p., lxvii. 2764-83, and cxi.; and Vana-p., cccvii. 17150-51, and cccviii).

Anga was a kingdom from very early times, for it is said that Ariha, the eighth descendant from Pūru, married Angī or Āngī, and his fifth descendant who bore the same name married Āngēyī, both presumably Anga princesses (Ādi-p., xc. 3772 and 3777). And Vasu-hōma is mentioned as king of Anga contemporary with the great Māndhātṛ, one of the early kings of the Solar race, and is eulogized in high terms (Çānti-p., cxxii). Passages such as these present difficulties as noticed above, and are also open to distrust as being fabrications of a later age, but there are these considerations in favour of their genuineness and authenticity, namely, that in all countries and especi-

ally in ancient times genealogies have been esteemed matters of very great importance and kept up with jealous pride, and that Anga lay at first outside the Aryan pale, so that no honour could be gained by alleging false alliances with its princes who were prior to the time of Anga. In Jarāsandha's time, Anga appears to have been an appanage of Magadha, and it was through his favour that Karna gained it as his kingdom (Sabhā-p., xxix. 1090-93; Vana-p., ccxlv. 15052; and Çānti-p., v. 134-5).

The ancient history of Anga appears to consist of two periods, first, the age before the eponymous king Anga, and secondly that which he inaugurated. In the former age the country must have belonged to a pre-Aryan race and dynasty, and their rule must have ended with king Bali. Although his lineage is traced up to Anu or Pūru, sons of Yayāti, so as to connect it with the royal Aryan lines of North India, yet he is called a Dānava (Matsya Pur., xlvi. 60), and it was no doubt a remembrance of its old non-Aryan stock that led to the application of the opprobrious term Mlēccha to the Anga prince who joined in the Great war (Karna-p., xxii. 877 and 880).

The second period no doubt represents the change when the country passed under the influence of the Āryas, as they extended their dominion eastward. It has been mentioned already that Daça-ratha's contemporary Lōma-pāda was fifth or sixth in descent from Anga, hence the beginning of this period may be placed some six generations prior to Rāma's time. There was a close friendship between Lōma-pāda and Daça-ratha, so genuine that the latter is said to have given his daughter Çāntā in adoption to the former (Rāmāy., Ādi-k., x. 1-10, and 23-27). The connexion between Ayōdhyā and Anga at that time is shewn in such detail and referred to so often, that it appears to be a real historical fact; and it is corroborated incidentally in a remarkable manner in the enumeration of the kings and princes who were invited to attend Daça-ratha's sacrifice (*id.*, xii. 18-24). That list differs surprisingly from similar lists in the Mahā-Bhārata, which describe all the kings and princes through the length and breadth of India; who assembled at Draupadī's svayam-vara (Ādi-p., clxxxvi. and clxxxvii.), at the opening of the Pāṇḍavas' Court (Sabhā-p., iv.), and at the Rāja-sūya sacrifice (*id.*, xxxiii.). The Rāmāyaṇa list is short and is noteworthy as much for its omissions as for its contents; it mentions the kings of Mithilā (North Behar), Kāçi (Benares), Kēkaya (North Panjab) and Anga, and then in general terms those of the East (prācyā), of Sindhu (North Sindh) and Sauvira (West Panjab), of Su-rāṣṭra (Gujarat) and of the Dekhan, and "whatever other kings were particularly friendly" (Ādi-k., xii. 18-24). Madhya-dēça is ignored with the exception of

Kāçi; and the connexions of Kōsala and Ayōdhyā were closest with Kāçi, Mithilā and Anga, and after them with the distant kingdoms of the Panjab and Western India.

The Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa says that Anga was inaugurated with the Mahābhiṣēka ceremony by Udamaya son of Atri, and in consequence conquered the whole earth; and that Anga gave him a thousand elephants in the country Avacatnuka (viii. 4, 22). This passage probably refers to Anga Vṛhad-ratha, one of the sixteen famous kings (Çānti-p., xxix. 924-31) who seems to be the same as Dharma-ratha, the great grandson of Anga, from the special allusion to Mt. Viṣṇu-pada (Hari-V., xxxi. 1693-5); but I have not met the name Avacatnuka elsewhere, nor is it in the dictionary.

VANGA.

Vaṅga or Banga is often mentioned and its people were called Vaṅgas and Vaṅgēyas; but the allusions seldom yield any clear information. As shewn in the description of Bhīma's conquests in the Eastern region quoted above, it lay beyond Anga, to the south-east, and was the original of the modern Bengal.

The only definite information occurs in a passage in the Raghu-Vaṁṣa which of course belongs to a comparatively late date (iv. 36 and 37). The Vaṅgas are described there as essentially a boating people, using boats for all purposes of life (*nau-sādhana*), and as growing rice for their staple crop, which they uprooted when seedlings and transplanted into their fields, as they do to this day. Raghu planted his columns of victory in the islands of the Ganges delta, *gaṅgā-srōtō-ntarēṣu*. It is difficult to say at what rate land has been forming in the delta, yet it is clear from this description that, apart from its extent sea-ward, the delta must have differed greatly from its present condition 1200 or 1500 years ago. The rivers which traverse it now are partially silted up, but at that time they must have been wide and free-flowing streams, dividing the lands into numerous distinct islands; in fact, the condition of the whole delta then must have been very much like what the extreme south-eastern portion is now.

Vaṅga must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessor, and parts of Rajshahi, Pabna and Faridpur.

Vaṅga occupied a much lower position than Anga or Kalinga; I have found no mention of any marriages between its princes or princesses and the royal families of North India. Its kings are spoken of in general terms and names are seldom mentioned. A prince Candra-sēna, son of Samudra-sēna, attended Draupadi's svayam-vara (Ādi-p., clxxxvi. 6991), and it appears probable on comparing this passage with the description of Bhīma's conquests quoted above, that these two persons

were princes of Vanga. It seems likely that this Samudra-sēna is the king of the same name who was famed as far as the confines of the sea (*id.*, lxvii. 2690). No capital appears to be even alluded to.

KALINGA.

Kalinga is generally ranked third in this five-fold group of countries, but resembled Anga in being a settled kingdom with a capital, and in having a longer history than the rest.

The fullest and clearest information is given in a passage of the Raghu-Vam̃ṣa (iv. 38-43) describing Raghu's conquests. After conquering the Vangas, Raghu crossed the Kapiṣā (or Karabhā, according to another reading) by bridging it with his elephants, and took the road pointed out by the Utkala kings towards Kalinga. He planted his own splendour on the summit of Mount Mahēndra as a mahaut strikes his iron hook into the head of an unruly elephant. The Kalinga king with an array of elephants attacked him, but Raghu withstanding the storm of arrows defeated his foes there (at Mt. Mahēndra). His soldiers made open spaces for revelry and quaffed fermented cocoa-nut juice out of betel-leaves. Observing the rules of fair warfare, he took from the lord of Mahēndra his glory but not his territory.

Lassen has identified the R. Kapiṣā with the modern Subarnā-rēkhā on the confines of the Midnapur and Balasore districts (Ind. Alt., Map), but I venture to suggest that the Kapiṣā is the modern Cossye or Kansai, which flows a little further north through Midnapur. The name Kansai is said to be modified from Kamsavati, but I do not know on what authority; nor have I met with this name anywhere, nor is it in the dictionary. Kansai or Kamsai may easily be a corruption of Kapiṣā-vati; names of this form are not uncommon, *e.g.*, Amarā-vati, Utpalā-vati.

This passage shows that Kalinga lay southward of Vanga beyond the R. Kapiṣā, and stretched southward so as to include Mount Mahēndra. The Mahēndra Mountains were one of the seven chief ranges of India, and are the northern portion of the Eastern Ghats above the R. Godāvari, and the hills near Ganjam are still called Mahindra. It is not stated that the Kapiṣā was the northern limit of Kalinga; rather the above passage suggests that Utkala jutted in between this river and Kalinga, and that Raghu secured the help and guidance of the Utkala kings in order to reach Kalinga. The northern limit of Kalinga was approximately the river Vaitaraṇī, the modern Bytarni; for the Mahā-Bhārata, describing the Pāṇḍavas' pilgrimage to all the tīrthas, says—After bathing at the junction of the Ganges and the sea, they travelled along the sea-coast towards the Kalingas, and reached that people and the R. Vaitaraṇī about the same time; its northern bank is spoken of as

greatly frequented by ṛṣis (Vana-p., cxiv. 10096–10107). On its bank was Viraja-tīrtha, the later Birajā-kṣētra, the modern Jajpur (*id.*, lxxxv. 8148).

Kaliṅga therefore comprised modern Orissa about as far north as the modern town Bhadrak in the Balasore district, and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapatam; it does not appear to have reached as far as the Godāvāri, because this river is never connected with Kaliṅga in any passage as far as I am aware. Its limits inland are not clear. Kaliṅga as a settled country appears to have consisted properly of the plain between the Eastern Ghats and the sea, yet its monarchs seem to have exercised a kind of suzerainty over the aboriginal tribes which inhabited the hilly tracts far inland, for the Amara-kaṇṭaka hills, in which the Narmadā rises, are said to be in the western part of Kaliṅga (Kūrma Pur., II. xxxix. 9). Lassen places Kaliṅga along the inner side of the Eastern Ghats from the Vizagapatam district south-westward as far as the Karnul district.

The capital is called Rāja-pura, which however simply means “capital” (Çānti-p., iv). In the Raghu-Vaṁṣa it is placed on the sea-coast, and the palace is described as being so near the sea, that the windows looked out on the sea, and the deep roar of the waves drowned the bray of trumpets (vi. 56). This description can only apply to Kalingapatam, and that town was no doubt the capital in Kālidāsa’s time. Kalingapatam and Chicacole (said to be corrupted from Çrī-kākōla) are reputed to be the two ancient capitals, and the latter is said to be the more ancient (Arch. Surv. of S. India, by R. Sewell, I. 2 and 7), but I have not met the name Çrī-kākōla anywhere, nor is it in the dictionary.

The people were called Kaliṅga, Kāliṅga and Kāliṅgaka; and “all the Kaliṅgas” are spoken of as if they were a numerous people (Bhīṣma-p., xvii. 668; and lxxi. 3132). Their kingdom dates back to very early times. Three famous kings are named, Kṣēma, Agra-tīrtha and Kuhara (Ādi-p., lxvii. 2701), and their princesses married two of the early kings of the Lunar dynasty (*id.*, xcv. 3775 and 3780). Duryodhana moreover attended a svayam̐-vara held by a Kaliṅga princess, and carried her off with Karṇa’s help (Çānti-p., iv). Kṛṣṇa is said to have crushed the Kaliṅgas in a pitched battle at a place called Dantakūra (Udyoga-p., xlvii. 1883); it is not clear where that place was, but it may be noticed that Rāma Jāmadagnya slew the kṣattriyas and the haters of the brāhmins and Dantakrūra (Droṇa-p., lxx. 2430-31).

PUNḌRA AND PAUNḌRA.

The Punḍras dwelt in the Eastern region as stated in the description of Bhīma’s Eastern conquests quoted above, though they are also

assigned sometimes to the Southern region (*e.g.*, Markand. Pur., lvii. 45). The name occurs in various other forms, Puṇḍraka (Sabhā-p., iv. 119), Paṇḍra (Ādi-p., clxxxvii. 7020), Paṇḍraka (*id.*, clxxxvi. 6992; and Sabhā-p., xxxiii. 1270) and Paṇḍrika (Sabhā-p., li. 1872). These names are used sometimes as if equivalent, thus, “Famous in the world is the mighty king among the Vāṅgas, Puṇḍras and Kirātas, named the Paṇḍraka Vāsudēva” (*id.*, xiii. 584), and yet a distinction is made between Paṇḍras and Puṇḍras, for they are mentioned separately in the list of peoples in India (Bhīṣma-p., ix. 358 and 365), and Puṇḍras, Puṇḍrakas and Paṇḍrikas are all mentioned in one passage (Sabhā-p., li. 1872-4).

This distinction appears also in the list of kings who attended the opening of the Pāṇḍavas’ Court. Among them are mentioned “Aṅga and Vāṅga with Puṇḍraka, the two kings of Pāṇḍa and Uḍra (*Pāṇḍōḍra-rājau*) with Andhraka” (*id.*, iv. 119). The reading *Pāṇḍa* here seems to be a mistake for *Paṇḍra*, because there is no passage, that I know of, which alludes to any country or people called Pāṇḍa in Eastern India, and because the reading Paṇḍra occurs in the same combination in the list of kings who attended Yudhiṣṭhira’s rāja-sūya sacrifice, *viz.*, *sa-paṇḍrōḍrān*, “with Paṇḍras and Uḍras” (Vana-p., li. 1988). It seems clear then that there was a distinction between Puṇḍras and Puṇḍrakas on the one hand, and Paṇḍras, Paṇḍrakas and Paṇḍrikas on the other; and yet the two people appear to have been but two branches of the same nation, for the Paṇḍraka Vāsudēva was king of the Puṇḍras as stated in the quotation from Sabhā-p., xiii. 584 above. This inference is corroborated in the further passages which are now cited to elucidate their position.

Lassen places Puṇḍra in the northern half of the modern Chutia Nagpur, and does not show Paṇḍra as separate. The passages that I have found which give indications of the position of Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra are these. I will consider Paṇḍra first.

In the two passages last quoted the Paṇḍras are linked with the Uḍras, and the second runs thus—“With Baṅgas and Aṅgas (*sa-baṅgāṅgān*), with Paṇḍras and Uḍras (*sa-paṇḍrōḍrān*), with Cōlas, Drāviḍas and Andhrakas (*sa-cōla-drāviḍāndhrakān*).” These three groups denote real territorial proximity. The Cōlas, Drāviḍas and Andhrakas occupied the whole of the east coast of the Dekhan; the Aṅgas and Vāṅgas were near each other; hence it seems certain, the Paṇḍras and Uḍras were neighbours also. The Paṇḍras and Uḍras are placed together in the Bhīṣma-p. list (ix. 365). Uḍra, as will be seen further on, was in the extreme west of West Bengal. Again the Paṇḍras are grouped along with the Utkalas, Mēkalas, Kalingas and Andhras

(Drōṇa-p., iv. 122). The Utkalas were in Chutia Nagpur and the Orissa Tributary States. The Mēkalas were the inhabitants of the Mēkala hills, the modern Mekal hills, which bound Chattisgarh on the west and north. Kalinga has been already defined. Andhra, which is an old name of the Telingas and Telugus, comprised the eastern portion of the Nizam's Dominions and the southern portion of the Central Provinces. The Paṇḍras therefore were connected with the races situated west and south-west of Bengal proper.

The grouping of the Puṇḍras was markedly different. In the first passage cited (Sabhā-p., xiii. 584), they are linked with Vāṅgas and Kirātas. Kirāta was the general name of all the tribes of Mongolian affinity which inhabited the hilly regions from the Panjab to Assam and Chittagong, as will be shewn further on. The Puṇḍras are grouped with the Aṅgas and Vāṅgas in Sabhā-p., iv. 119 cited above. There are other passages which yield no definite information, such as Ādi-p., cxiii. 4453; Sabhā-p., li. 1872-4, and Āṣvamēdh.-p., lxxxii. 2435-65; but the inference appears to be that the Puṇḍras occupied some intermediate position between the Aṅgas and Vāṅgas and the Himālayas.

From these conclusions we may proceed to consider the description of Bhīma's Eastern expedition (Sabhā-p., xxix. 1094-1100) which has been quoted above in relation to Aṅga. As already remarked, it appears unusually clear and natural. Beyond the Monghyr and Bhāgalpur districts reigned two kings who are spoken of together in the dual number as if closely connected. One is called Vāsudēva the mighty king of Puṇḍra, but Vāsudēva is generally spoken of as the king of Paṇḍra, see for instance, besides the passages cited already, Sabhā-p., xxxiii. 1270, and Hari-V., cxvii. 6580-84, and 6606-8. The other king is not named, but Kauṣikī-kaccha where he reigned means the land bordering on the R. Kauṣikī, that is on the east side, because Aṅga lay on the west side; and stretching east of that river is a high tract of stiff red clay known as the Barind. This agrees with the position which has been already indicated for Puṇḍra. Hence it seems unmistakable that the joint kings of Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra are meant. Vāsudēva was properly king of Paṇḍra, but being the chief is spoken of as lord both of Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra, and the other would have been king of Puṇḍra proper. Beyond these kings lay Vāṅga, says the passage.

From all these results it follows that Paṇḍra must have lain on the south side of the Ganges, and Puṇḍra on the north side, between Aṅga and Vāṅga. Paṇḍra must have comprised the modern districts of the Santāl Parganas and Bīrbhūm and the north portion of the Hazāribāgh district; and Puṇḍra the district of Māldah, the portion of Purnia east of the R. Kosi, and part of Dinājpur and Rājshāhi.

From their name, the Paṇḍras were presumably an offshoot of the Puṇḍras; hence it would seem probable that, after the Puṇḍras established themselves in the above-mentioned region north of the Ganges, a branch of them must have crossed that river, pushed their way into the hilly tract of the Santāl Parganas and its outskirts, and formed a sister kingdom under the name of Paṇḍras.

SUHMA AND TĀMALIPTA.

The last of the five kindred nations was Suhma. It is mentioned last, but was well-known and was grouped oftenest with Puṇḍra. The evidence to fix its position is clear.

In the account of Bhīma's Eastern conquests (Sabhā-p., xxix) which has been often cited above, the Suhmas and Pra-suhmas are mentioned between Vidēha and Magadha (1089-91), and again Tāmra-lipta, Karvāṭa, Suhma and the sea-coast are named in close succession after Vāṅga (1097-99). In the account of Raghu's conquests it is said—"marching east and subduing various countries, Raghu reached the neighbourhood of the sea which was dark with forests of tallier palms (*tālī-vana*), and the Suhmas submitted to him" (Raghu-V., iv. 34-35). Lastly it is stated plainly in the Daṣa-kumāra-carita that Dāmalipta is a city among the Suhmas (Story of Mitra-gupta).

Dāmalipta is the same as Tāmaliptā. The Tāmaliptas were a well-known people and are often mentioned. This name is written in various ways, viz., Tāmra-lipta, Tāmra-liptaka, Tamōliptī, Tamālikā, and Tamālinī. Prof. Sir M. Monier-Williams treats Tāma-lipta (q. v.) as the proper form of the name, and the others as variations, which seemingly sought to read meanings into it. Tāmra-lipta is, I believe, the form most commonly met with in Sanskrit writings. Their capital was called Tāmra-liptā, Tāmra-liptī, or Tāmra-liptikā, and this name has been corrupted into the modern Tamluk, which is a well-known town near the mouth of the R. Rūpnārāyan in Midnapur.

From these data it appears that Suhma must have comprised the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Bankura and Bardhaman, and the eastern portion of Midnapur. The first of the above allusions to the Suhmas and Pra-suhmas seems to be an error, for there do not appear to be any other references to such people close to Vidēha and Magadha. Perhaps the reading should be Ḫōṇas and Pra-Ḫōṇas, which would mean people living near the river Ḫōṇa, the modern Sone; and this suggestion may be compared with the name Ḫāṇavatyas which occurs along with Angas, Vāṅgas, Puṇḍras and Gayas (Sabhā-p., li. 1872), and which seems to be a mistake for Ḫōṇavatyas, as it is not in the dictionary and I have not met with it elsewhere.

According to the passage cited from the Daṣa-kumāra-carita, Tāmra-lipta or Tāmra-lipta was part of the Suhma territory, but Tāmra-lipta is frequently alluded to as if it were a country by itself, *e.g.*, Ādi-p., clxxxvi. 6993; Sabhā-p., li. 1874; Bhīṣma-p., ix. 364; Drōṇa-p., lxx. 2436 and Karna-p., xxii. 863. It would have comprised the modern district of Howrah and the eastern part of Midnapur. In fact Tāmra-lipta appears to occur oftener than Suhma, and this is perhaps because the town Tāmra-liptā was a famous sea-port, especially during the centuries of Buddhist activity.

Another name, which was equivalent to or was included within Tāmralipta, is Vēlā-kūla, “the stream-bank,” or better perhaps, “the sea-shore.” It is said to be the same as the modern town Birkul, which is on the coast in the extreme south of the Midnapur district.

UDRA OR ŌDRA.

The Uḍras have been mentioned above in conjunction with the Pauṇḍras; otherwise they are, I believe, rarely alluded to in Sanskrit writings. They are also called Ōḍras (Sabhā-p., l. 1843), and Auḍras (Bhīṣma-p., ix. 365), and they are also presumably the Uḍhras of Bhīṣma-p., l. 2084, and the Auḍras of Āṣvamēdh.-p., lxxxiii. 2476-7. They have given their name to modern Orissa, *i.e.*, Ōḍra-dēṣa, and Lassen places them in his map more or less conterminous with Orissa, but this cannot have been their position, because it has been shewn that Kalinga comprised all Orissa except the narrow northern part of the Balasore district, and because the Uḍras play a very insignificant part in the early accounts of Eastern India, quite incompatible with the supposition that they inhabited the fine extensive plain of Orissa; and also because Orissa has not always meant what it denotes now.

The Uriya or Oḍiya language is spoken throughout Orissa and the Ganjam district, in the northern part of the Vizagapatam district and along the south-eastern limits of Chattisgarh (Maltby's Uriya Grammar, Preface)—a peculiarly curved area. A territory of such size and such a shape could hardly have been the ancient home of any tribe, much less of so small a tribe as the Uḍras appear to have been. The allusions to Kalinga leave no doubt about its position, and it will be seen that the Utkalas, who were more important in old times than the Uḍras, probably occupied the northern part of the Balasore district; hence it seems impossible the Uḍras can have inhabited any part of Orissa. In the last century Orissa included the tract of country between the rivers Rūpnārāyan and Subarna-rēkhā, which flow through the Midnapur district (see Bengal Administration Report, 1872-73, p. 40); that tract is now part of the Midnapur district and is considered part of Bengal proper.

These considerations give, I think, an indication where the Udra territory was in ancient times. The eastern part of Midnapur belonged to Tāmalipta and Suhma, hence there remains only the western part of that district which no other nation appears to have occupied; and if to this be added the modern district of Mānbhūm, the eastern part of Singhbhūm, and perhaps the southern portion of Bankura, a well-defined tract is obtained, which no other tribe appears to have owned and which bordered on Paundra. I would suggest that this must have been Udra in ancient times.

If this be a reasonable inference, it discloses how an insignificant early tribe developed and spread during the confusion which prevailed in the dark times of medieval Indian history. I would suggest that the Udras must have pushed southward, over-run the whole of Orissa and Ganjam, and driven the Kalingas downward into the Vizagapatam district, till their further course was checked by the Dravidian powers on the south; then they must have turned westward and forced their way round into the southern portion of Chattisgarh.

PRĀG-JYŌTIṢA.

Prāg-jyōtiṣa was a famous kingdom in ancient times and is often mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata. The references to it are however rather perplexing, for in some passages it is styled a Mlēccha kingdom, in others a Dānava or Asura kingdom, and in others again the allusions seem mixed. These passages may be taken in order.

Prāg-jyōtiṣa is placed in the North region (Vana-p., ccliii. 15240-42), but was also considered to be in the Eastern region (Mārkaṇḍ. Pur., lvii. 44). In the account of Arjuna's conquests it is placed in North India and his course is described thus. After conquering all the kings who dwelt in Çākala-dvīpa and in the seven dvīpas, Arjuna advanced to Prāg-jyōtiṣa. Bhaga-datta was the great king there, and Arjuna had a great conflict with him. The Prāg-jyōtiṣa king was surrounded with Kirātas and Cīnas and many other soldiers who dwelt in the marshy regions near the sea, and after a battle lasting eight days submitted amicably to Arjuna. From there Arjuna marched to the North region governed by Kuvēra and conquered Antar-giri and Vahir-giri and Upa-giri (Sabhā-p., xxv. 999-1012). Similarly in the description of Karṇa's conquests it is said he conquered Bhaga-datta and ascended Himavat (Vana-p., ccliii. 15241).

The three names Upa-giri, Antar-giri and Vahir-giri in this place can only denote different tracts in the Himālayas, viz., the southern slopes, the middle valleys and the further region on the north respectively. Bhaga-datta is called Çailālaya, "dwelling among the mountains" (Strī-p., xxiii. 644). It is stated in the foregoing passage and

again in Udyōga-p., xviii. 584-5, that his army was composed of Kirātas and Cīnas. The Kirātas, as will be explained, were the Himalayan tribes of Mongolian affinity, and the Cīnas were the Chinese; as they formed his army, they were his close neighbours. Hence it is clear that Prāg-jyōtiṣa lay in the north-east of India and touched the Himā-layas.

But as stated in the above passage from Sabhā-p., Bhaga-datta drew part of his troops also from the people who dwelt in the marshy regions near the sea, *sāgarānūpa* (see also Karna-p., v. 104-5); and when he attended Yudhiṣṭhira's rāja-sūya sacrifice, he was accompanied by all the Mlēcchas who lived in the marshy regions near the sea (Sabhā-p., xxxiii. 1268-9). This word can only mean the low alluvial tracts and islands east of Vāṅga, around the mouth of the R. Brahma-putra. That tract was peopled by Mlēcchas as mentioned in the description of Bhīma's Eastern conquests quoted above. It is also stated definitely that Bhaga-datta dwelt at the Eastern Ocean (Udyōga-p., iii. 74). The Brahma-putra till last century flowed round the south side of the Garo hills, and then southward through the districts of Maimansingh and Dacca (Major Rennell's Atlas, 1781). Presumably therefore Prāg-jyōtiṣa stretched southward along both sides of that river as far as the delta, or even perhaps as far as the sea itself.

Lassen places Prāg-jyōtiṣa north of the R. Lōbita or Brahma-putra in Bhutan, but this position does not satisfy the conditions already mentioned. It is implied in the Raghu-Vaṁṣa that Prāg-jyōtiṣa lay east of that river, for, when Raghu returning from Himavat crossed the river, the Prāg-jyōtiṣa king trembled (iv. 81); but I venture to think that Kālidāsa cannot have been entirely right in this allusion to distant geography, because if he is right the whole of North Bengal must be assigned to Puṇḍra, there being no other people of note mentioned who could have occupied all that territory. Puṇḍra, however, hardly plays as important a part in the ancient stories as the possession of so rich and extensive a kingdom would have warranted, and Prāg-jyōtiṣa on the other hand would be relegated to hilly tracts of small fertility east of the old course of the Brahma-putra, whereas the allusions indicate that Bhaga-datta was a wealthy and powerful monarch. But see page 112.

Bhaga-datta is called a "warrior-king" and "the mighty king of the Mlēcchas" (Sabhā-p., l. 1834), and is seldom mentioned without some complimentary epithet. He alone of the northern kings is allowed to have maintained a long and equal contest with Arjuna (Udyōga-p., clxvi. 5805-6). He is dignified with the title "Śiva's friend," and esteemed "not inferior to Śakra in battle" (Sabhā-p., xxv. 1005 and see

Kaṇṇa-p., v. 104). He is also called specially “the friend of Pāṇḍu” (*ibid.*, 1008), and is referred to in terms of respect and kindness by Kṛṣṇa when addressing Yudhiṣṭhira—“Bhaga-datta is thy father’s aged friend; he was noted for his deference to thy father in word and deed, and he is mentally bound by affection and devoted to thee like a father” (*id.*, xiii. 579-80). His Cīna and Kirāta troops glittered as with gold—*tasya cīnaiḥ kirātaiḥ ca kāñcanair iva saṁvṛtam babhau balam*—unless the allusion be to their yellow complexions (Udyōga-p., xviii. 584-5).

For these reasons it seems that Prāg-jyōtiṣa must have comprised the country along both sides of the Brahma-putra from the Himālayas down to Tippera, that is the modern districts of Jalpaigori, Cooch Behar, Goalpara, Rangpur, Bogra, Maimansingh, Dacca, Tippera, and part of Pabna and also probably part of the east of Nepāl. Strictly speaking, the southern portion of Prāg-jyōtiṣa as thus defined would have fallen within the Eastern region and would have included Lauhitya mentioned in the description of Bhīma’s conquests there quoted above, that is, the country beside the R. Lōhita or Brahma-putra; but if Lauhitya was only a portion of the Prāg-jyōtiṣa realm, and the strength of that realm lay, as it appears it did, in the north, it was natural to treat Prāg-jyōtiṣa as situated in the Northern region.

The region assigned to Prāg-jyōtiṣa bordered on forests and hills where elephants still abound, and where a hardy race of ponies still exists; and the allusions to it notice this. Thus Bhaga-datta is described as “the best wielder of the elephant-hook” among the kings assembled on the Pauravas’ side in the Great War, and as “skilful with the chariot” (Udyōga-p., clxvi. 5804); and it would seem from this that in ancient days kings did not consider it unbecoming to excel in the manège of elephants. He gave as presents to Yudhiṣṭhira “horses of noble breed, swift as the wind, an iron vessel, and swords with fine ivory hilts” (Sabhā-p., l. 1835-6). The description of the horses is, of course, exaggerated according to our ideas, for the best horses in ancient India could not well have exceeded what we should call gallowses, and the majority of them could not have been more than ponies.

No name is given to the capital in this class of passages but it is called Prāg-jyōtiṣa in the other classes. The people were Mlēcchas as indicated in some of the foregoing quotations; and this word, no doubt means here people of Mongolian affinity.

The second and third classes of passages occur, I believe, only in connexion with Kṛṣṇa and relate to an attack which he is said to have made on Prāg-jyōtiṣa. In the second class may be quoted first a part of Kṛṣṇa’s denunciation of Çiçu-pāla—“Çiçu-pāla, knowing that we had gone to the Prāg-jyōtiṣa city, set fire to Dvārakā” (Sabhā-p., xlvii.

1567). This almost belongs to the first class, but the idea is developed in a speech by Arjuna in praise of Kṛṣṇa—"Thou didst destroy Muru's fetters (*maurava pāṣa*) and slay Nisunda and Naraka; thou didst render the path to the Prāg-jyōtiṣa city safe again" (Vana-p., xii. 488). Here we see the country Prāg-jyōtiṣa described in the first class of passages disappears and becomes a city, Kṛṣṇa becomes a hero and conqueror, and the suggestion comes in that the people were demons.

This suggestion is fully developed in the third class of passages, and the laudation of Kṛṣṇa grows fulsome and hyperbolical as addressed to a divine personage. Thus Arjuna praising him says—There was a very strong fortress-city called Prāg-jyōtiṣa belonging to the Asuras; and Bhauma Naraka carried off Aditi's two jewelled ear-rings there; the gods could not cope with him, and therefore invoked Kṛṣṇa's help to slay the Dasyus; Kṛṣṇa severed six thousand fetters (*pāṣa*), slew Bhauma Naraka and Mura, and recovered the ear-rings (Udyōga-p., xlvii. 1887-92). Viṣṇu prophesying about his incarnations says—While dwelling at Dvārakā as Kṛṣṇa, I shall slay Naraka Bhauma, who did wrong to Aditi, and also Maru and Piṭha the Dānava, and destroy the charming Prāg-jyōtiṣa city filled with all kinds of wealth (Çānti-p., cccxli. 12954-6). Vidura says—Naraka and the Dānavas tried to seize Kṛṣṇa, when he went to Prāg-jyōtiṣa, and failed (Udyōga-p., cxxix. 4408-9).

This class of allusions occurs especially in the Hari-Vaṁṣa. It is said there—Kṛṣṇa went to the Prāg-jyōtiṣa city and killed the Dānava Naraka in the sea, *samudra-madhye* (clxxiv. 9790). Nārada speaking of Kṛṣṇa's exploits says—The two Dānavas Maya and Tāra delighted in Bhauma Naraka's city Prāg-jyōtiṣa (lv. 3116-7). It is said Naraka Bhauma, king of the Dānavas, seized Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter Kaçēru; he was king of Prāg-jyōtiṣa; he made a fine city Maṇiparvata for the Gandharva maidens and Apsarases, whom he carried off, upon the Alakā towards his own country of Muru—*Alakāyām muroḥ sva-viṣayam prati* (cxxi. 6791-6801). The Alakā seems to be the river Alaka-nandā, one of the eastern sources of the Ganges, but Muru seems to be generally the name of a Dānava prince. The climax of marvel is perhaps reached in the continuation of that story in Hari-V., cxxi to cxxiii, where Kṛṣṇa's exploits are described at great length—how at Indra's request he rode on Garuḍa from Dvārakā to the Prāg-jyōtiṣa city, how he fought in a superhuman battle with Naraka's four wardens (*dvāra-pāla*), with the hosts of Daityas, Dānavas and Rākṣasas and finally with Naraka, and slew them all, how he captured the city with its fabulous riches, and how the Earth gave up Aditi's ear-rings which Naraka had carried off. It was through this great victory that Kṛṣṇa gained his wonderful bow Çārṅga (Udyōga-p., clvii. 5353-8).

To the same class of passages belongs the allusion in a doubtful verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where *Prāg-jyōtiṣa* is mistakenly placed in the *Western* region—"A city made of gold called *Prāg-jyōtiṣa* is there ; in it dwells the evil-souled *Dānava* called *Naraka*" (Gorresio's Edition, Annotations to *Kiṣk-k.*, xliii).

The difference which has taken place in the aspect of *Prāg-jyōtiṣa* from the first to the last of these passages is most striking. We have no longer a prosperous *Mlēccha* kingdom of barbaric splendour, but a nation of *Asuras* and *Dānavas* ; no longer the noble and imposing figure of the warrior-king *Bhaga-datta*, the ally and friend of the *Kurus*, and the friend of *Çiva*, but malignant demon-kings *Naraka* and *Muru*, who were the foes of the gods and with whom the divine hero *Kṛṣṇa* could have nothing but internecine war. There can be, no doubt, that this change marks very clearly the development of the *Kṛṣṇa* legend, from his rise as a new chieftain of great vigour and capacity to his deification as an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*.

There is only one other passage of importance that I am aware of, *viz.*, *Rāmāy.*, *Ādi-k.*, xxxv. 1-9, which has been quoted above in connexion with *Magadha*. It says *Prāg-jyōtiṣa* was founded by *Amūrta-rajās*, a son of a great king *Kuça*, who was apparently an *Ārya* king in *Madhya-dēça*. It does not agree with any allusion that I have found, and can hardly be reconciled with any of the passages already discussed.

A few words may be added about *Kāma-rūpa*, which is the modern district of *Kamrup* or *Gauhaṭi* in *Assam*. The *Kāma-rūpas* were not an ancient nation, for their name does not occur, as far as I am aware, in the *Mahā-Bhārata* or *Rāmāyaṇa* or any early *Sanskrit* work ; in fact they are rarely mentioned. They seem therefore to have sprung up only in medieval times, and to have developed as *Prāg-jyōtiṣa* had dwindled into a small state. Thus they are mentioned in the *Raghu-Vamça* (iv. 83-84), where it is said *Raghu* conquered them after the *Prāg-jyōtiṣas*, so that they were distinct from the latter. In ancient times their territory was probably included within *Prāg-jyōtiṣa*.

THE KIRĀTAS.

The word *Kirāta* is, no doubt, the same as the modern names *Kirāti* and *Kirānti*, which mean "a native of the *Kirānt-des* or mountainous country lying between the *Dud-Kosi* and the *Karki* rivers in *Nepal*. The term includes the *Khambu*, *Limbu* and *Yākhā* tribes ; and the *Danuār*, *Hayu* and *Thāmi* also claim to be *Kirānti* ;" but their claim is disputed by the first three tribes which are superior (*Risley's Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, I. 490). But formerly they had a much larger

range, or their name was used in a comprehensive way, for it was applied to tribes inhabiting the Himālaya range and its southern slopes from the Panjab to Assam and Chittagong.

Arjuna in the course of his conquests in the Northern region encountered Kirātas in the army of Bhaga-datta king of Prāg-jyōtiṣa (Sabhā-p., xxv. 1002; and see other passages cited below). Bhīma, after vanquishing Vidēha in his Eastern expedition, proceeded from there against the Kirātas (*id.*, xxix. 1089); and they were even further to the east (*id.*, xiii. 584). They are spoken of as dwelling in the marshy regions near the sea (*sāgarānūpa-vāsin*) under Bhaga-datta's rule (Karna-p., v. 104-5), that is, as explained in discussing Prāg-jyōtiṣa, in the low lands around the mouth of the Brahma-putra, so that they occupied all the eastern bounds of Bengal. Moreover Nakula in his Western expedition is said in general terms to have encountered Kirātas along with Pahlavas (Persians), Barbaras, Yavanas (Greeks), and Çakas (Scythians), (Sabhā-p., xxxi. 1199); and they are classed with those and other north-western nations (Çānti-p., lxv. 2429, and ccvii. 7560; and Vana-p., li. 1990).

The Kirātas formed a series of allied yet distinct tribes or clans, for the Kirātas are mentioned twice in the Bhīṣma-P. list (ix. 358 and 364), and again "all the Kirātas" are mentioned (*ibid.*, 376); and it is almost impossible that tribes so wide-spread could have been homogeneous. They were also intermixed with similar hill tribes called Tanguṇas and Pulindas, and all appear to have lived together amicably (Vana-p., cxl. 10863-6). They dwelt in the fastnesses of Himavat (Drōṇa-p., iv. 121; and Raghu-Vaṁça, iv. 76), and their chief territory was among the ranges of Kailāsa, Mandara and Haima, that is, the region around lake Mānasa, the modern Manasarowar lakes (Anuṣās.-p., xix. 1434; Vana-p., cxxxix. and cxl). It was there that the great king Su-bāhu resided, who is called king of the Pulindas (*ibid.*) and also king of the Kirātas (Vana-p., clxxvii. 12349).

In that region they formed a settled kingdom and had a city (*ibid.* 12350). Eastwards they were also organized into chieftainships, for Bhīma conquered seven kings of the Kirātas on the confines of Vidēha (Sabhā-p., xxix. 1089). But the various tribes differed much in material condition, for some were civilized and open to friendly intercourse (Vana-p., cxl. 10865-6; and Udyōga-p., lxiii. 2470), and others were clad in skins, lived on fruit and roots and were cruel (Sabhā-p., li. 1865). Their women were used as slaves, for large numbers of Kirāta slave-girls are said to have been presented to Yudhiṣṭhira (*ibid.* 1867). The Rāmāyaṇa describes the Kirātas as wearing thick top-knots (Kiṣk.-k., xl. 30). They were looked upon with comprehensive disap-

proval, for they are called wicked and are said to have followed evil customs (Çānti-p., ccvii. 7560-61). Manu declares they were kṣātrīyas and became degraded because of the extinction of sacred rites and the absence of brahmins (x. 43 and 44); but this appears to be the opinion of a rather late age, for there does not seem to be any indication that the Kirātas ever set much store by those privileges.

Considering their position and their affinities, it seems clear the Kirātas were tribes of the Mongolian family.

UTKALA.

The Utkalas were well-known, though not mentioned often in the Mahā-Bhārata. They are linked with the Mēkalas (Bhīṣma-p., ix. 348; Drōṇa-p., iv. 122; and Rāmāy., Kiṣk.-k., xli. 14), and with the Mēkalas and Kālingas (Karna-p., xxii. 882). The position of Kalinga has been explained. The Mēkalas inhabited the Mekal hills in the west and north of Chattisgarh. The Utkalas must therefore have occupied an intermediate position. From the passage quoted from the Raghu-Vaṁṣa with reference to Kalinga, it appears the Utkala territory stretched nearly as far as the R. Kapiṣā or Cossye in Midnapur; that passage does not mean it reached that river, for it was only after he crossed that river that Raghu had occasion to accept the guidance of the Utkala kings. From these data and the positions assigned to Paundra and Ōdra, it may be inferred that Utkala comprised the hilly tracts from Balasore to Lohārdagā and Sarguja.

The Utkalas were a hill tribe of rude habits. They stood by themselves and were not considered to have any close affinities with the races around them, except probably the Mēkalas, because their origin was thrown back to the fabulous times of Ilā (Hari-V., x. 631-2); hence they seem to have been an aboriginal race. According to the Raghu-Vaṁṣa which speaks of the Utkala *kings* (*loc. cit.*), they must have consisted of a number of clans, each governed by its own chieftain.

Various derivations have been suggested of the name Utkala, but it is worthy of note that Utkala and Mēkala are linked together as if the two words possessed some element in common. These two tribes must apparently from their situation have been Kolarian tribes. Can it be that the termination in both names is to be identified with the word *Kol*?

GENERAL REMARKS.

In conclusion some conjectures may be put forward which the foregoing results tend to suggest.

The character of the four groups of nations may be summed up thus. Magadha, Vidēha and Vaiçālī seem to have been the outposts of Aryan conquest and colonization. Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma with Tāmalipta and Ōdra were kindred nations, which were not of Aryan stock and were not subjugated by the Āryas, but passed under Aryan influences and became Aryanized. Prāg-jyōtiṣa was a nation of Mongolian extraction. Utkala was a congeries of Kolarian tribes occupying the hilly tracts where they are still found.

I venture to suggest that we have here the results of the immigration of four different races.

The Utkalas, being so-called aboriginal tribes, must of course have come into this region first; and their position among hills also suggests the same inference. They must have been driven into the hills by later invaders.

Next probably came the Angas and their kindred nations. It seems most probable that they entered India from the Bay of Bengal, for their condition does not agree with the theory, that they were in the Ganges plain before and were driven eastward by the advancing Āryas. What happened in North America illustrates what we should expect to find, when one race invades and conquers others and takes possession of their territory on a large scale. As the pale-faces multiplied and forced their way westward, each tribe of Red Indians was broken and flung on the tribes behind it, and the tribes became involved in seething confusion. But nothing of that kind is to be perceived in the accounts of Anga and its kindred nations. On the other hand their possession of all the Ganges delta, their extension up the Ganges basin narrowing at their furthest limit, their spread along the Orissa sea-board, their occupation of the plains and their slight penetration into the hills—all these facts suggest that these nations came from the sea, settled on the sea-coast and gradually carved out kingdoms inland. And if their names are not really derived from the alleged eponymous brothers but perpetuate original appellations, no doubt the termination of the names Anga, Vanga and Kalinga contains some common meaning.

Third came the invasion of the Prāg-jyōtiṣas. This seems the most probable order, because they did not push their way so far into India as the Angas, &c., and because all the accounts make them out to have been a powerful nation from the earliest times, which would hardly have been their condition, if they had preceded the Angas, &c., and been driven back towards the hills by them. They must have descended from the Mongolian table-lands through the passes along the north-east. They held a strong position in ancient times, but gra-

dually disappeared so completely that no trace of their name, which is a singular one, seems to be discoverable. If, however, Kālidāsa is right in the passage quoted in page 105, it indicates how Prāg-jyōtiṣa was dwindling away in his time. Pressed by the Puṇḍras on the west, by the Vangas on the south, by the new Kāma-rūpas on the north-east, and probably by fresh Mongolian tribes on the north, the Prāg-jyōtiṣas were forced to retreat to the east side of the Brahma-putra, into the Garo and Khasi hills and into the district of Sylhet; and it is probably in that direction that the kingdom must have perished.

Lastly came the invasion of the Āryas into Eastern India. Their conquering vigour seems to have spent itself by the time they subdued Vidēha and Magadha, for they had already passed through many generations in the plains of North India, and the enervating climate and easy conditions of life had surely, if slowly, modified the constitution which their ancestors had acquired in colder and harder climes.

*The Gauhaṭī Copper-plate Grant of Indrapāla of Prāgyyōtiṣa in Āsām.*¹—By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(With Plates III-V.)

This grant was given to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S., in September 1893. It is the property of a *Mandal* (*patwārī*) named Dhairjyanāth, and was found some thirty years ago by that man's relation Tanurām Dēkā (deceased), while breaking up for cultivation a piece of high land in the village Bar Pānārā, Mauza Pāti Darrang, District Kāmṛūp.

The grant consists of three copper-plates, which are joined together by a massive, pear-shaped ring. The ring passes through circular holes, in the middle of the narrower side of the plates; and attached to it is the king's seal.

Each plate measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by 6 inches. They were originally about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick, but they (especially the third) are now worn quite thin along their margins. The obverse of the first plate and reverse of the last plate are blank. The inscription, accordingly, covers only four sides of the plates. The first inscribed side bears 14 lines, the second and third, 15 lines each, and the fourth side has only 9 lines. The letters are as a rule $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch long. They are clearly cut, though not very deep, and are very fairly legible, except just along the margins, where the metal is very much worn.

The seal is heart-shaped, measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 inches. Its area is divided into two parts, by a ledge running across it, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch high. In the triangular space, above the ledge, is placed the figure of an elephant, showing in very high relief every line and feature of its great bulk *en face*. The figure measures from the back ground to the edge of the frontal bone three-quarters of an inch. In the semi-circular compartment, below the ledge, is the inscription of the king's name, in letters of a size slightly larger than in the grant. Round the edge of the seal runs a raised rim, nearly one inch in height, very little

¹ On the three Plates read Indrapāla for Mahēndrapāla.

higher than the figure of the elephant, which is protected thereby. The whole looks just like a heart-shaped box, without a lid.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. The formal part of the grant, describing the locality and its perquisites and boundaries, is in prose, *viz.*, lines 3–11 on the reverse of the second plate, and lines 1–9 on the obverse of the third plate. The remainder, detailing the genealogy of the donor and of the donee, is in verse.

The execution of the inscription is very slovenly and inaccurate. Not unfrequently one or two akṣaras are omitted *e.g.*, I,1b² *kiva* for *kitava*, I,4b *anta* for *ananta*, I,11b *sajjair* for *sasajjair*, I,10b *bhāri* for *bhārahari*, and elsewhere. Sometimes single letters are omitted. *e.g.*, I,10b *lakṣmāḥ* for *lakṣmyāḥ*, II,3a *samvadhā* for *sambaddhā*, II,5a *savvā* for *sarvvā*, and elsewhere. Once an akṣara is repeated, *viz.*, *tō*, in I,14b and II,1a; similarly there is a duplicate *u* in III,8a and III,9a; and there is a superfluous *y* in *vaṇṇyatye* in II,3a, and a superfluous *r* in *dhūmrair* for *dhūmair* in II,5a. Many more such inaccuracies of the scribe or the engraver are noted in the footnotes to the transliteration. Curiosities are *abhavata* for *abhavat* in II, 9a, *kalatravānām* for *kalatrāvān* II,9a and II,10a, *avan* for *abhavan* or rather for *abhūn*, II,1b, *pakṣaṣṭa* for *pakṣastha* in II,6b, *rakarana* for *sākarana* in II,7b (see footnote 11 to the translation), *vakṣēṇa* for *vakrēṇa* in III,3a, and the obscure, and probably blundered, *dakṣi pāttau* in III,8a (see footnote 18 to the translation). Other anomalies of spelling may be due to provincial usage. Such are the occasional confusion of sibilants,³ as in *amusya* for *amuṣya* in II,1a, *ēsā* for *ēṣā* in II,15b, *kāṣi* for *kāsī* in III,5a, *atidisyatē* for *atidiṣyatē* in II,3a, and elsewhere; also the ligature of *m* with *v*, instead of anusvāra with *v*, or *m* with *b*; *e.g.*, *amvu* for *ambu* in II,5a, *prabhṛtīnām* = *vinivārīta* for *prabhṛtīnām vinivārīta* in II,11b, and elsewhere; and the confusion of *v* and *b* as in *Vrahma* for *Brahma* in I,6b, II,1a and *vabhūva* for *babhūva* in II,11a, and of *n* for *ṇ*, as in *tarāṅgiṇīnām* for *tarāṅgiṇīnām* in II,14a. Similarly due to provincial usage are occasional prakriticisms or vernacularisms, as *vīrjja* for *vīryya* in I,14b, *jaṣās* for *yaṣās* in II,1a, *Prāgjyōtisa* for *Prāgjyōtiṣa* in II,3b; perhaps also *āyācārasya* for *āryācārasya* in II,13b, and the omission of final *t* in *āsī* for *āsīt* in II,2b, and of final visarga before an initial *p* and *s*, as in *khaṭvāṅga* for *khaṭvāṅgaḥ* in I,1b, *Rati* for *Ratiḥ* in II,10a, and elsewhere.

² This means Plate I, line 1, reverse. *a*=obverse, *b*=reverse. And so on, in all references.

³ The confusion of sibilants, as Mr. Gait informs me, has reached its climax in modern Assamese, which uses *s* indiscriminately for *s*, *ṣ* and *ç*.

From the palæographic point of view the following particulars are worth noting. The *ṇ* (guttural nasal) is formed with a ringlet, which is usually placed on the line (as in *khaṭvāṅga* I,1b, *Gaṅgā* I,2b, *brahmāṅga* I,6b, *bhujāṅga* I,6b, *paṅka* I,7b, *atitarāṅgiṇī* II,14a, *tuygē* II,1b), but twice it appears above the line, resembling the anusvāra (*viz.*, in *paṅka* I,5b, and *aṅkura* I,8b). It is not attached to the body of the letter, as is now the case in the modern Bengālī *ঞ*.

An *r* preceding a consonant is formed throughout above the line.

A final consonant is indicated either by the usual sign of the *virāma*, or a special modified form of the letter is used. Thus we have the *virāma* with final *t* in *āsīt* I,5b, and *abhavat* II,2a, and with final *n* in *yasmin* II,12a. In these cases the *virāma*-stroke is placed a little to the left of the foot of the consonant, and detached from it, the letter itself being of the usual size. More frequent, however, is the use of a special form for final *t*, *n* and *m*; *viz.*, for *t* it is the sign *ṭ*, made of somewhat smaller size than the surrounding letters; for *n* it is the sign *ṇ*, and for *m* the sign *ṃ*, both made of the same size as the surrounding letters. Thus *t* in *āsīt* II,11b; *n* in *valīyān* I,13b, *janapadān* II,7b, *prabhṛtīn* II,8b, and *sarvvān* II,8b; *m* in *mudrām* I,7b, *sambhāvām* II,9a, *pāram* II,15a, *bhavatām* II,9b and *iyam* II,9b. It is worthy of note, that all these special final letters also occur in the Badāl pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, an excellent facsimile of which has been published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 160. Thus the same final *t* occurs there in *kiñcit*, line 24, the final *n* in *ṣrīmān*, l. 8 and 12, *sampītān* and *nidhīn*, l. 13, and final *m* in *amalam* l. 28. The final *m* appears to have been suspected by Professor Kielhorn, as he has enclosed it in brackets, but it is quite correct. A slightly different final form of *t* is more frequent, and occurs in *vidhivat*, l. 11, *abhavat*, l. 17, *avadat*, l. 21, *vyavṛṇōt*, l. 25, and *asmat*, l. 28. The origin of the curious form of the final *n* is in this wise: the *virāma* was attached to the middle of the right hand side of the perpendicular stroke of *n*, as clearly seen in the Badāl plate *ṣrīmān*, l. 8, 12; next the head-loop was added, as in our plate, to enable the whole letter to be drawn by one stroke of the pen. The latter, therefore, is a more cursive form.

The anusvāra is formed by a dot or ringlet, which is either placed above the line (as usually), or on the line. The latter is seen in *sanilīnām* I,7b, *viṣayinām* I,14b, *taṁ* II,13a, *svarggaṁ* II,15a, *saṁ* II,9b, *vaṁṣa* III,4a.

The sign of *avagraha* occurs four times; *viz.*, in *tipavitō* II,11b, *ṣēsha* II,14b, *ṣṭamē* II,15b, also in III,1a after *kulaṁ* where it is out

of place, and where it may have been intended for the special sign of the final *m* which it resembles.

The grant is not dated; but an estimate of its age may be made from its palæographic characters. It presents a good example of the North-Eastern Nāgarī, at a time shortly preceding the establishment of the modern Bangālī. For the determination of the evolution of the latter, the *ṇ* and *r* are specially serviceable as test letters. In Bangālī the forms of *r* and *v* are practically identical; and, as above noticed, the ringlet which forms part of *ṇ*, is there attached to the body of the letter. The transition period from North-Eastern Nāgarī to Bangālī may be fixed as about 1050-1200 A. D. Two inscriptions of this transitional period are the Dēopāra Stone Inscription of the Bengal king Vijaya Sēna, about 1180-1190 A. D., and the copper-plate grant of Vaidya Dēva, king of Kāmarūpa, about 1142 A. D. Both inscriptions show the characteristic form of *r* (= *va*); and the Dēopāra inscription is the first to show the nasal *ṇ* with ringlet attached to the body of the letter.⁴ In our grant, the form of *r* is still the old one; and the position of the ringlet, as a mark of *ṇ*, is still quite unsettled. Altogether the appearance of the writing in it is much older; and it may, therefore, with some probability, be referred to about the middle of the 11th century A. D. (say, 1050 A. D.). This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the initial forms of the vowel *i*. In our grant it is made by a circumflex surmounting two ringlets placed side by side (thus *ṣo*); while in the inscriptions of Vaidya Dēva and Vijaya Sēna the circumflex is far more complicated.

In connexion with this, I may mention, that I have in my hands a copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla, lately sent to me by Mr. Gait.⁵ Ratnapāla, as will be noticed presently, was the grandfather of the Indrapāla of the Gauhaṭī grant. He appears to have had a rather long reign; he outlived his son Purandarapāla, and was succeeded by his grandson Indrapāla. His plate may be placed about 50 years earlier. In conformity herewith, the palæographic characters of his grant are decidedly older than those of the Indrapāla grant. Thus the consonant *kh* which, on the later grant, has practically the same form as in the modern Bangālī, shows in the Ratnapāla grant the older post-gupta form. Further the nasal *ṇ* is formed without any ringlet, according to the older fashion.

The present grant professes to be one of Indrapāla, king of Prāgyōtiṣa. His father is said to have been Purandarapāla, his grandfather

⁴ For further particulars, see Professor Bühler's "Indian Palæography" in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*.

⁵ This will shortly be published by me in this Journal.

Ratnapāla, and his great-grandfather Brahmapāla. Purandarapāla, however, appears to have died during the reign of Ratnapāla, the latter being succeeded directly by his grandson Indrapāla. This is quite clear from the recital in the actual grant (see 2nd plate, reverse, lines 4 and 5); but the circumstance would seem to have been fully explained in the 17th verse which unfortunately is mutilated beyond restoration. The death of the father (Purandarapāla) and the transmission of the throne to the grandchild (Indrapāla) is, however, indicated in the existing remains of the verse.

Beyond Brahmapāla the ancestry is carried, in direct line, though after an undefined interval, through Vajradatta and Bhagadatta to Naraka, who would seem (in verse 6) to be indicated as the founder of the town of Prāgjyōtiṣa. Naraka is said to have been the son of the god Hari, by the goddess Earth.⁶

The total ancestry, accordingly stands thus:—

- 1, Hari.
- 2, Naraka, founder of Prāgjyōtiṣa, son of No. 1.
- 3, Bhagadatta, son of No. 2.
- 4, Vajradatta, son of No. 3.
- 5, Undefined interval.
- 6, Brahmapāla of the line of No. 4.
- 7, Ratnapāla, son of No. 6.
- 8, Purandarapāla, son of No. 7 (died as prince).
- 9, Indrapāla, son of No. 8 (succeeded his grandfather Ratnapāla).

The first two names on this list are those of well-known mythical personages. The third and fourth may have some claim to be regarded as having a historical existence. Vajradatta is said to have belonged (v. 8) to the Kaumra dynasty. No dynasty of this name is otherwise known. Mr. E. A. Gait, who is the best authority on old Āsām history, writes to me:

“I do not know anything about the Kaumra dynasty, mentioned in verse 8. The name does not occur in any Buranji, Puthī, or tradition with which I am acquainted. Might not the reading be *Kaumāra*? The ruler of the country when Hiuen Tsiang visited it, was Kumāra Bhāskara Varma.”

The reading is certainly *Kaumra*, not *Kaumāra*, though as the grant is full of errors of spelling, it is not impossible that the correct name should be *Kaumāra*.⁷ Mr. Gait's suggestion has a certain plausibility. The date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit is 640 A.D. The date of our grant is about the middle of the 11th century (c. 1050 A.D.), and,

⁶ In this the copper-plate grants follow the Yōginī Tantra.

⁷ *Kaumāra*, however, would not fit the metre.

accordingly, that of Brahmapāla about 1000 A.D. There is thus an interval of about 360 years between Hiuen Tsiang and Brahmapāla; and it may have been somewhat longer. As will be shown presently, between Vajradatta and Brahmapāla there were twenty-one kings. At the rate of 20 years for a reign, these kings would take up 420 years; or at the rate of 15 years, 315 years. On the supposition, therefore, that the “Kaumra” line took its name from Kumāra Bhāskara of Hiuen Tsiang’s time, it seems quite possible to accommodate Vajradatta, who is said to have been of the Kaumra line, together with his twenty-one successors in the interval between Hiuen Tsiang and Brahmapāla.

But there is another interesting point in our genealogy, *viz.*, a curious discrepancy.

The usual Āsām tradition is that Bhagadatta and Vajradatta were brothers, both being the sons of Naraka, Bhagadatta apparently being the elder of the two, and he it was that succeeded his father on the throne of Prāgjyōtiṣa. See Mr. Gait’s paper on *the Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa*, in this *Journal*, Vol. LXII, p. 271. This account is borne out by the Tējpur copper-plate grant of Vanamāla published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, p. 766. According to it the genealogy runs thus:

- 1, Hari, the God.
- 2, Naraka, founder of Prāgjyōtiṣa, son of No. 1.
- 3, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, sons of No. 2.
- 4, Undefined number of kings of the line of Bhagadatta.
- 5, Sālāstambha, of a new line of an undefined number of kings, ending with Ārī-Hariṣa.
- 6, Pralambha, said to be again of the line of Bhagadatta.
- 7, Harjara, son of No. 6.
- 8, Vanamāla, son of No. 7.

On the other hand, the Gauhati grant makes Vajradatta to be the son of Bhagadatta; and in this it is in agreement with the Now-gong grant of Balavarman.⁸ The genealogy, as given in the latter, runs as follows:—

- 1, Hari (called Upēndra).
- 2, Naraka, founder of Prāgjyōtiṣa, son of No. 1.
- 3, Bhagadatta, son of No. 2.
- 4, Vajradatta, son of No. 3.
- 5, Undefined number of kings of his line.
- 6, Sālāstambha, of a new line.
- 7, Palaka, Vijaya and others, descendants of No. 6, occupying an undefined interval.

⁸ This is another Āsām copper-plate grant, brought to light by Mr. Gait, which will be published by me in a subsequent paper.

- 8, Harjara, of a new line.
- 9, Vanamāla, son of No. 8.
- 10, Jayamāla, son of No. 9.
- 11, Vīrabāhu, son of No. 10.
- 12, Balavarman, son of No. 11.

With No. 8, Harjara, a new dynasty commences: but here the Nowgong and Tējpur grants differ, the latter commencing this new dynasty with Harjara's father, Pralambha, whom the Nowgong grant ignores. Moreover the Tējpur grant seems distinctly to make Pralambha to belong to the (old, apparently restored) line of Bhagadatta. There is, however, in the genealogical wording of both grants sufficient looseness (probably intentional) to suggest the descensional connection of both the Sālastambha and Harjara (or Pralambha) lines with Bhagadatta.

In another point also these two grants differ. The Tējpur grant makes Bhagadatta to succeed his father Naraka, and omits all mention as to the further fortunes of his brother Vajradatta. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant makes Vajradatta to succeed his father Bhagadatta.

This matter of the relation of the kings and dynasties to one another is further complicated through the statements in the Ratnapāla grant. I have not as yet been able to thoroughly examine that grant, but so much seems to be clear from it, that Vajradatta was a brother of Bhagadatta (as against the Gauhaṭī and Nowgong grants), and that Vajradatta succeeded his *brother* Bhagadatta (as against the Tējpur grant, which knows nothing about Vajradatta's succession, and against the Gauhaṭī and Nowgong grants, which make him succeed his *father* Bhagadatta). Further the Ratnapāla grant fills up the undefined interval, No. 5 of the Gauhaṭī grant, by stating that after Vajradatta a chief (*adhipati*) of the Mlecchas took possession of the kingdom, and a line of twenty kings now followed, beginning with Çālastambha. The twenty-first of this line was Tyāga-sidha, who had no sons, and he was succeeded by Brahmapāla, the father of Ratnapāla. From this account (if I have gathered it correctly) it would appear that the Pāla dynasty of Āsām followed the kings Nos. 5-12 of the Nowgong grant. The latter names eight kings, from Çālastambha down to Balavarman. There may have been descendants of the Harjara line after Balavarman, but, in any case, the grant allows a number of unnamed kings under No. 7. There is no difficulty, therefore, in accounting for the 21 kings, who are said, by the Ratnapāla grant, to have preceded Brahmapāla. On palæographic grounds, too, there is a probability of the Çālastambha and Harjara lines having preceded the Pāla dynasty.

For palæographically the Nowgong grant is older than the Gauhaṭī grant, and very closely resembles the Ratnapāla grant. Thus, it does not use the ringlet of the nasal *ṇ*, and forms the consonant *kh* in the old fashion, older even than in the Ratnapāla plate. It also uses the same initial form of the vowel *i*, as the latter plate, *viz.*, a circumflex below two ringlets placed side by side (००), while the Gauhaṭī plate reverses that position. Accordingly the Nowgong plate and its author must have preceded the Gauhaṭī plate of Indrapāla. Whence it follows that, though the plate, palæographically, might be of the same age as the Ratnapāla plate, its author king Balavarman must be placed before Ratnapāla, and, therefore, also before Brahmapāla. Whence it further follows that the Harjara line of kings must have preceded the Pāla dynasty. For, to all appearances, they ruled over the same country of which Prāgjyōtiṣa was the capital.⁹

The Tējpur grant, being one of Vanamāla, the great-grandfather of Balavarman of the Nowgong grant, must be still older than the Pāla grants. Unfortunately it is not forthcoming, though Mr. Gait has made a careful search for it. From the specimen, published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, the point of age is very difficult to determine, though there is nothing in it to suggest its being younger than the Nowgong or the Pāla grants.

Unfortunately none of these Āsām grants are dated. The palæographic guidance is, at best, uncertain and vague; but as it is, I am disposed to refer the Gauhaṭī plate to (say) 1050 A.D., the Ratnapāla plate to (say) 1010 A.D., the Nowgong plate to (say) 975 A.D., and the Tējpur plate of Vanamāla to (say) 925 A.D.

Another puzzle is that both lines, of Harjara (or Pralambha) as well as of the Pālas, trace their descent up to Bhagadatta, as if they were dynasties related to one another, and of the same tribe or race.

⁹ *Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipa* or 'lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa' is applied to all of them equally. So far as the land-grants which I have seen are concerned, the name Prāgjyōtiṣa is only applied to a town (*pura*), but not to a country. In the Nowgong grant Naraka is said to have conquered (the country of) Kāmarūpa and to have taken up his residence in the town (*pura*) of Prāgjyōtiṣa. There is nothing in the land-grants to show that Prāgjyōtiṣa had ceased to be the capital of the country in the time of either Balavarman or Indrapāla; in fact, the title "lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa" rather negatives that idea. At the same time, it would seem that Indrapāla ordinarily resided in the townlet (*nagarī*, see v. 19) Ārīdurjayā, which was a strong fort; while, according to the Nowgong grant, Balavarman appears to have ordinarily resided in Hārūppēṣvara, which is described as his *paitāmaha kaṭuka* or 'ancestral camp.' I may add that, as Mr. Gait informs me, Prāgjyōtiṣa is represented by the modern town of Gauhaṭī; and that the modern Kāmrūp is a district which forms only a small part of the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa. See, however, *ante*, p. 104.

They also use the same emblem on their seals, a full-figure elephant, standing to the front. But the probability is that both dynasties are those of aboriginal tribal chiefs, who, aggrandizing themselves, adopted Hinduism and got invented for themselves a *quasi* Kṣatriya descent. All the genealogical details, therefore, before Brahmapāla, Çālastambha and Pralambha (or Harjara) are unhistorical, the real lines commencing with those names. The lineage of Bhagadatta seems to have been a favorite one for the chiefs of Kāmarūpa to adopt. “The so-called Rājās of Rānī,” as Mr. Gait informs us (*Journal*, Vol. LXII, p. 272) also “claim to be descended from the lineage of Bhagadatta.”¹⁰

The preceding remarks, practically, dispose of the question of the connection of the Pālas of our grant with the Pālas of the well-known great Bihār and Bengal dynasty. On this subject, Mr. Gait writes to me as follows:—

“I do not think that there is any connection between the Pāla kings, mentioned in the Gauhaṭī grant and the great Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The inscription contains no reference to any known king of this dynasty; and the Pālas in the copper-plate claim descent from Naraka and Bhagadatta, the mythical Hindū progenitors of more than one of the royal families which formerly held sway in Kāmarūpa. Moreover they are described as Lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, which is not a title claimed by any of the Pāla kings of Bengal, although one of them—Dēva Pāla—is said to have conquered Kāmarūpa. Lastly the title Pāla is a very common one not only amongst the kings of ancient Assam, but also of the Bārō Bhuīyās and others, *e.g.*, of the Brāhman to whom the land-grant mentioned in the plate under discussion was made.”

I fully agree with Mr. Gait.

Besides the four Āsām grants, referred to in the preceding remarks (*viz.*, the Gauhaṭī, Tējpur, Nowgong and Ratnapāla grants), there is known a fifth, *viz.*, the Benares grant of Vaidyadēva, published by Mr. Venis in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 347. Vaidyadēva was the prime minister of king Kumārapāla, of the great Bihār dynasty, who made his minister the tributary ruler of Kāmarūpa, in the place of the original ruler who had rebelled. Kumāra Pāla does not appear in the ordinary genealogical list of the Bihār Pāla dynasty. That list concludes with a king Vighraha Pāla III. But as Kumāra Pāla's own genealogy begins with a Vighrapāla, as the grandfather, and gives Rāma Pāla, as the father of Kumāra Pāla, Mr. Venis, with much probability, concludes the identity of the two Vighraha Pālas, and thus makes Kumāra Pāla to be the grandson of Vighraha Pāla III. The date of his grant is conjecturally fixed as 1142 A.D., placing it about one century later than the Gauhaṭī grant, which agrees well enough

¹⁰ For modern instances of fictitious genealogies, see page 83 (§ 46) of Mr. Gait's Report on the Census of Āsām, 1891.

with the difference in the characters used in the two grants, though they belong to two rather different varieties of Nāgarī.

I may here state, that I possess a very excellently written and illuminated copy of the *Ashta Sāhasrikā Prajñā Pāramitā*. It is dated in the 15th year of the reign of Rāma Pāla, on the 17th day of the dark half of Vaiçākha.¹¹ Unfortunately, as usual in Pāla inscriptions, there is no reference to any era. The letters are those of the MSS. Nos. 1464 and 1688, and the numerals those of Nos. 1643 and 1683 (in Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library), all dating in the 11th century (1015-1065). Occasionally the letters resemble those of No. 1693, dated 1165 A.D. The difference between the letters of these two sets is, on the whole, infinitesimal. As Mahipāla is supposed to have reigned up to 1060 A.D., Rāmapāla, third in descent from him, would, on the usual average of a 20 years' reign, have been on the throne, from about 1100 to 1120 or 1125, and this would well accord with the characters of my manuscript of his reign. Kumāra Pāla might have followed him from about 1125 to 1145 A.D.

As to the localities mentioned in the grant I can offer no identifications; indeed, I am not sure that I have understood all the terms correctly. Mr. Gait has been good enough to depute an officer to make local enquiries, but they have been unsuccessful. He says, however, that

"It has been suggested to me by Bābū Bhōlānāth Dās, Sub-Deputy Collector, that the Hāpyōma district may correspond to the Barama Tahşil, and the hamlet of Kāsī may correspond to the three villages Nāth Kucī, Nau Kucī and Rana Kucī which aggregate some 5 square miles. A river flows to the west of these villages which is now known as Timu (Ti or Di is the Kachārī word for water or river, and is a common prefix in the names of rivers in Assam and E. Bengal) which would perhaps be the Digummā of the inscription. As regards the Mākhi path on the East, it may be noted that there are two villages rather more than a mile to the South of Rana Kucī which are known as Bar. Mākhibāhā and Khudra Mākhibāhā respectively¹², and it is possible that a road formerly led to them along the eastern boundary of Nau Kucī and Rana Kucī. Adjoining Rana Kucī to the S.-W. is the village of Ratanpur which may perhaps have some connection with Ratnapāla, but this may be only accidental as there are several Ratnapuras in the province. There is, however, no trace now of any tank to the North of Nau Kucī, nor of any embankment and pond to the North-East and South-West. No worship is now performed at Mākhibāhā, but a Çraddhā ceremony is performed every year in commemoration of the death of one Gaurī Nārāyan Chaudharī's father. This is known as the *Mākhibāhā-sabhā*."

¹¹ See Dr. R. Mitra's edition of that work in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Introduction, p. XXIII.

¹² In order, however, to agree with the description in the grant, these two villages should lie to the North of Rana Kucī. For the Mākhi-path runs north-

TEXT.¹*First Plate : Reverse.*

- 1, Svasti | ² Khatvāṅga paraçur=v=vṛṣaḥ çaçi-kal=ēty-ādi³ tvadiyam
mayā sarvvasvam jitam=adya nāma kiva⁴
- 2, pratyarppitam⁵ tē punaḥ [1] prēṣyā kēvalam=astu mē jala-vahā
Gaṅg=ēti Gaurī-girā Çambhōr=dyūta-
- 3, lājitasya jayati vrīḍā-vinamram çiraḥ || [1 ||] ⁶ Jayati Paçupati praj-
ādhināthō mahita-vapur-m-mahi-
- 4, mā mahā-varāhaḥ | iyam=api Bhagadatta-vatsa-mātā Dharanir
=anta⁷-narādhipa-pratiṣṭhā || [2 ||] ⁸ Yad-vāri Rāma-para-
- 5, çōr=n=nṛpa-kaṇṭha-kāṇḍa-lāvasya dhauta-ghana-lōhita-paṅkam=āsīt |
Lauhitya ity=adhipatiḥ saritām
- 6, sa ēṣa Vrahm⁹-āṅga-bhūr=n=nudatu vaḥ kali-kalmaṣaṇi¹⁰ || [3 ||]
Valgat-khura kṣubhita-bhīma-bhujaṅga-sadmā kalp-ā-
- 7, vasāna-dina-bhinna-samudra-mudrām | pātāla-paṅka-paṭal-ōdara-
sannilinām krōḍ-ā-
- 8, kṛtir=v=Vasutīm¹¹ Harir=ujjahāra || [4 ||] Daṁṣṭr-āṅkur-ōddhṛta-
dharā-parirambha-garbha-sambhōga-sambhṛ-
- 9, ta-ras-ālasa-mānasasya | tasy=ātmajō narapatir=n=Narak-ābhidhā-
naḥ çrīmān=abhūd=bhuvana-va-
- 10, ndita-pāda-mūlaḥ || 5 || Ratna-prabhā-ruchiram=āspadam=ēva
Lakṣmāḥ¹² puṇy-ōpakaṇṭha-vilasat-vana-bhāri¹³ [1]
- 11, Prāggyōtiṣam puram=apāra-yaçāḥ¹⁴ sajjair=v=vakṣaḥ-sthalam=pitur
=iv=āparam=adhyuvāsa || [6 ||] Tasy=āpi

eastwards from the hamlet of Kāsī. Of course, it might be suggested that that path commenced at Mākhībāhā and ran in a northerly direction to the Kucī villages (or Kāsī), and then continued in a north-easterly direction, along the side of the land referred to in the grant, while its earlier portion (further south) did not touch that land at all.

¹ From the Original. In the photograph some of the compound letters do not show entirely.

² Metre : *Çārdūla-Vikrīḍitā*. Read *khatvāṅgaḥ*.

³ Here is a flaw in the Plate which makes the akṣara appear *dī*.

⁴ Read *kitava*. The metre shows that an akṣara is omitted.

⁵ Read *pratyarppitam*.

⁶ Metre : *Puṣpitāgrā*. Read *Paçupatiḥ*.

⁷ One akṣara is omitted ; read *ananta*.

⁸ Metre of verses 3-8 : *Vasanta-tilaka*.

⁹ Read *Brahma*.

¹⁰ Read *kalmaṣaṇi*.

¹¹ One akṣara is missing ; read *Vasumatīm*.

¹² Read *Lakṣmyāḥ*.

¹³ Here two akṣaras are omitted : read *bhāra-hāri*.

¹⁴ One akṣara omitted : insert *sa*.

- 12, sūnur=abhavad=Bhagadatta-nāmā viçrāma-bhūmir=akhilasya pitur
=g=guṇasya | satv¹⁵-ōddhṛtaḥ satata-
13, m=ūna-valē valiyān yaḥ pakṣa-pātam=akarōt=kṣata-vaira-pakṣa¹⁶
[7] Kaumr-ānvay-ōnnati-pada-pra-
14, thita-pratiṣṭhaḥ prthvī-bhujām vijayinām dhuri Vajradattaḥ dōr-
v-vajra-vīrjja¹⁷-paritō¹⁸

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 1, tōṣita-Vajrapāṇir=āsīd=amusya¹⁹-muṣit-āri-jaçās²⁰=tanujah²¹ || [8]
²² Asm[i]n²³=ēva nṛp-ānvayē narapatih Çrī-Vrahma⁹-
2, pālō 'bhavat tatmā²⁴ bhuvi Ratnapāla iti ca khyātaḥ kṣat-ārir=v=
vaçi²⁵ | asy=ānargha-guṇ-ākarasya mahimā rā-
3, jñas=tu kim=varṇyatyē²⁶ yaḥ çlāghyair=atidiçyatē²⁷ su-caritaiḥ
Rāmasya Kṛṣṇasya vā || [9] Samvadhā²⁸ vasudhā su-
4, dhā-dhavalitaiḥ Çambhu-pratiṣṭh-āspadair=yasya çrōtriya-mandirāṇi
vibhavair=n=nānā-prakārair=api | yūpair=yajña-
5, grh-āṅganāni haviṣām dhūmrair²⁹=n=nabhō-maṇḍalam yātrā-rēṇu-
bhir=arṇṇav-āmvu³⁰ vijaya-stambhaiç=ca sarvvā³¹ diçah || [10]
³² Ā-
6, sīd=udāra-kīrttir³³=d=dātā bhōktā çuciḥ kalā-kuṣalaḥ [1] tasya Pu-
randarapālaḥ sūnuḥ çūraç=ca su-kavi-
7, ç=ca || [11] Kṛtam=atikautukam=a-sakṛn=mṛgayā rasikēna yēna
samarē'pi | kṣaṇa-viracita-

¹⁵ Read *sattv*.¹⁶ Read *pakṣah*.¹⁷ Read *vīrya*.¹⁸ Between *pa* and *ri* there is a gap in the original plate, apparently caused by a flaw in the metal. Cancel the duplicate akṣara *tō*.¹⁹ Read *amuṣya*.²⁰ Read *yaçās*.²¹ Read *tanūjah*, metri causa.²² Metre of verses 9 and 10 : *Çārdūla-Vikrīḍitā*.²³ Read *asmin*=*n*=*ēva* metri causa. The vowel *i* is obliterated by the hammering of the rim.²⁴ Here one long akṣara is omitted : perhaps read *tat-sūnur*=²⁵ Read *vaçi*.²⁶ Read *kim varṇyatyē* or *kim=barnnyatyē*.²⁷ Read *atidiçyatē*.²⁸ Read *sambaddhā*, metri causa.²⁹ Read *dhūmair*.³⁰ Read *āmbu*.³¹ Read *sarvvā*.³² Metre of verses 11 and 12 : *Āryā*.³³ Read *kīrttir*.

- 8, çara-pañjara-vaddhai ripu-rāja-çaddūlaiḥ³⁴ || [12 ||]³⁵ Jāmadagnya-
bhuja-vikramāj=jita-prājya-rājya-nṛ-
9, pa-vaṁça-sambhavām [1] Durllabh=ēti sa tu lōka-durllabhām
prāpya samyag=abhavata³⁶ kalatravā-
10, nām³⁷ || [13 ||]³⁸ Sac=īva Çakrasya Çiva³⁹ Çambhō Rati⁴⁰ Sma-
rasy=ēva Harēr=iva Çriḥ [1] sā Rōhiṇ=iva Kṣaṇadākarasya
11, tasy=ānurūpa-praṇayā vabhūva⁴¹ || [14 ||]⁴² Dēvaḥ prāci pradīpa⁴³
prakāṣa-vasumatī-maṇḍalāḥ khaṇḍit-āri-
12, r=j=jātas=tābhyā⁴⁴ jīta-ātmā naya-vinavatām⁴⁵=agraṇīr=Indrapā-
lāḥ | yasmin siṁhāsana-sthē svayam=avani-bhṛ-
13, tām vaddha-sēv-āñjalīnām=āvarjjan=mauli-ratnaiḥ phalitam=iva
bhā⁴⁶ -kuṭṭimam kīryamānaiḥ || [15 ||]³⁸ Su-vi-
14, stṛtānām pada-vākya-tarkka-tantra-pravāh-ātitaranginīnām⁴⁷ | yaḥ
sarvva-vidyā-sarītām=a-gādhām=auta⁴⁸=n=nima-
15, gnaç=ca gataç=ca pāram || [16 ||]⁴⁹ Svarggam gatē pitari yasya
yaçah-çarirē [?] pautasya putra-[]na[—]

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 1, [—] | [—] na guṇ-ānurūpam=aty-
arppitā svayam=avan⁵⁰=nija-rājya-lakṣmīḥ || [17 ||] Yasmin
=nrpē vinaya-vikrama-bhāji ṅga⁵¹
2, samyag-vibhakta-catur-āçrama-varṇṇa-dharmmā | anandini⁵² çaka-
la⁵³-kāmadughā prajānām pṛthvī pṛthōḥ punar=iva prathit-ōday
=āsī⁵⁴ || [18 ||]

³⁴ Read *çārddūlaiḥ*.

³⁵ Metre: *Rathōddhatā*.

³⁶ Read *abhavat*.

³⁷ Read *kalatravān*.

³⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*.

³⁹ One akṣara omitted: read *Çiv=ēva*.

⁴⁰ Read *Ratiḥ*.

⁴¹ Read *babhūva*.

⁴² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁴³ Read *pradīpaḥ*.

⁴⁴ Read *tābhyām*.

⁴⁵ One akṣara is omitted; read *vinayavatām*.

⁴⁶ One akṣara omitted: read *sabhā*.

⁴⁷ Read *ātitaranginīnām*.

⁴⁸ Read *antar=n*.

⁴⁹ Metre of verses 17 and 18: *Vasantatilakā*. Portions of this verse are illegible.

⁵⁰ Mutilated for *abhavan*; but read *abhūn*, metri causa.

⁵¹ Here one akṣara is missing: perhaps read *tuygē*.

⁵² Read *ānandinī*.

⁵³ Read *sakala*.

⁵⁴ Read *āsīt*.

- 3, ³² Kari-turaga-ratna-pūrṇā rājñas=tasy=ānurūpa-guṇa-vasatiḥ [1]
 nṛpati-ku⁵⁵-durjjay=āsīn=nagarī Ćri-durjjayā nāma ॥19 ॥
⁵⁶ Prāgjyō-
- 4, tis⁵⁷ - ādhīpaty - asaṁkhyāt - āpratihata - daṇḍa - kṣapit - āṇḍa - ripu -
 pakṣa - Ćri - vārāha-paramēṣvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ād-
 hirā-
- 5, ja-Ćri - **Ratnapāla** - varmma-dēva - pādānudhyāta - paramēṣvara-para-
 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj - ādhirāja - Ćri-mad-**Indrapāla** - varmma -
 dēva⁵⁸
- 6, kuṇḍali ॥ Uttara-kūlē Hapyōma-viṣay-āntaḥpāti-Kāsi-pāṭaka-bhavi-
 ṣā - bhūmya - pakṣa - ṣṭa⁵⁹ - dhānya - catu⁶⁰ - sahasr - ōtpattika - bhū-
 mau |
- 7, tathā-pūrvva-samupasthita-viṣaya-ra-karaṇa⁶¹ - vyāvahārika-pramu-
 kha-jānapadān rāja-rājñi-rānak-ādhikṛtān=anyā-⁶²
- 8, pi rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtīn yathākāla-bhāvinō'pi
 sarvvān mānanā-pūrvvakam samādi-
- 9, ṣati vēditam=astu bhavatām bhūmir=iyam | vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-
 jala-gōpracār-āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathāsam-
- 10, sthā sva-sīm-ōddēṣa-paryantā hasti-vandha-naukā-vandha-caud-
 dharāṇa⁶³ - daṇḍapāṣ - ōparikara - nānā - nimitt - ōtkhēṭana - hasty -
 aṣv-ō-
- 11, ṣṭra-gō-mahiṣi-jātika-pracāra-prabhṛtīnām⁶⁴=vinivārīta-sarvvā-pīḍā
 ṣāsanī-kṛtya ॥ ⁶⁵ Āsīt Kāṣyapa-gōtrō 'tipavitō⁶⁶ mi-
- 12, tra-vatsalah | yajurvvēdī guṇ-ādhārō Haripāla iti dvijaḥ ॥1 ॥
 Sūtaḥ Ćavarapāl-ākhyātah sadma⁶⁶-vimatsarah | abhavad=
 bhava-
- 13, niṣṭhasya⁶⁶ dvijanmā māninām⁶⁷=varaḥ ॥2 ॥ Saukhyāyik=ēti tasy
 =ābhūt paricaryā-sukha-pradā | āy-ācārasya⁶⁸ s-ācārā patnī gu-

⁵⁵ Here one akṣara is missing : read *kula*.

⁵⁶ From here pro-e.

⁵⁷ Read *Prāgjyōtiṣā*...

⁵⁸ Read *dēvaḥ*.

⁵⁹ Read *stha*.

⁶⁰ Read *catuḥ*.

⁶¹ Read *sa-karaṇa*.

⁶² One akṣara is omitted : read *anyān=a-*

⁶³ Read *caurōddharāṇa*.

⁶⁴ Read *prabhṛtīnām vinivārīta*.

⁶⁵ Metre of verses 1-5 : *Ālōka*.

⁶⁶ The reading is doubtful.

⁶⁷ Read *māninām varaḥ*. Probably faulty for *mauninām*.

⁶⁸ Read *āy-ācārasya*.

- 14, *navatī satī* || [3 ||] *Dēcapāla* iti snigdha-vandhūnām kṛta-pālanah |
 tābhyām jātō dvijō 'ṇṇṇa-guṇa-ratna-nidhiḥ sudhi⁶⁹ [4 ||]
 15, *Ṇṇṇani*⁷⁰-kṛtya bhūr=ēsā⁷¹ tasmai duskara⁷²-ṇṇṇinē | ⁷³ dvijāya dattā
 yattāya rājyē 'ṣṭama-samē mayā || * || [5 ||]

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 1, *Asyā*⁷⁴simā pūrvvēṇa kōṣṭha-mākkhi-yāna villa-pūrvvaḥ kūlam⁷⁵
 kūntavita-khambhavā-satka-makuti-makkhi-yāna-hasī
 2, kṣētr-āliṇ=ca | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna tad-bhū | kūntavita-lākkhyavā-
 bhōga-Kāsi-pāṭaka bhūmyōḥ⁷⁶ simni vṛhad-āliḥ | dakṣiṇē-
 3, na tad-bhū-simni vṛhad-āliḥ | uttara-ga | paṇṇima-ga-vakṣēṇa⁷⁷
 Svalpadyati-kaivarttānām bhōga-dīrghā-kōṣṭhē⁷⁸ bhū-
 4, simni kṣētr-ālī | vaṇṇa-stūpa-trayaṇ=ca | dakṣiṇa-paṇṇimēna tad-
 bhū-simni Digumma-nadī | uttara-ga-va-
 5, krēṇa tad-bhū-simni s=aiva=nadī | pūrvva-ga | uttara-vakrēṇa
 kōṣṭha-Kāsi⁷⁹-pāṭaka bhū-simni kṣētr-ālī | paṇṇima-ga-va-
 6, krēṇa tad-bhū-simni vāstv-āliḥ | paṇṇimēna Digumma-nadī
 paṇṇim-ōttarēṇa s=aiva=nadī
 7, uttarēṇa Tathāgata-kārit-Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka⁸⁰-satka-ṇṇṇana-Bhaviṣā
 bhū-simni kṣētr-ā-
 8, li-sthal-ākhōṭaka-vṛkṣa | paṇṇupati-kārita-puṣkiriṇī⁸¹-dakṣi pātṭau⁸² |
 kṣētr-āliṇ=ca | u⁸³.
 9, uttara-pūrvvēṇa tad-bhū | kōṣṭha mākkhi-yāna || villa-pūrvvaḥ
 kūlaṇ=c=ēti || * ||

The Seal.

- 1, Svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipati-ma-
 2, hārāj-ādhirāja-ṇṇi-ma-
 3, d-Indrapāla⁸⁴-varmma-dēvaḥ [||]

⁶⁹ Read *sudhiḥ*.

⁷⁰ Read *ṇṇṇanī*.

⁷¹ Read *ēsā*.

⁷² Read *duskara*.

⁷³ This half-verse scans irregularly.

⁷⁴ Read *asyāḥ*.

⁷⁵ Read *kūlam*.

⁷⁶ Read *bhūmyāḥ*.

⁷⁷ Read *vakrēṇa*.

⁷⁸ Reading uncertain ; perhaps *kōṇṇa*.

⁷⁹ Usually *Kāsi*.

⁸⁰ Read *bhaṭṭāraka*.

⁸¹ Read *puṣkariṇī*.

⁸² Perhaps read *dakṣiṇa-pārṇvē*.

⁸³ Dele the duplicate *u*.

⁸⁴ The vowel *i* is attached to the lower part of the akṣara *d*.

TRANSLATION.

(First Plate : line 1) Hail !

(Verse 1.) “ Having won to-day the whole of thy property, (*viz.*) club, axe, bull, crescent and the rest, oh gamester ! I return it to thee again : only let me retain Gaṅgā to serve me as a water-carrier.”¹ At this speech of Gaurī, Çambhu’s head bowed for shame at his defeat in the game of dice. May he be glorious !

(2.) May Paçupati be glorious, the lord of the creation, (who is) the famous great Boar of a wonderful bodily form : and she also, the Earth, who is the residence of innumerable kings, and the mother of him (*i.e.*, Naraka), whose son is Bhagadatta.²

(3.) That king of rivers which is born of the body of Brahmā and is called Lauhitya (or bloody), because its waters were stained with the copious blood (*lōhita*) that was washed off Rāma’s axe after it had cut off heaps of necks of kings,—may it also wipe off your stains (contracted) in this sinful age.³

(4.) Hari, in the shape of a boar, disturbing and frightening the abode of the Snakes with his bounding hoofs, uplifted the Earth which was stuck fast in the depths of the mire of the nether-world, after having sunk in the seas cleft asunder on the day of universal dissolution.

(5.) Of him, whose mind was faint with pleasure obtained from the embrace and sexual enjoyment of the Earth as she was borne up on the points of his tusks, there came to be an excellent son, the king named Naraka, the soles of whose feet were adored by all the world.

(6.) He, in boundless glory and with every circumstance of pomp, held court in the town of Prāgjyōtiṣa, which was (to him) like a second bosom of his father, and which, in its fine environment of delightfully dense woods, appeared like Lakṣmī’s seat brilliant with luminous jewels.

(7.) His son was Bhagadatta, full of goodness, who was the repository of all the virtues of his father, and, being strong himself, always took the side of the weak.

(8.) His son was Vajradatta, who widely upheld, among the conquering princes, the prestige of the Kaumra dynasty,

(Second Plate, obverse) in that he pleased Vajrapāṇi by the adamant strength of his arms, and gathered fame by his raids on his enemies.

¹ Gaurī and Gaṅgā are the two wives of Çiva, and so they are jealous of each other.

² See below verses 5-7.

³ *Lauhitya* is another name of the river Brahmaputra. The story of its birth is quoted in the new edition of the Çabdakalpadrūma, from the Kālikā Purāṇa (84th Adhyāya of the Jāmadagnya Upakhyāna), under the word *lauhityā*. Amōghā,

(9.) It was his dynasty, to which belonged king **Brahmapāla**, and his son **Ratnapāla** who was known in the world as the mighty crusher of enemies. How is it possible to describe the greatness of this king, the possessor of priceless virtues, who emulated the renowned good deeds of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa:

(10.) Who studded the earth with white-washed temples enshrining Ćambhu, the houses of learned men with various kinds of wealth, the sacrificial courtyards with immolating posts, the skies with the smoke of burnt-offerings, the waters of the sea with the dust of his marching armies, and all the quarters (of the earth) with the pillar-monuments of his victories?

(11.) His son was **Purandarpāla**, a ruler of wide renown, liberal, jovial, pious, and accomplished in all arts, a hero as well as a poet:

(12.) Who being passionately fond of the chase, gave more than once extraordinary proofs of it by the way in which he captured hostile kings, like tigers, in nettings of arrows improvised for the occasion.

(13.) He had the distinction of obtaining for wife the (princess) Durlabhā,⁴ such a one as is truly difficult to obtain in the world, who was descended from the royal races of the extensive kingdoms conquered by the victorious arms of Jamadagni's son (Paraçurāma).

(14.) As Sacī is to Ćakra (or Indra), Ćivā (or Parvatī) to Ćambhu (or Ćiva), Rati to Smara (the love-god), Ćrī (or Lakshmī) to Hari (or Viṣṇu), and as Rōhiṇī is to Kṣaṇadākara (or Candra, the moon), such a loving wife was she to him.

(15.) Of them was born **Indrapāla**, a king who kept a control over himself; and was foremost among the just and righteous, who vanquished (all) his enemies, and who like the light of the East (*i.e.*, the sun) illumined the (whole) terrestrial globe: before whom, when he sat on his throne, the mosaic floor of his audience-hall looked like a fruit-covered tree by reason of the strewn-about jewels (that fell) from the

the wife of the sage Ćāntanu, was directed by her husband to conceive by the God Brahmā. Her progeny was born in the form of water, and placed by the sage in the middle of four mountains, where it grew into a lake. In its waters Paraçurāma cleansed himself from his sin of matricide, which done, he cut with his axe a channel, through which the waters flowed into India in the form of a river. The presumption is—though the story does not say so—that the lake and river are called *lauhitya* 'red,' 'bloody,' from Paraçurāma having washed off his bloody stains in its waters. It may be noted, however, that, according to our legend, it was the slaughter of the Kṣatriya kings from which Paraçurāma cleansed himself in the lake. According to the version of the Bhagavat Purāṇa, Paraçurāma formed a dreadful river with the blood of the slain Kṣatriyas, and afterwards he cleansed himself in the Sarasvatī, the river of Brahmā (see J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 458, 459).

⁴ The meaning of the name is 'difficult to obtain.'

crowns of the princes as they voluntarily stood reverently bowing (before him) with joined hands :

(16.) Who dived into and passed across the deep and broad streams of all knowledges, the dashing waves of which are the sciences of words, sentences, arguments and doctrines.

(17.) After his father had gone to heaven in a halo of glory of his grandchild the son.....

(Second Plate : reverse).....the fortune of his own kingdom was voluntarily delivered, in accordance with his virtues.⁵

(18.) During the righteous and victorious reign of this king, the earth was happy and greatly flourishing, and became the cow that yields all desires to men, as in the time of Pṛthu, because the laws of the four āçramas (or periods of life) and of the four castes were observed in their proper divisions.

(19.) This king had a residence of corresponding virtues,⁶ a town full of elephants, horses, and jewels, and impregnable to (the attacks of) any royal dynasty, whence it was named Çrī-Durjayā.

(Second Plate : line 4) The *Paramēçvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Indrapāla** Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the lord of Prāggyōtiṣa, the illustrious *Vārāha*,⁷ the *Paramēçvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārāj-ādhirāja*, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma-dēva, who overthrew and inflicted punishment on all his innumerable enemies,⁸ may he prosper !

(Line 6.) With reference to the land bearing four-thousand (measures of) rice, and lying by the side of the land belonging to the Bhaviṣā of the hamlet⁹ of Kāsī, situated within the district¹⁰ of Hapyōma, in the northern part of the country, he sends his greetings and commands to all who reside near the afore-said fields, viz., the accountants,¹¹ traders and other (common) people of the district, as well

⁵ This verse is mutilated and not intelligible, but from what follows below, it appears that the verse stated that Purandarapāla died without succeeding to the throne, and that Ratnapāla was followed on the throne by his grandchild Indrapāla.

⁶ One would rather expect the reading *guṇ-ānurūpa*. The name Durjayā means 'difficult to conquer.'

⁷ I.e., one who is a boar (*varāha*) like Viṣṇu.

⁸ The reading is here rather obscure. Perhaps *pratihata* should be read for *apratihata*.

⁹ On *pāṭaka*, 'hamlet,' see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 135.

¹⁰ With reference to the term *viṣaya* or district, I may note that Mr. Gait informs me that "the local revenue officials, commonly known as Mauzādārs are also in parts still called *Bisayās* or *Patgiris*."

¹¹ The word *ra-karaṇa* of the original is faulty for *sa-karaṇa*, which also occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, published by Mr. Batavyal in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII for 1894, p. 57 (line 48) and p. 50, footnote 16. *Karaṇa* is a synonym of *Kāyastha*.

as those who hold the rank of *Rāja*, *Rājñī*, *Rāṇaka*, and others, such as *Rājanyas*, *Rājaputras* and *Rājavallabhas*,¹² and all who may hold any rank from time to time.

(Line 9). Be it known to you, that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all worries on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenant's taxes,¹³ the imposts for various causes, and the pasturing of animals such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, and buffalos, as set forth in this charter¹⁴:—

(Line 11, verse 1.) There was a Yajurvēdī brāhman, named Haripāla of the Kāçyapa gōtra, very pure,¹⁵ kind to friends, and possessed of every virtue.

(2.) That excellent man had a son, called Çavarapāla, who was unambitious of position, a (truly) twice-born man and most highly respected.

(3.) This noble man had a wife, called Saukhyāyikā, who was well-conducted, virtuous and chaste, who gave pleasure (to her husband) by her devotion (to him).

(4.) Of them was born the brāhman Dēçapāla, wise and full of every virtue, and mindful of services done to him by his friends and relations.

(5.) To that brāhman, who is austere and observes difficult ordinances, that land, as set forth in this charter, is given by me in the eighth year of my reign.

(Third Plate: first line.) ¹⁶ Its boundaries (are as follows:) on the east, there are the Mākkhi-path ¹⁷ to the granary with the pond in front of

¹² These terms signify various degrees of hereditary or official rank, and have no exact equivalents in English. *Rāja* is not a 'king.' *Rājñī* is literally a 'queen.' *Rāṇa*, a prākritic form of *rāja*, is a still existing title.

¹³ *Upari-kara* is a fiscal term: the rent or tax (*kara*) paid by an *uparī* or tenant who does not reside or has no occupancy-rights in the land. See Bühler's remarks in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 66.

¹⁴ The sentence, which breaks off here, is resumed in verse 5, below.

¹⁵ The reading *atipavitō* is not very satisfactory. The second akṣara *pa* is indistinct.

¹⁶ This statement of the boundaries is full of vernacular terms, which I do not fully understand.

¹⁷ *Yāna* also occurs repeatedly in the Dharmapāla grant published by Mr. Bata-vyal, who translates it with "water-course." See *ante*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 49, 55 (lines 33, 38). Thus we have *āmra-yāna* (l. 38) 'the road (lined) with mango-trees.' *Makkhi* or *mākkhi* might be the same as the Hindī *makkī* or *makai* 'Indian corn,'

it, and an embankment, also the Hasī of the Makkhi-path (established) by the still extant edict (engraved) on the Kūntavita pillar, and the ridge of the fields. On the south-east of the land, there are the hamlet of Kāsī on the Kūntavita Lakkhyavā property, and, along the boundary of the land, the big dike. On the south, along the boundary of the land, is the big dike. At the bend to the north and west, there are the big granary on the property of the Svalpadyati fishermen, and, along the boundary of the land, the ridge of fields, also three clumps of bamboos. On the south-west, along the boundary of the land, there is the river Digumma. At the bend to the north, along the boundary of the land, there is the same river. At the bend to the east and the north, there are the granary belonging to the hamlet of Kāsī, and, along the boundary of the land, the ridge of the fields. At the bend to the west, along the boundary of the land, there is a row of houses. On the west, there is the river Digumma. On the north-west, there is the same river. On the north, there are the Bhaviṣā with the still existing charter of the holy Āditya (or Sun-god) made by Tathāgata, and, along the boundary of the land, a walnut tree on a dry spot on the ridge of the fields, on the south side¹⁸ of the tank made by Paṇupati, as well as a ridge of fields. On the north-east of that land, there are the granary, with the Mākkhi-path and the pond in front of it, as well as an embankment.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, the illustrious Indrapāla Varma-dēva.

‘maize’; hence *makkhi-yāna* ‘the road lined with maize (-fields). But it may be questioned whether maize was known in India in those early times. Or the true reading might be *makkhiyāna-villa-pūrva*, ‘(the granary) with the pond of Makhānā in front of it.’ *Makkhiyāna* might be another form of *makkhānā* which is *Euryale ferox*.

¹⁸ I can make nothing satisfactory of *dakṣi pāttau*. It may be a combined error of the scribe and the engraver, and may be intended for *dakṣiṇa-pārṣv*. The two akṣaras *tau* and *ṣv* are not altogether unlike one another.

On some New or Rare Hindū and Muhammadan Coins. No. IV.¹—By

DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(With Plate VI.)

I. BENGAL COIN.

A notice of "a rare gold coin of Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Bengal" has been published by Mr. Richard Burn, in the *Proceedings* of this Society for August 1896, p. 108. The coin is in Mr. Burn's possession. He writes to me as follows about its history: "It was obtained by me from the treasury of the Rājā of Tamkuhī, an estate in the east of the Kasrā district. The Rājā could give no information as to when it came into the possession of his family. He is by caste a Buinhār, and he has property in the Gayā district in Bengal. I think it may probably have been received from there, as I have never come across any other Bengal coins in the N.-W. Provinces. It is a custom in the family for each of the more important servants to present a nazr of a gold mohur on the death of the head. The treasury, however, contained, besides this, no coin older than the Murshidābād mohurs, struck by the East India Company." I fancy, it is unique, and therefore publish a facsimile of it on Plate VI, No. 1. Its weight is 160 grains. Neither the British Museum, nor any of the Museums in India possess a gold coin of this type, though silver coins are fairly common.² The latter are of several varieties, differing in ornamentation and legends: the British Museum possesses five varieties, of which variety A is figured in this *Journal*, Vol. XLII (p. 267), on Plate VIII, No. 4; also Marsden, Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLXV, variety B, in the Br. Mus. Cat., Pl. III, No. 77 and this *Journal*, Vol. XLII, Pl. VIII, No. 6, and variety D, in this *Journal*, Vol. XLII, Pl. VIII, No. 5. The present gold coin, in its ornamentation, differs from any of these varieties. In its legends, it

¹ For Nos. I, II, and III, see *ante*, Vol. LVIII, of 1889, p. 30, Vol. LIX, of 1890, p. 169, and Vol. LXII, of 1893, p. 230.

² The British Museum possesses a gold coin of a different (tughrā) type, No. 81, in its Catalogue.

agrees with variety D of the British Museum, with the exception that, while the silver coin has the kunyat *Abul Muẓaffar*, the gold coin has *Abul Mujāhid*.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Lozenge-shaped area.	Lettered surface.
ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين	السلطان [العدل جلال الدنيا [و] الدين ابو [المجيد] احمد محمد شاه السلطان
Marginal sections illegible.	

The obverse marginal sections probably contained the names of the four Imāms. Traces of 'Alī and Abu Bakr appear to be distinguishable; but possibly they might have contained the date of the coin.

Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh probably reigned from 817–835 H, See *ante*, Vol. XLII, p. 266.

II. MUḠHUL COIN.

This is a dām of Akbar of the Mānikpūr mint, noticed by Mr. R. Burn, in the *Proceedings* for August 1896, p. 109. It weighs 325 grains, and is dated 98* H. It was obtained by Mr. Burn from a Baniyā in the bazar of a village in the Farrukhābād district, where it was in circulation. Information on the mint town will be found in Mr. Burn's note in the *Proceedings*. It is now figured on Plate VI, No. 2.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
مانکپور	هشتاد و
[ف]الوس	٩٨
ضرب	نه صد و
	سده
Over the س there are an asterisk and an arrow-head.	Over the د of صد there is a quatrefoil.

III. COIN OF TĪMŪR.

This professes to be a gold coin of Amīr Tīmūr. It is the property of the Chief Secretary of the Dhōlpur State in Rājputānā, and was shown to me in March 1896, by Messrs. Cooke and Kelvey, Jewellers, of Calcutta. I could learn nothing about its history, and I doubted its genuineness; but I publish it both as a curiosity and to elicit the opinion of numismatists. It weighs 210 grains. See Plate VI, No. 3.

Obv.

In circular area :—

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
علي ولي الله
وصي رسول
الله

Margin :— فاطمة حسن و
حسين و سجاد و باقرو
جعفر و كاظم و رضا و تقى
ونقى و عسكرى و مهدي

Rev.

In circular area :—

الملك
الامير الخاقان
التمور كوكان صاحب
قران خلد الله
٨٠١
ملكة و سلطنة

Margin :— الاعظم * * * * *
السلطان ضرب حصار

The date appears to be 801 H. The unit figure *one* is not quite distinct; it has become attached to the first up-stroke of *س* in *Sultān*. The mint seems to be clearly enough *Hiṣār*.

The year 801 is that of *Timūr's* raid (*jihād*) into India. On the 17th December 1398, he captured Delhi. He advanced from Multān. From thence the direct route would have been by Bhatnēr, Sirsā, *Hiṣār*, Hānsī, Rōhtak to Delhi. The Ghaggar river, however, followed a different course in those days. So *Timūr* marched from Sirsā (*Sarsutī*) by Fathābād, Tōhārā, Kaithal to Pānīpat, and thence to Delhi. He thus left *Hiṣār* to the south of his route, at a distance of about 30 miles from Fathābād. At that time *Hiṣār* was a new town and fort; it had been founded, 44 years before, by the Delhi Emperor *Firūz Shāh*, in 1354 A. D. In *Shēr Shāh's* time (947–952 H) it became a favourite mint; but before him it has never been noticed as a mint town. It is curious that *Timūr* in the diary of his raid, makes no mention at all of the place and its fort, though he passed so very near it.³

There is a mint-town *Hiṣār* in *Bukhāra*, of which two silver coins are known, of the *Shaibānī* line of kings.⁴ These kings followed the *Timurides*. One of the last *Timurides*, *Mas'ūd*, was the ruling Governor of this *Hiṣār* in 872–873 H., but no coins of his struck in *Hiṣār* appear to be known. This *Hiṣār*, of course, might have suited *Timūr*; but the date of the present coin, 801 H., points to the Indian *Hiṣār*, near which town *Timūr* was in that year. Moreover the date and the general style of the present coin point to India. Moreover, the letters of its legends,

³ See the diary of his raid in Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 428–433.

⁴ See British Museum Catalogue, Vol. VII, Nos. 140, 141.

in the crudity of their formation, show a curious resemblance to the coinage of the time of Tīmūr's raid. Maḥmūd Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh and grandson of Firūz Shāh, was the ruler of Delhi at that time. He reigned from 795–815 H. The crude form of ح in *Muḥammad* on the obverse is especially noticeable, and is very much like that on Maḥmūd's coins.

There are some other curiosities and inaccuracies in the spelling. Thus, ر of the first *rasūl* in the obverse legend is written across the س s, with the medial stroke of which it partially coincides. On the obverse the name of Tīmūr is mis-spelled *Timūr* without the intermediate ی. It is true that in Turkī the vowels may be short or long, but, in actual use, I have never met with Tīmūr spelled Timūr.⁵ The title Kūrkan is spelled *Kūkān*, the intermediate ر being omitted. On the margin of the reverse the imperial titles are given in the inverse order *al-A'zam as-Sultān* instead of *as-Sultān al-A'zam*. The preceding title, of which only traces of the concluding letters (*far?*) remain, may have been *Abul Muẓaffar*: if so, the inversion of the order of the titles is complete.

Perhaps most curious of all is the fact that the proper name Tīmūr appears to be constructed with the article *al*, but see footnote 5.

Similar inaccuracies, however, though not in such an accumulation, occur on undoubted coins of Tīmūr. See, *e. g.*, the spelling of رسول الله on coins Nos. 12, 19, 29, etc., in the British Museum Catalogue.

The accumulation of titles is a very unusual feature on Tīmūr's genuine coins, on which he never applies the imperial titles to himself. It is just possible, of course, that the missing portion of the reverse marginal legend may have contained the name of the nominal Sultān, Maḥmūd Khān, though the rule of the latter is usually said to have terminated in 800H. The title *al-Malik* appears to be found occasionally on Tīmūr's genuine coins, see Br. Mus. Cat., Nos. 34 and 35. *Al-khaqān* is not found on any of them. It occurs apparently for the first time, on coins of the Timuride Abdullah (854 H.). The title *Ṣāhib Qirān*, also, is not found on any of Tīmūr's known genuine coins; but it is well-known that that title was given to Tīmūr on his accession to the Amīrship in 771 H.

A further difficulty is that Tīmūr, on all his known genuine coins, professes himself an orthodox Sunnī Muḥammadan: they bear the Sunnī form of the creed and only the names of the four orthodox

⁵ It is just possible that the *alif* in *al-timūr* may belong to *al-amīr* above, the *alif* of which is not very clear, and that the apparent *l* of *al-timūr* may be intended for *t*: This would produce the ordinary spelling *Timūr* without any article. Observe a similar elongated form of *t* on the coins Nos. 27 and 30 in the British Museum Catalogue.

Khalifahs. On the other hand, the present coin shows the Shī'ah form of the creed, together with the names of the twelve Imāms. There is the strongest evidence that Tīmūr was a Shī'ah,⁶ and if this gold piece was made in India, the marks of the Shī'ah faith may have been put on it to conciliate Tīmūr.

Add to this that hitherto no gold coin of Tīmūr, so far as I know, has been discovered. Silver, copper and brass coins of his exist; but no gold coins have survived, if they ever existed. Moreover the weight of the coin does not agree with the contemporary standard of Indian gold coins.

All these circumstances inspire one with distrust. On the other hand, it is difficult to account for a forgery. An imitator would ordinarily require a model to work with. The very difference of the present coin from all known coins of Tīmūr makes against a forgery. Then, there is the curious resemblance, in the general style, to the contemporary coins of India. Also the date and mint agree with the time and circumstances of Tīmūr's transitory invasion of India. The piece is probably not a coin at all, but may be a medal for commemoration or presentation. This may account for its irregular weight.

IV. GHAZNIH COINS.

In July 1896 a hoard of 739 Ghaznih coins were found near Edwardsābād in the Bannū district of the Panjāb. A notice of the find is published in the *Proceedings* for January, 1897. They were all coins of Sabuktagīn, who ruled from 366–387 H. = 976–997 A.D., and most of them, (718) belonged to the well-known variety, which is shown on Plate V, No. 453, of the second volume of the British Museum Catalogue. This variety has the name of Sabuktagīn on the reverse, and the words *at-Tā'iyu li-l-lāhi* on the obverse.

There is another variety of the same type of coin, which reverses the position of those words: the name Sabuktagīn is on the obverse, and *at-Tā'iyu li-l-lāhi* on the reverse. This is very rare. I know only of the existence of two specimens, one in the Indian Museum, No. 7847 in its Catalogue, and the other in the India Office, from the Masson Collection, noted in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX, page 305. In the Bannū find there were eight specimens of this variety.

There occurs a third variety, which shows the name of Sabuktagīn

⁶ See Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 393. The *Tārīkh-i-Tīmūrī* shows the fact clearly. Thus it relates that Tīmūr was one day sitting with learned men of Halab. He asked them about their opinion regarding 'Alī, Mawiyah and Yazīd. One of them whispered to his friend to be careful what he replied because Tīmūr was a Shī'ah.

on both sides, and omits the words *at-Tā'iyu li-l-lāhi* altogether. This is also very rare. I know only of the existence of one specimen; it is in the Lahore Museum, No. 11 (p. 24) of the second volume of the Museum catalogue. In the Bannū find there were 13 specimens.

The British Museum, so far as I can discover, possesses no specimens of either of the two rare varieties. One of each has now been given to it. The coin cabinets of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Bombay, and of the Museums in Madras, Lahore, Lucknow and Nāgpūr have also been supplied with one specimen of each variety.

So far as I know, no facsimile of either of the two rarer varieties has ever been published. Accordingly I do so now. Plate VI, No. 4 shows the second variety.

Obv.

In circular area :—

• Θ •
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
سبكتگين
و

Rev.

In circular area :—

• لله •
محمد رسول
الله نوح بن
منصور
الطابع لله
و

Plate VI, No. 5 shows the third variety :—

Obv.

In circular area :—

• Θ •
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
سبكتگين
و

Rev.

In circular area :—

• لله •
محمد رسول
الله نوح بن
منصور
سبكتگين
و د د

The margins on all the specimens of the find are almost entirely clipped away, and do not offer sufficient traces to identify any mint or date.

V. EARLY INDO-SCYTHIAN COIN (KADPHISES II).

In the *Proceedings* for May, 1895, I published a notice of two coins of Kadphises II, with new Kharōṣṭhī legends on the reverse. They belonged to a hoard of 432 coins of Kadphises II and Kanishka, which was found on the Kalkā-Kasauli road in the Paṭiālā State. With the exception of those two, all the coins belonged to the ordinary, well-

known types. One of the two is too badly preserved, to deserve figuring; very possibly its legend, after all, may be the ordinary one. But the legend of the other is too distinct to be mistaken; and, therefore, I now publish a facsimile of it, on Plate VI, No. 6. The word *apratihatasa* is quite distinctly legible on the right-hand side of the margin, where, in the case of the ordinary legend, the words *hima-kapiṣasa* come in. The Kharōṣṭhi letters of these two sets of words could not be mistaken for one another.

The full legend appears to have run as follows:—

[Ma]ha(ra)[ja rajadhiraja](sa tradata)sa apra(tihatasa).

The akṣaras, enclosed within angular brackets, are lost; those within round brackets are more or less distinct; the rest are quite clear.

The legend commences just to the right of Śiva's head, though *ma* is lost. The *ha* of *maharaja* stands exactly over Śiva's head. The *tra* of *tradatasa* stands under Śiva's proper right foot. The heads of some of the letters are worn away, thus rendering them, at first, doubtful; this is the case with *data* of *tradatasa*, and *ti* and *ta* of *apratihatasa*. As the head of *ti* is lost, the letter might have been *ḍi*. The vowel-stroke of this letter has a rather unusual position, as it runs across the perpendicular stroke of the consonant *t* (or *ḍ*) instead of through to its horizontal top-stroke. Moreover the horizontal bottom-stroke of *ha* touches the foot of the letter *ti* (or *ḍi*).

This is the first and, as yet, only coin of Kadphises II, on which the epithet *apratihata* occurs. It occurs, however, on the coins of Gondophares and Rañjabala who must have been nearly contemporary with Kadphises II. It also occurs, in the form *apadīhata*, on the earlier coins of Lysias, Artemidorus and Philoxenus,

The obverse is altogether the usual, wherefore it has not been figured. The legend is almost entirely obliterated; only a trace of ΜΕΓΑΚΟ (*i.e.*, μέγας κοινός) is just recognizable near the proper right foot of the figure of Kadphises in its usual place.

VI. INDO-BACTRIAN COINS (ABDAGASES).

I take this opportunity of publishing facsimiles of the two Abdagases coins, which have been noticed by me in the *Proceedings* for May 1895. See Plate VI, Nos. 7 and 8. The reverses only have been figured; the obverses do not differ from the usual type. As stated in the *Proceedings*, these two copper coins were obtained from the Gayā bazar with a number of others which offered nothing of interest.

The singularity of these two coins is that they are the first instance, and the only one, hitherto discovered, of the Kharōṣṭhī script, running from the left to the right.

In addition to this, they show another minor peculiarity. On the ordinary copper coins of Abdagases, as well as those of Gondophares and other later Bactrian kings, the legend runs continuously all round the margin, and is to be read from the inside of the coin. This, however, is not the usual arrangement on Bactrian coins. As a rule the legend is not written continuously, but in two sections. The shorter section of the Kharōṣṭhī legend (on the reverses), giving the name, commences on the lower right of the margin, and runs along the bottom of the coin, from right to left, to the lower left of the margin; and must be read from the outside of the coin. The longer section commences on the lower right of the margin, and runs up all round the top of the coin, down to the lower left; and must be read from the inside of the coin. Both sections, therefore, commence on the lower right of the margin, and read from the right to the left, in diverging lines. The same arrangement holds good for the Greek legends (on the obverses); only in this case, as Greek is read from the left to the right, the starting point of the two sections is the lower left of the margin. Now on our new Abdagases coins, there is a curious mixture of the Greek and Kharōṣṭhī arrangements. The legend is written in two sections; the shorter section, giving the name, *Avadagaçasa*, begins on the lower right, and runs across to the lower left, and reads from the outside of the coin, from the right to the left. This shorter section, therefore, follows the usual system of writing and reading the Kharōṣṭhī script. But the longer section commences on the left side, where the shorter section ends, and then runs from the left to the right, round the upper part of the margin, down to where the shorter section commences; and it reads from the inside of the coin. The longer section, therefore, reads from the left to the right, like the Greek. In fact, that section is arranged and reads like a Greek legend, while the shorter legend is arranged and reads like a Kharōṣṭhī legend, though both sections are written in Kharōṣṭhī characters. In other respects the legend is the usual one, *viz.*—

Longer section : *Maharajasa tradatasa*.

Shorter ditto : *Avadagaçasa*.

It is the longer section, therefore, which shows the singularity, above referred to, of a Kharōṣṭhī legend, reading from the left to the right, after the fashion of the ordinary Indian Brāhmī script. The smaller section, on the other hand, shows the Kharōṣṭhī script in its ordinary fashion of reading from the right to the left.

On No. 7 nearly the whole of the legend can be seen. The point of junction of the two sections of the legend is on the left margin, just opposite the middle of the back of the winged figure. Here (reading from the inside of the coin) the two akṣaras *maha* are perfect and

clear; below them (reading from the outside of the coin) stand successively *sa* and *ça*, both equally perfect and clear. Beyond *ça*, below the feet of the figure, comes a fragment of *ga*. The next two letters *vada* of the shorter section are quite gone; but of the first letter *a*, a small fraction is still visible. Again, of the longer section, above *maha*, there come *ra* and *ja*, on the left and right side respectively of the head of the figure. The akṣara *ja* is quite clear; but the horizontal headline of *ra* is worn away; and, moreover, it seems to have been turned the wrong way (Γ instead of 7), perhaps induced by the inversion of the direction of the script. Then follow the letters *sa* and *tra*, both rather crowded and mutilated. Next comes *da*, nearly perfect, and finally come *tasa*, more or less mutilated. The legend, therefore stands thus:—

Maha(ra)ja(sa tra)da(tasa), (A)[vada](ga)çasa.

The angular brackets indicating lost, and the round brackets, mutilated letters.

In No. 8, only the left portion of the legend is preserved; viz., *maha* of the longer, and *gaçasa* of the shorter legend. On this specimen the letter *ga* is in nearly perfect preservation.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the preserved portion happens to contain just some of the most distinct letters of the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet. Most of the letters of that alphabet are, as a rule, most difficult to identify. But this is never the case with the letters *ma*, *sa*, *ça* and *ga*, and in a lesser degree with *ha* and *ja*. These six letters are just those best preserved and quite distinct on both specimens. They together form (as will be readily understood from the arrangement of the legend, above explained) a continuous set of letters which make up, between them, the beginning of the longer and the end of the shorter sections of the legend. This set of letters is quite characteristic, and is sufficient to show how the whole legend must have run, even when it is not actually, or completely, extant.

VII. GUJARĀT COINS.

The coins of the Muhammadan “Kings of Gujarat” are described in the British Museum Catalogue, *Coins of the Muhammadan States*, pp. 132 ff., in this *Journal*, Vol. LVIII, for 1889, pp. 1 ff., and in Thomas’ *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 350 ff. There still remain, however, many lacunae to fill up. Thus of Quṭbu-d-dīn, the fourth Sultān, who reigned from 855–863 H. = 1451–1458 A.D., no coin appears to have been discovered hitherto; none, certainly, has been either noticed or published. Not long ago, I had the good luck to discover two copper coins of this Sultān, in fairly good condition, in a small collection which I was

examining. They are now in my possession, by exchange. I publish them in Plate VI, Nos. 9 and 10. They are varieties of two different sizes.

No. 9. Weight 117 gr. Lettered surfaces. Date [8]5(6)..

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
قطب الدنيا	السلطان
والدين ابو	احمد شاه
المظفر	[٨]٥٦

No. 10., Weight 77 gr. Lettered surfaces. Date 855.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
قطب الدنيا	السلطان
والدين	احمد شاه
	٨٥٥

The date of No. 10, is nearly perfect; that of No. 9, is mutilated; its unit's figure may be either 6 or 5.

These two coins are historically noteworthy as they disclose the regnal name of Qutbu-d-dīn, which appears to have been hitherto unknown. It is Aḥmad Shāh, and he is therefore now to be counted as the second of that name in the genealogical list, while he who hitherto stood in it as Aḥmad Shāh II, reigning from 961–969 H. = 1553–1561 A.D., must now be counted as the third Aḥmad. I notice that the British Museum Catalogue gives two copper coins of this Aḥmad Shāh III, Nos. 435 and 436, on page 140. Neither of them are dated: nor are they figured in the plates: from the latter circumstance I conclude that they are not well enough preserved to be figured, and that their reverses, in the original state, probably bore a date. Possibly it may now turn out that they are really coins of Aḥmad Shāh II.

I may note that the coins of Aḥmad Shāh II, in type and execution, show distinctly the character of the early Gujarāt issues, as seen in the coins of Aḥmad Shāh I, and Maḥmūd Shāh I. A century later, in the time of Aḥmad Shāh III, the coinage had considerably altered and deteriorated. This may be seen from his coins, published by Mr. Oliver, in this *Journal*, Vol. LVIII, p. 11, Plate III, Nos. XXVI and XXVII. They resemble, in this respect, the coins of his successor Muẓaffar Shāh III, who reigned from 969–980 H. = 1561–1572 A.D. A copper coin of the latter has been published by Mr. Oliver, *ibidem*, p. 11, Plate III, No. XXXII. To these I add now two other coins of Muẓaffar III, of two different varieties.

Plate VI, No. 11, Weight 174 grains. Date 969.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Lettered surface.	In marginal circle.
واين الدنيا لد شمس ٩٩٩ ابوالمظفر	السلطان محمود شاه مظفر شاه [بن]

Plate VI, No. 12. Weight 174 grains. Date 96*.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
المو [يد] شمس والد	* ٩٦ شاه مظفر

The complete legends of No. 12, would be:—

<i>Obv.</i>	الموید بتايد الرحمن شمس الدنيا والدين
<i>Rev.</i>	مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه * ٩٦

After Muzaffar III, the Gujarāt coinage went on degenerating, and now, in one of its most degenerate forms, makes the coinage of the modern Native State of Navanagar, tributary to the State of Junāgarh, to which Muzaffar is said to have fled after his defeat by Akbar's generals (see *ante*, Vol. LVIII, p. 4). To this period belong the two silver coins, dated 978 H., published by Mr. Oliver, *ibidem*, p. 11, Plate III, Nos. XXIX and XXX. I may note that the date 78 has been stereotyped on the whole series of these Navanagar coins, down to its modern issue. I publish here a set of characteristic specimens.

Plate VI, No. 13. Weight 117 grains. Lettered surfaces. Date 78.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
السلطان ٧٨ مظفر شاه श्रीजाम	لموید شمس etc. الدنيا	} fragments.

Plate VI, No. 14. Similar to No. 13.

Plate VI, No. 15. Weight 149 grains. Lettered surfaces. No date.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
..... श्रीजाम	Illegible fragments. It may be read पति or سلطان or مظفر

Plate VI, No. 16. Modern issue, which adopts the type of No. 13.

Date 78. Weight 98 grains.

Obv. مظفر شاه سلطان 78 (in corrupt spelling), श्रीजाम.

Rev. The usual legend الموبد etc., reduced to meaningless scrawls.

VIII. SOUTH-INDIAN COINS.

In November, 1896, I received 42 coins which had been found in the district of Angul in Orissa. My report on them is published in the April *Proceedings* for 1897. They consisted of 22 Bahmanī silver coins and 20 gold pieces. It is the latter, of specimens of which I now publish facsimiles. Among the former there were no novelties, excepting a slight new variety of the well-known type of Firūz Shāh's coin. The only difference in this variety is in the form of the ج *j* in Firūz's title of Tāju-d-dīn. In December, 1892, I received two more gold pieces, found on the banks of the river Brāhminī in the Tributary State of Dhanakanal. See *Proceedings* for April, 1897.

Of the 20 gold pieces from Angul, 18 have small gold loops attached, by which they were threaded on a piece of string, forming probably a small necklet. They are very small, thin pieces of gold, weighing, on the average, only 8 grains, though some weigh only 6·5 grains. Eighteen of them, as well as the two pieces from Dhenkanal, are coins, "locally (as I am informed) called *hoons*." In the *International Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. I, "Coins of Southern India," by Sir Walter Elliot, there is one coin, No. 93 on Plate III, which bears some resemblance to the coins now described, but it is too imperfect for identification.

The obverse of all these coins is alike. It shows the figure of a recumbent bull to the right, with the conch shell in front, and another emblem of varying form over the back. Only in one specimen, No. 28, the bull is turned to the left. The reverse also is alike, with the exception of one specimen. The usual type of the reverse shows a kind of irregular oblong quadrangle, between two indistinct symbols. Below the oblong are one or two numbers, and above it a short legend of (apparently) three akṣaras. This legend is in some cases obliterated by the loop or worn away, though in most cases it may never have existed at all. It is not very distinct, and seems to read *grīgaga*, the meaning of which I do not know. It can best be seen on Plate I, Nos. 22 and 29; also partially on No. 18. Its existence on Nos. 17, 19, 20 and 21, etc., is doubtful. Nos. 17, 18, 24, 27, 28, 29, and 30 show different varieties of the symbol over the bull. The numbers under the bull are the following: 3 on No. 19, 4 on No. 20, 9 on No. 21, 13 on No. 18,

19 on No. 27, 31 on No. 30, 33 on Nos. 17 and 28, 34 on Nos. 22 and 23, and 44 on No. 29. Of these numbers, 3 occurs on 1 specimen, 4 on 2, 9 on 3, 13 and 19 on one each, 31 on six, 33 on three, 34 on two and 44 on one. They would seem to indicate years, but whether of a reign or of an era, I do not know.

The single exception of the reverse, above referred to, is No. 29. Here the oblong is wanting; the legend *crīgaga*, in rather large letters, and the number 44, enclosed between two upright strokes, take up the whole face of the reverse.

There remain Nos. 25 and 26. Both have loops and belonged to the necklace, above noticed. I believe they are mere ornamental pieces, though they may be struck from coin dies. No. 26 shows a rosette, while No. 25 has the anthropoid figure of Garuḍa, standing to the left. Neither of them are uncommon devices on South-Indian Coins (see *loco cit.*, Pl. II, 75, etc.). The reverse of both pieces is blank, only showing the countersunk mark of the punch, used to punch out the raised obverse device.

Since the publication of my report in the April *Proceedings*, I find that coins of this kind have been described and figured by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXV, (December, 1896, received by me, however, only in May, 1897), Plate II, Nos. 30–33. They resemble my coins, Nos. 17–21, showing on the obverse the bull, and on the reverse, the oblong with date. Dr. Hultzsch ascribes these coins to King Anantavarman of Kalinga, who ascended the throne in 1078 A.D., and added Orissa to his dominions. He also takes the oblong to be the letter *sa*, an abbreviation of *sa[mvat]* or ‘year,’ and the numbers to signify regnal years. If this is correct, my No. 29 would be of the 44th year of Anantavarman, or the year 1121 A.D. As Anantavarman bore the surname *Cōḍa-gaṅga*, I conjecture that the legend on the coins, Nos. 18, 22, 29, is intended for *Crī-Ga[m]ga*, and refers to the surname *Cōḍa-gaṅga*. What Dr. Hultzsch takes to be a crescent over the head of the bull, appears to me to be merely intended for the horns of the bull.

Pronominal Adjuncts in the Language spoken in the Western and Southern Parts of the Panjab.—By THE REV. TREVOR BOMFORD, M. A., C. M. S., MULTAN.

[Read March 1897.]

These have two forms.

A. THE *Direct*. In this form they are found in nearly every language which has retained any system for the conjugation of verbs, and their usual mode of use is in connection with the root of a tense to form the different persons. Except for the fact that there are one or two peculiarities in their use in Western Panjābī, and one or two unusual forms, it would hardly be necessary to mention them, but as it is we will devote a short space to them.

Their forms are —

1st Person Singular	اں	ā	Sindhī makes the 3 Plural in ane
2nd „ „	یہ	ē	Panjābī „ „ 1 Plural in ā
3rd „ „	ے	ē	„ „ „ 3 Plur. in an or ā
1st Person Plural (a)	وہ	ū	but otherwise they are the same.
	(b) انہ	āh	The 2nd form given for 1st Plu-
2nd „ „	و	ō	ral is that in use in <u>Shāh</u> pur where
3rd „ „	ن	in	it is variously spelt,
			āh, āhā, āhā, āhē, ihā.

In reference to these forms we would remark.

1. That in Sindhī ā is the short nominative of 1st Pers. Pron. Sing. and that the instrumental form of 1st Plur. is
asā or asāhē.

2. Their original forms were in Prakrit,

1st Sing. āmi, 2nd Sing. asi, 3rd Sing. ai,

1st Plur. āmo, 2nd Plur. aha, 3rd Plur. anti.

In their simplest form, they are used in the Shāhpur district to express the ideas “I am,” “Thou art,” &c., and Sir R. F. Burton gives them in this shape to represent the present tense of the Substantive verb in the extreme south of the Panjāb.

They do not however, as a rule, stand alone, but are attached to some other word or part of the root of a word.

(1) Thus they are attached to the root 'h' of the Substantive verb to form its present tense as—

1st Pers. Sing.	Hā̃ or Maĩ hā̃,	I am.
2nd „ „	Hē or Tũ hē,	Thou art.
3rd „ „	Hē or Ūh hē,	He is.
1st Pers. Plur.	{ Hā̃ Haĩ } or Assā̃ haĩ,	We are.
2nd „ „	Hō or Tussā̃ hō,	You are.
3rd „ „	Hin or Ūhē hin,	They are.

It will be seen that the 1st Pers. Plur. has in this case another form.

(2.) They are attached to nouns. In this case if the noun ends in a vowel it contracts with the affix or disappears thus—

Zāl mutũ hoi jhugē, Without a wife is any place a home,
jhugē = jhugā ē.

Hik savi kunjē, There is a grey crane,
kunjē = kunj ē.

Iwē āpnā̃ ghindā maṭlabē, In this way he gets his purpose.

Here one would expect 'āpnā̃ maṭlab ghindā (h)ē.

Baikharā̃ dī aṭab chālē, The profession of Baikhars is wonderful.

Hik māh khaṭaē, khāndē sārā sālē, One month he earns wages—
he eats (lives on his earnings) the whole year.

3. They are attached to adjectives thus—

Īhō kharābē, This is bad.

Ūh cangē, That is good.

Ūhē cangin, They are good.

Thulhā kaprā haṇḍhā cangē, Thick cloth wears well.

4. They are attached to present participles. Thus—

Karēndā̃, I do.

At first sight many would pronounce this merely a contraction for karendā hā̃, but I do not think that it is. The simple form of these existed before the 'h' form, and further there is a slight difference in meaning for the shorter form has, in writings at all events, a more indefinite meaning thus—

Aukhe vēlhē dōst pakardīn,—In times of difficulty friends are useful.—Pakardē hin would be rather "are being useful."

5. The third person singular and plural at all events are found with Transitive Past Participles—

Kaĩ ihō jihā̃ kam kitē, Who ever did such a deed as this.

Assā̃ sārē pattē ḍasāin, All details were given by us.

6. They are found (or some of them) with the Past tense of Intransitive Verbs. Thus—

Āyā, I came. Giā, I went.

Nikatthē, He came out. Nikatthin, They came out.

Here too in place of these common forms, we find one (if not two) other forms representing the direct (*i.e.*, Nominative) Pronoun.

(a) The first of these is the ending ‘us’ representing the first person pronoun (Singular).

So far I have only met it in a short story called the Four Fools where it occurs some 15 times.

(1) In connection with the root hā (of the Past Tense of the Substantive verb), thus—

Maī sutā piā hāus, I was sleeping.

(2) In connection with various Intransitive Past Participles, Thus—

Nikatthus, I came out.

Maī bolius, I spoke.

Maī gius, I went.

(b.) The second of these is ũ or ẽ which represents the 2nd Pers. Sing. as—

Kēdē giũ, Whither didst thou go.

Tũ jāyũ, Thou wast born.

Jaḍaṇ tũ undē sāmhnē thiũ, When you were before him.

Tũ vi sakht dukh vic piũ, You too have fallen into great trouble.

There is considerable difficulty in determining whether these forms represent a direct, *i.e.*, a Nominative, pronoun or whether they are to be classed amongst the indirect pronominal affixes, which represent an agent or dative. This uncertainty arises from the character of the Past Participle of the Intransitive verb. This was I believe originally a Passive Participle (just as those of Transitive verbs are still), and as a Passive Participle when it took pronominal affixes it took them in the indirect forms. Even when expressed independently of the verb, they sometimes assume the same construction; especially when some other words intervene between the pronoun and the verb. Thus we have such a phrase as “Ũn āyā” which is literally “By him the act of coming was.”

They are, however, also found constructed as Active Participles, with a true Nominative—not an Agent; thus ‘Ū āyā’ He came: and they are found with the direct affixes; as “āyā,” I came, and “āyin,” They came. Under these circumstances it is not easy to decide in dealing with rare forms whether such represent a Nominative or an Agent.

In the case of the 's' form for the 1st person, I am nearly sure that it represents a nominative for the following reasons

- (1) It is generally accompanied by the full form of the pronoun, thus—"Mañ baith rihus" I remained seated.

It is true the full form of the pronoun is found also with the indirect forms; as "Mañ mārīum" which literally is "By me a beating was by me;" but they are rarely used in this way, for the meaning of the final 'm' is well-known, and the full form not prefixed.

- (2) There is a clear and distinct form for the agent (or indirect affix) of the 1st Person, *viz.*, 'm'; which is found in such forms as "Ayum" "Riham," and which has a form of its own in connection with 'hā' *viz.*, 'hāim,' It was by me.

The first of these reasons holds good of the 2nd Person form \tilde{a} or \tilde{o} , but not the second (except that one friend gave me $h\tilde{a}\tilde{u}$, as the 2nd Pers. Sing. form corresponding to $h\tilde{a}us$, but he could give no examples); for the Agent form for that is $\tilde{o}i$ or $\tilde{e}i$, when attached to the Past Participles of Transitive Verbs—and, further, these in proverbs or poetry sometimes drop the 'i' which is the true representative of the 2nd person singular. Thus "Paṭh dītō kūwar kṛ," You sent the girl. Therefore when one finds such forms as \tilde{o} , $\tilde{\tilde{o}}$, \tilde{u} attached to the uncertain Intransitive Verbs, it is impossible to say whether they represent an Agent form or a Nominative form of the 2nd Person Singular Pronoun. I am inclined however to think that, when we have \tilde{o} simply, it represents an Agent (with of course a Nominative meaning), for it is the form sometimes adopted by the Agent with Transitive Verbs,—but, when we have \tilde{u} or $\tilde{\tilde{o}}$, I should class it with the direct forms; for the nasal (which is however very uncertain in its coming and going) is a characteristic of the other direct form *viz.* \tilde{e} .

It is interesting to notice that 'I came' may be expressed in four different ways.

- (1) Mañ āyā, (2) Ay \tilde{a} or Mañ āy \tilde{a} , (3) Āyus or Mañ āy $\tilde{u}s$, (4) Āyum.

7. They are attached to the potential and future roots of verbs to conjugate those tenses. The full pronoun may be also (and generally is) expressed as well. Thus—

Potentials.

1st Pers. Sing.	Hōw	\tilde{a}	I may be	Kar	\tilde{a}	I may do.
2nd "	"	\tilde{e}	Thou mayst be	"	\tilde{e}	Thou mayst do.
3rd "	"	\tilde{e}	He may be	"	\tilde{e}	He may do.
1st " Plur.	"	\tilde{u}	We " "	"	\tilde{u}	We " "
2nd "	"	\tilde{o}	You " "	"	\tilde{o}	You " "
3rd "	"	in	They " "	"	in	They " "

Futures.

1st Pers. Sing.	Hōs	ā̃	I will be	Karēs	ā̃	I will do.
2nd „ „	„	ē̃	Thou wilt be	„	ē̃	Thou wilt do.
3rd „ „	„	ī	He will be	„	ī	He will do.
1st „ Plur.	„	ū̃	We „ „	„	ū̃	We „ „
2nd „ „	„	ō	You „ „	„	ō	You „ „
3rd „ „	„	in	They „ „	„	in	They „ „

The 3rd Pers. Sing. in the Future is as will be seen i not ē.

B. *The Indirect form* which they take to represent the Agent or the Dative.

In this form they are not regularly used in Panjābī though an occasional instance may be met with, but are found both in Sindhī and Kāçmīrī.

Sindhī uses them—

- (1) *With nouns*, but as a general rule only with such nouns as have a personal relation to the speaker as,

Nēṇume, My eye.

Piuse, His father.

but we never find any suffix to represent the 1st Pers. Plural used with nouns,

- (2) *With postpositions* thus—

Kaṇime, to me.

and (3) extensively with verbs. Suffixes which properly belong to nouns may also be attached to verbs.

Kāçmīrī uses them only with verbs; but here, again, we find the curious exception of the 1st Person Plural, which is never found represented by a suffix.

In the Western Panjāb they were not used with nouns—unless a case, which will be subsequently dealt with, may be reckoned as such—but are used

- (1) with every part of the verb, even in many cases when one would more naturally expect them to be found with nouns, and

- (2) with negatives.

The forms they take are—

1st Pers. Sing. ‘m’

2nd Pers. Sing. ī

ī̃

ā̃

This is their form when representing a Dative, or an Agent (when they are joined to the root by a connecting link which is either ē or ō). The long form ā̃ is only found after the third Person Sing. of the

Future which ends in *ī* and requires this pronoun, if attached, to be marked out by a stronger form than the usual *ī* (see examples later on.)

vī With the root of the past tense
vē of the Substantive Verb.

Here 'v' is a connecting link.

ō This is the form taken with the
ū Past Participles of Intransitive Verbs, and rarely with Transitive Verbs.

3rd Pers. Sing. 's'

1st Pers. Plur. *sē*

This is joined to the root by a connecting link,

ō in the South of the country, ah in *Shāhpur*. See also the Substantive Verb.

2nd Pers. Plur. *vē*

vhē

This is joined to the root by a link *ō*.

3rd Pers. Plur. (1) *nhē*

(2) *ñhē*

(3) *nī*

(4) *n*

The first of these is the commonest; the third is only the result of careless writing; the fourth is found in the middle of a compound word, when some other Agent is suffixed. (See instances of double suffixes).

The connecting link may be *ī* or *ā* or *ō*.

Being used for the Agent or the Dative, they carry a meaning of "by" or "to" with, as is the case with the direct adjuncts, generally a verbal meaning attached.

Thus 'm' means that something "is by me" or "is to me."

But they cannot stand alone, they must be attached to something.

To represent the bare fact that something "is by (or to) me or thee or him, &c.," they attach themselves, as do the direct forms for increased emphasis, to some part of the Substantive Verb;—to the root letter 'h' to represent the idea of 'is' and to the base 'hā' to represent that of 'was' thus—

A.	1st Pers. Sing.	<i>h im</i>	1st Pers. Plur.	<i>h issē</i>
	2nd „ „	<i>h ēi</i>	2nd „ „	<i>h ivvē</i> or <i>h ivhē</i>
	3rd „ „	<i>h is</i>	3rd „ „	<i>h inhē</i>

N.B.—Of these the forms for 1st and 2nd Plur. are often used in

place of those which are formed with the direct adjunct as part of the present tense

B. from the base *hā*.

1st Pers. Sing.	<i>hā</i>	<i>im</i>	
	or	<i>ha m</i>	in common talk
2nd „ „	<i>hā</i>	<i>vẽ</i>	
	or	<i>hā vī</i>	This is I think a feminine.
3rd „ „	<i>hā</i>	<i>us</i>	
1st „ Plur.	<i>hā</i>	<i>sē</i>	
2nd „ „	<i>hā</i>	<i>vē</i>	
3rd „ „	<i>hā</i>	<i>nhẽ</i>	

Of these the 1st and 2nd Singular, and the 1st and 2nd Plurals, are extensively used for what should be the direct forms of the Past Tense of the Substantive Verb, but are also used with their own peculiar signification.

These two tenses (if we may call them so) are in very common use in connection with the Past Participles of Transitive Verbs, to form the Perfect and Pluperfect Tenses of such verbs. In this case they represent the Agent and, often, the pronoun is fully written before the verb as well as expressed in the Suffix: but they are often found, especially when a Dative has to be expressed, independently of any other verb.

Examples of 1st Person Singular.

1st Tense as Agent.

Maĩ kaṇak rihāi him, By me wheat has been sown by me.

Ē sārē zēwar pātē him, All these jewels have been worn by me.

1st Tense as Dative.

Itli tasallī thī gāi him, So much comfort has come to me.

Dū gālbẽ taĩ kanũ puchaniã him, Two questions to be asked from thee are to me.

2nd Tense as Agent.

Maĩ farmāish kitī hāim, By me the order was given by me.

Taiyār kitā hāim, Preparation was made by me.

Biyān jō suṇiā ham, The account which was heard by me.

2nd Tense as Dative.

Kujh acchā na lagdā hāim, Nothing seemed good to me.

Tir laggē huē hāim dil kũ, The arrows went home to me to the heart.

Examples of 2nd Person Singular.

1st Tense as Agent.

Taĩ tarah bādshāh dā sunihā mai kũ pahuncāyā hēi, As the king's message was delivered to me by thee.

Īkũ suujātā hēi, To him has recognition been by thee.

1st Tense as Dative.

Hik gālh hēi, One word to thee.

Gurdish hēi, Trouble is to thee.

2nd Tense as Agent.

Ē kaṇak kithā rihāi hāvi, Where was this wheat sown by thee.

Tū minnat kitī hāvē, By thee a request was made by thee.

2nd Tense as Dative.

Yār āyā hāvi, Did thy lover come to thee.

Examples of 3rd Person Singular.

1st Tense as Agent.

Kaṇak mōl ghīdī his, Wheat has been bought by him.

Kiyā quṣūr kitā his, What crime has been done by him.

Occasionally the Substantive Verb instead of being merely represented by 'h' takes its own plural form to agree with the Nominative, if that is plural: thus

Assākū ni'amatē dittiā hinnis, By him blessings have been given to us.

Itlī shaī as sākū khoāyā hinnis, So many things to eat have been given to us by him.

1st Tense as Dative.

Bukhār his, Fever is to him.

Dādhī saṭ lagī his, A severe blow was struck to him.

Ghairat dil vic aundi his, Jealousy is coming into the heart to him, *i. e.*, into his heart.

2nd Tense as Agent.

Jērḥā dīnh muqarrar kitā hāus, The day which was appointed by him.

Ihō jihā bāgh na sunia huyā hāus, Such a garden as this had never been heard of by him.

2nd Tense as Dative.

Sabh kujh ghar vic hāus, Everything was in the house to him.

Kahī shaī dī parwā na hāus, Care about anything was not to him.

Tōrē jo bānhē vi rakh dīteā hamis, although female slaves were appointed by me for him.

Occasionally instead of merely the root hā we find a modified plural form, of the 3rd pers. plur. of the Past Tense, to agree with a Nominative Plural. The full form is hāī or han, as

Jitlē zēwar hath lagdē hānis, As many jewels as came into the hand to him, *i. e.*, as came into his hand.

Bhū sārīā kaprē utē paundiā hānis, Very many used to fall into his clothes.

Agent 1st Pers. Plur.

Ghīdinsē, We have received them.

Agent 2nd Pers. Plur.

Ghīdinvē, You have received them.

Examples of 1st Person Plural.

1st Tense as Agent.

Baṇāyā hissē, It has been built by us.

Ūkū qaid kar rakhiā hissē, Imprisonment has been given to him by us.

1st Tense as Dative.

Īkū na chōṛāwaṇā hissē, It is impossible for us to desert him.

2nd Tense as Agent.

Kōi kām na kitā hāsē, Nothing was done by us.

2nd Tense as Dative.

Jiwē hukm dittā hāsē, As order was given to us.

Examples of 2nd Person Plural.

1st Tense as Agent.

Ē farmāyā hivvē, Has this been ordered by you.

Ē vi ṣaḥiḥ farmāyā hivvē, This, too, was clearly ordered by you.

1st Tense as Dative.

Kith hivvē Shāhzāda, Where is the prince for you, i.e., where is your prince.

2nd Tense as Agent.

Faqīr kū farmāyā hāvē, To the faqir an order was given by you.

2nd Tense as Dative.

Jiwē maī farmāyā hāvē, As by me was ordered to you.

Examples of 3rd Person Plural.

1st Tense as Agent.

Farmāish kitī hinhē, An order was given by them.

1st Tense as Dative.

Tussā sārē pattē ḍasāē hinhē, Have you told to them all the details.

2nd Tense as Agent.

Nān dī shādī kitī hāuhē, A nominal wedding was gone through by them.

2nd Tense as Dative.

Jithā faqīr hukm dittā hānhē, Where by the faqir the order was given to them.

Jērḥē vēlhē bhuk traī lagdī hānhē, When hunger and thirst came to them.

II. Sometimes, when in connection with nouns, they dispense with the 'h'; and attach themselves directly to the noun: thus

Multān	gharam	At Multān	a house is to me.
„	gharī	„ „	„ „ thee.
„	gharus	„ „	„ „ him.
„	ghar ahse	„ „	„ „ us.

The following example of Indirect pronominal affixes with nouns is from *Shāhpur*.

Sing. 1	Kassim,	I have fever	Plur. 1	Kassissē,	We have fever.
„ 2	Kassei,	Thou hast fever.	„ 2	Kassinēhē,	You have fever.
„ 3	Kassis,	He has fever.	„ 3	Kassinnē,	They have fever.

Of course in these the literal meaning is Fever is to me, &c.

Such forms are more common towards *Shāhpur* and at first sight look like instances of Nouns with affixes. Thus "Multān gharam" looks as if it might be *My house* is at Multān, but this is not the case; for we cannot say "Gharam dūr hē," *My house* is far; but must say *Mēdā ghar dūr hē*.

They are really instances of the fact that these endings, even without an 'h,' carry in themselves the idea of the verb.

III. They are attached to the Past Participles of Intransitive Verbs either as Agents (for the Past Participles of Intransitive Verbs were originally, as those of Transitive Verbs are now, Passive Participles), or as Datives.

The 'm' form as Agent.

Un dī hath ā gium, I came into his hand.

Zār zār ronam, I wept bitterly.

Jērhē vēlhē fārigh thium, When I became at leisure.

Piā riham, I remained fallen.

The 'm' form as Dative.

Saṭ jō laggium, The blow which was given to me.

Būt Rāvi dō caḥ juliam, My body has got up and gone to the Ravi.

Hōsh thikāne na rihum, Sense did not stand firm for me.

Ē dalīl dil vic guzrium, This thought passed through my mind.

2nd Person Singular.

Agents.

Āp na āyō, You did not come yourself.

Datives.

Tars na āyō, Did not pity come to thee.

Rahm na āyō, Ditto.

3rd Person Singular.

Agents (rare).

Dhai piyus, He fell.

Datives (common).

Ālā kannē piyus, A voice fell on his ears.

Kujh pattā na laggus, No trace met him.

Jān vic jān āyus, Life came into his soul.

Tā gius sirī khā, The whiteants ate it.

Kōi khiyāl dil vic na āyus, No thought came into his mind.

Kaprē bhā laggus, Fire caught his clothes.

Hik maḥal vi nazar āyus, A palace too came into his sight.

N.B.—Many of the above look more like Genitives which have attached themselves to the verb instead of to their proper noun, but Grammarians explain them as being *Dativus Commodi*.

The First Person Plural.

(1) As Agent.

Ūh kanū assā thi cukōsē, From to-day we have finished.

Dhrukiōsē āssā, We ran.

Gharū nikathōsē. We came out from the house.

Waṭan kanū bē waṭan thiōsē, We became strangers to our home country.

(2) As Dative.

Hik khiyāl piōsē, A thought came to us.

The 2nd Person Plural.

(1) As Agent.

Āpni khushī vic laggē rihōvē, You remained engaged in your own pleasure.

Kiyū giōvē, Why did you go.

(2) As Dative.

Kith giōvē ūh jā, Where has that place of yours gone.

The 3rd Person Plural.

(1) Agent.

Dil vic sōcōnhē, They thought in their heart.

(2) Dative.

Yād āyōnhē, Remembrance came to them.

N.B.—Those called Agents look like Nominatives with an Active Past Participle, but

(1) When a Nominative is desired it is expressed by the direct adjunct either with or without 'h'; as—

Āyā, I came.

Ayēhin, They came.

(2) They have the same forms as the undisputable agents attached to Transitive Verbs.

IV. They are attached to the Past (*i.e.*, Passive) Participle of Transitive Verbs both as Agents and Datives.

Examples of—

Sing. 1st Person as Agent.

Ē wa'da kitum, This promise was made by me.

Jō cā ghidium, Whatever was taken up by me.

Hāl na puchium, The condition was not enquired by me.

Jadaṇ un dī shakal dithium, When his form was seen by me.

As Dative.

Un mārium, By him a beating was given to me.

Sing. 2nd Person as Agent.

Ē sabb kujh taiyār kitōi, Has all this been got ready by thee.

Faqir dā suwāl manōi, Has the faqir's request been granted by thee.

Jaīndā uj maṇ kitēi, Boasting about which has been to-day made by thee.

Paṭh dītō kūwār kũ, You sent the girl. (Here dītō has dropped the final 'i' and has the Intransitive form.)

Us dā kam kitōi, Hast thou done his business. Shāhpur.

As Dative.

Sahibān mutēi khatt, Sahiban has sent a letter to thee.

Us kam kitōi, Has he done thy business.

Kē hukm dhēōi, What order was given to thee.

Kaī sikhlāēi, Who taught thee.

Sing. 3rd Pers. as Agent. (The commonest of all.)

Uhā tōpī cā kitius, That hat was picked up by him.

Biyān kitus, A relation was made by him.

Hik shakhs kũ paṭhius, He sent a man.

Jō kujh bhānus sō kujh kitus, Whatever he pleased he did.

Un kanũ puchius, He asked from him.

As Dative.

Un dī mā ākhius, His mother said to him.

Mārius yār, Her lover beat her.

Kitus mōtā, He fattened it.

Plural 1st Person.

As Agent.

Ṣalāḥ kitōsē, We took counsel.

As Dative.

Un māriōsē, By him a beating was given to us.

Plural 2nd Person.

As Agent.

Ē patte kiwē ñittōvhe, How have you given these particulars.

Cu sazā ñittōvē, What punishment have you given.

As Dative,

Kē mārēānē, Who beat you (or them). Shāhpur.

Towards Shāhpur the 2nd Pers., Plur. while retaining its own characteristic ē, has adopted as its connecting link the letter 'n' thus identifying itself with the 3rd Pers. Plur., which there, as in Bahāwalpur, is written nē.

3rd Pers. Plural.

As Agent.

Ṣalāḥ kitōnhē, They took counsel.

Jērbē vēlhē zamīn kū pañiōnhē, When they dug up the ground.

Muhārē dihān kitōnhē, The fishermen made a complaint.

Ē gālh ākh pañiōnhē, They sent and said this.

Tamāshā ñiñiōnhē, They saw the tamasha.

As Dative.

Kañ māriñhē, Who beat them.

It will be noticed that there is sometimes a short 'i' before the endings of 1st Singular and 3rd Sing. and Plur. This is easily accounted for—

Past Participles are of two forms.

a. That of māriā, contracted probably from mārijā.

These should have the i.

b. That of kitā, the older form of Past Participle. These should not prefix an i to the Pronoun ending.

But they sometimes do to assimilate their compound forms with those of the other form. Sometimes too, I think to agree with a noun feminine. And compounds of the first form occasionally drop the i.

IV. b. Past Participles of Transitive Verbs are found with two suffixes. One to represent the Agent, the other the object.

a. Agent 1st Pers. Sing.

Jutamī jōrā—pāñi lāyamī, By me the pair was yoked for thee, the water was laid on by me for thee.

Rupāē ñittumis, The Rupees were given by me to him.

Rupāē ñitteimis, (Shāhpur),

Rupāē ñittumve, The Rupees were given by me to you.

Rupāē ñittiñum, The Rupees were given by me to them.

Or, in the Bār, Rupēiē ñittēmū.

Cf. Kāçmīrī dyutmas.

b. Agent 3rd Person Singular.

Jittē zēwar hath lagdē hānis ittē na labiōnis, Though all these jewels came to his hands, he did not take them.

Lahiōnis has its first syllable shortened.

Muhrē kũ bhukā saṭiōnis, As for the *mohars* he threw them away.

Unhē dē hath dhōwiōnis, As for their hands he washed them.

Shukrānē khudā dē kitōnis, Thanks to God, he gave them.

N.B.—In the following the object is double.

Faqir panj cār tuhar kaḍh karāhē ḍitōnis, The faqir taking out 4 or 5 pieces gave *them to him*.

The following example has been given earlier, *viz.*, when the pronouns with 'h' were given.

Tōrē jō bānhē vi rakh ḍittiā hamis, Although female slaves too were appointed by me for him.

V. They may be met with attached, generally in the so-called Dative sense, to any part of the verb.

Here we will take our examples not according to the persons of the pronoun but according to the part of the verb.

a. The Infinitive.

Ashkēlē dā bābū hē, ashkēl kithāũ sikhāṇ vanjanis, He is the father of treachery. *Where should he go to learn treachery from.*

b. The Imperative.

Vanjan dēōs, Let him go.

Dhrukis pukaris, Run after him and catch him.

c. The Potential.

1st Person with 2nd Pers. Sing. Aff.

Jiwē ākhāi, As I say to thee.

Matan khalē di mār vi diwāi.

Here in both examples the pronoun is inserted before the final nasal. In example 2, too, the root is shortened.

1st Pers. with 3rd Pers. Sing. Aff.

Hāl puch ghiniāus, Let me enquire about his condition.

Ē sazā bhūi his ki hakkil diwāis, This punishment is enough for him that I drive him away.

2nd Pers. Sing. with 3rd Pers. Aff.

Tū pitēs sir kanū, tē maī pitēs vakh, You may lament him (sitting) by his head. I will lament him apart.

3rd Pers. Sing. with 1st Pers. Sing. Aff.

Tōrē mahina langh vanjim, Though a whole month pass
for me.

Nazar yār āwim mataṇ, Perchance my lover may appear
to me

3rd Pers. Sing. with 2nd Pers. Aff.

Khair hōwī, Blessing to thee.

Allāh na ānēī, May God not bring to thee.

Sāṭu pōwī, May paralysis fall on thee.

Putr ūhō jēṛhā pakri, As for a son, that one who is useful
to thee.

Na dōh bēgānī gāh, mārī lat tē bhani bāh, Don't milk a
strange cow, lest she give you a kick and break your arm.

N.B.—The following seems to combine the 1st and 2nd Affixes with
the 3rd Pers. of the Potential.

Pir dā pākhar hōwim, May the blessing of the saint be on
thee for my part.

3rd Pers. Sing. with 3rd Sing. Aff.

Jiwē jiwē nazdik pahunodā vanjē, tiwē tiwē kujh rang nazar
aundā vanjis, As she drew near, so some colour came into
his sight.

3rd Pers. Plur. with 2nd Sing. Aff.

Marinī samjhēndē, May thy advisers die.

Kaī dalilē pōwinī, May some excuses occur to thee.

Future 1st Pers. Sing. with 2nd Sing. Aff.

Hath bhan ghat sāṭ, I will break your hand.

Hikhō gālh karēsāṭ, One thing I will do to thee.

Future 1st Pers. Sing. with 3rd Pers. Aff.

Nērē āwaṇ na disānis, I will not let him come near.

Future 3rd Pers. Sing. with 1st Pers. Aff.

Visar na vēsim, Forgetfulness will not come by me.

Future 3rd Pers. Sing. with 2nd Pers. Aff.

Kōi biā waqt asiā, Will a second opportunity come to thee.

Kitā karāyā lōṛh vasiā, All you have done will be thrown
away for thee.

Lagā dāng na lahsiā, This stain will not otherwise come off
for thee.

In these three the pronominal affix has been lengthened, coming
after a vowel the same as itself, and in the first two the root vowel has
been shortened.

Future 3rd Pers. Sing. with 2nd Pers. Plur. Aff.

Yaqīn āsivē, Assurance will come to you.

Future 3rd Pers. Sing. with 3rd Plural, Aff.

Ṣīh khāsōni, The tiger will eat them.

Future 1st Pers. Plur. with 3 Pers. Aff.

Sabh ḥāl puch ghinsāñis, We will enquire into his affairs.

Māl chik ghinsāñis, We will steal away his cattle.

In these forms a superfluous ã has been inserted possibly to represent a causative.

Present Participle Sing. with 3 Pers. Aff.

Rihā pital dā hōndis, His hinder parts are of brass.

Dushman hōndā, tã hon tãñ sārā shahr uḍā dittā hōndis, If it were an enemy, then ere this all the city would have been blown up by him.

Present Participle Sing. (as Present Tense) with 2 Sing. Aff.

Na tã jhugē kũ bhā lēndāñ, Otherwise I set fire to your hut.

Present Participle Sing. with 3rd Plur. Aff.

Jēḥē vēlhē un dā ma'lūm thindōni, When its real condition became known to them.

Present Participle Plur. with 2nd Sing. Aff.

Vairi vasdēi saurē, Thy enemies dwell near.

Past Participle Fem. Plur. (Sindhī ending) with 3rd pers. sing. Aff.

Ū vēlhē itli piē pii giñ is, At that time so many lice fell on him.

Akkhi kanñ hanjhñ nikal āyñis, From his eyes tears came out.

VI. They are used with the negative. This use is not found either in Kāçmiri or Sindhī. The root of the negative is either na or nã (or nahī). The variety of forms taken by this when pronouns are attached is very great, but the following are some of the most common.

Multān.

Shāhpur.

Thal

The Bār.

Present. Past.

1st Sing.	Nimhē	Nāh	Nāhis	Nissũ	The form 1st Pers. Nisi, 3rd Per. Nihā are given by O'Brien as met by him in the Multān District.
				Nisi	
				Nimhũ	
2nd Sing.	Nivī	Nūh	Nāhē	Nihũ	Of the 3 forms given for the 1st Sing. in
				Nihã	
				Nissũ	
3rd Sing.	Nisi	Nahī	Nāhā		
		Nihã			

		<i>Present.</i>	<i>Past..</i>		
1st Plur.	Nissē	Nāhē	Nāhsē Nāhā	Nissē Nisē Nissā	the Bār, Nissū is used as a Nominative, Nim- hū as an Agent.
2nd Plur.	Nivvē Nivhē	Nēbē	Nāhē	Nihē Nihyē	
3rd Plur.	Ninhē or Nivve	Nahī	Nāhin	Ninnē	

NOTES.—I expect the common Negative nahī originally represented the Negative, with a 3rd Pers. Plur. affix either Nominative or Dative.

The form Nimhē is peculiar. When it is used direct as a Nominative, it is almost the rule to express the pronoun, as well, in its Nominative form (see examples). This is either for emphasis or because the people are forgetting that the pronoun is expressed in the “m,” though they have so far remembered it, that they never use this form except with the 1st Pers. Sing.

Its origin is uncertain, but can be accounted for if the ordinary form nahī did represent n inhē. Then nimhē might be resolved into na m īhē.

Not I them	do know.
Nimhē	jāṇḍā.

The only ones in common use round Multān are those for 1st Sing. and 1st and 2nd Plur. and to them our examples will be confined.

a. They are used with a Nominative Sense. Thus—

1st Sing.

Maī nimhē jāṇḍā, I do not know.

Nisī karēṇḍā, I am not doing anything.

Kujh ‘arṇ nimhē kar sagḍā. I can make no excuse.

1st Plur.

Kam nissē karēṇḍē, We are not doing any work.

2nd Plur.

Nivē (or Nivhē) jāṇḍē, Do you not know.

b. They are used as Agents.

1st Sing.

Maī insān dī bū nimhē singhī, By me a man was not so much as smelt.

Hik nimhē dittā ghaṭ, One short was not given by me.

1st Plur.

Nissē suṇiā, Not by us was it heard.

Assā kōi nissē dīṭhā, By us none was seen.

Sazā nissē ditti, Punishment has not by us been given.

2nd Pers. Plur.

Miṣāl nivhē suṇī, Has this proverb by you not been heard.

Jēkar mēḍa uṭh nivhē ḍiṭhā, If my camel not by you was seen.

c. They are used by Dative.

1st Pers. Sing.

Nimhē khaṭra jind dā, To me is no fear of life.

Nimhē ruh katan tē, To me is no heart for spinning.

1st Pers. Plur.

Ihū kalhā nissē māraṇā, Not for us is it to put him alone to death.

Ajē hukm nissē dhēā, No order has been given to us.
Shāhpur.

2nd Pers. Plur.

Iwē nivhē karaṇā, It is not for you to act in this way.

But only when the pronoun so expressed is the prominent object in the sentence. We cannot say Un nissē ākhiā, He did not say to us.



Separation of Banswara from Dungarpur State in Rajputana—By
 MOHANLAL VISHNULAL PANDIA, M.R.A.S., M.A.S.B., M.G.V.S.,
and late Prime Minister of Pratabgarh.

[Read November 1896.]

It is generally known that Bānswārā, Dūngarpur, Partābgarh and Udaipur States are at present under the Mēwār Residency. They are all of the same Sisodiā clan of Rājput̃s which claims to have descended from Rāma.

There are a good many amusing traditions being related in connection with the separation of Bānswārā from Dūngarpur, but I give place here only to what the author of the Rājputānā Gazetteer has written about it, taking his facts from some local chronicle, I believe. In this quotation all the annals have been briefly related. He says:—

“The Rāwals of Bānswārā are a junior branch of that family of the Sisodiā clan of Rājput̃s which is now ruling in Dūngarpur, from which they separated about the year 1530. At that period, and for many years previously, the whole country, which now comprises the two states of Bānswārā and Dūngarpur, was known as Bāgar and was under the dominion of the family of the Sisodiās, which still hold Dūngarpur, though the Chief’s control over the lawless Bhils inhabiting the wilder part of his territory was merely nominal. Udaisingh, who came to power in A.D. 1509, had two sons, the elder named Prithvirāj and the younger, Jagmāl. He himself marched under his kinsman Rānā Sāngā of Citōr, against the Emperor Bābar, and was killed at the great battle of Kanwa in 1528. After his death his territory was divided between his two sons, and the descendants of the two families are the present Chiefs of Dūngarpur and Bānswārā. Whether this division was made amicably or by force is not clear. There is a tradition that Udaisingh ordered it to be made before he died. There is another legend that Jagmālsingh, his son, was left for dead on the battle-field, but recovered, and on returning to his country was disowned as an impostor. Thereupon he took refuge in the hills to the north of the present site of Bānswārā, and having collected a body of followers began to make incursions into his father’s territory. This asylum is still

Jagmīr. It is related that Jagmāl's first acquisition of territory came about in this way. In those days there resided to the east of the Mahī river a powerful nobleman, who hardly deigned to acknowledge the authority of the ruler of Dūngarpur. His estate was known as that of Kuanya. With him Jagmāl speedily came into collision, and a protracted feud ensued. After harassing each other for a number of years, they at length, became reconciled, and on the death of the old Thakur of Kuanya, Jagmāl gained possession of his estate without opposition. Having thus obtained a firm foothold, he turned his arms against the Bhils, who held nearly the whole of the country now constituting Bānswārā. Where the town of Bānswārā now stands there was a large Bhil pāl or colony under a powerful chieftain named Wasnā, and against him Jagmāl directed his principal attack. Wasnā was killed during the storming of his pāl, his followers were routed, and his land passed into the hands of his Rājput conquerors. The name Bānswārā is by tradition said to be a corruption of Wasnāwārā.

Jagmāl now transferred his residence to Bānswārā, whence he continued his forays against Dūngarpur and the Bhils. In Dūngarpur, Udaisingh had been succeeded by his elder son Prithvīrāj, and the two brothers, finding their continual border war intolerable, agreed to abide by the arbitration of the Rājā of Dhār as to the partition of their lands. Accordingly in 1529, the river Mahi was fixed as the boundary between the two states of Dūngarpur and Bānswārā which since that date have remained perfectly distinct and independent of one another.

Other records relate that the Chief of Bāgar, Udaisingh, divided his territory at his death between his two sons, Prithvīrāj and Jagmāl.

There is little of note to be found in the history of Bānswārā till in 1812, nearly three centuries after its foundation, the then Chief, anxious to get rid of the supremacy of the Mahrattas, offered to become tributary to the British Government. In 1818 a definite treaty was made, and soon afterwards the tribute formerly paid to the Mahratta Chief of Dhār was transferred to the British Government."

But the Persian historians are quite clear on the doubtful points. Farishta while relating the events of Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt [see Appendix A] says:—

"He (Sultān Bahādur Shāh) struck the drum of intention towards Mohrāsa, and after reaching there, Khudāwand Khān and other nobles came and paid their respects (to him). Then, after repeated marches, the King entered Bāgar, and having taken possession of that country as far as desirable, he established watch-stations at every place. Par-surām Rājā of Bāgar had to present himself before the Sultān, and his son, discovering the excellency of Islām, became a convert to Muham-

madanism before Sultān Bahādur, and became one of the great men of the Court; and Jagmāl who was the brother of Parsurām with his followers wandered amid mountains and deserts, and despairing of his life went to Ratan Si, son of Rānā Sāngā, and made him a medium to approach the king's presence. By chance, the Sultān, while hunting, arrived at Bānswālā. Ratan Si, son of Rānā Sāngā, as a token of respect and humility sent ambassadors and craved pardon for the faults of Jagmāl. The Sultān, having accepted his request, called Jagmāl, and building a magnificent mosque at Ghāt Karci, conferred that village upon Prithvīrāj and divided the remainder of Bāgar between Prithvīrāj and Jagmāl equally, and remained there for some days hunting."

Also the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* relates. [See Appendix B.]

"In A.H. 937 (the Sultān Bahādur Shāh) invaded Bāgar in order to conquer it, and when he reached Khānpur, which is situated on the banks of the Mahandri, he ordered Khān A'zam Āsaf Khān and Khudāwand Khān Wazīr to proceed at the head of the army to Bāgar, and the Sultān with a big army turned his attention towards visiting Khambāyat and Dēō. He reached Khambāyat on Muḥarram 20th. Hence he reached Port Dēō in a boat. He purchased for Government the whole of the cargo which was in the ships. It is said that besides other things there were 1,300 maunds of Rosewater. To the Romans who had come with Muṣṭafā Rūmī, he showed a favour and established for them in Dēō a place of residence. He entrusted the management of Port Dēō to the care of Malik Tōghāī, son of Malik Ayyāz and he himself went back to Khambāyat. He reached Khambāyat on the 5th of Šafar. He stopped there one day, and on the next started for Muḥammadābād. He reached the latter city on the 27th of the same month. Fath Khān, Quṭb Khān, and 'Umar Khān Lōdī, relations of Sultān Bahlōl, who had sought refuge with the Sultān during the quarrels of the Mughals, paid their respects to the Sultān. The very first day three hundred dresses of gold cloths, fifty-five horses and some lacs of Tinkas were bestowed on them for their expenses. Afterwards he started for Bāgar, and joining the army in the vicinity of Mohrāsa thence reached Bāgar, after continual marching. Prithvīrāj, Rājā of Dūngarpur, came and paid his respects at Sital. The son of the said Rājā became a convert to Islām. Afterwards leaving the army at the said place, he himself (Sultān Bahādur) started alone towards Bānslā for hunting, and went on hunting till Ghāt Karci. Here the ambassadors of Rājā Ratan Si and of the Rājā of Citōr, named Dūngar Si and Jājar Si, came and paid their reverence and offered presents. Afterwards the Sultān returned to the army and conferred the village

of Sital upon the newly converted Musalman, the son of Prithirāj, and gave the one half of Bāgar to Prithirāj and the other half to Jagmāl."

Now we can fairly conclude that the account of the separation of Bānswārā from Dūngarpur given in the "Rājputānā Gazetteer" and the "Chiefs and Leading Families in Rājputānā," cannot be regarded as strictly accurate in all its details.

The Persian Historians show that the division in two equal parts was made by Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt in A.H. 937 (Vikrama Samvat 1587 and A.D. 1531) between the two sons of Mahārāwal Udaisingh of Dūngarpur, namely, Prithvirāj, and Jagmāl. The Rānā Ratan Sī son of Rānā Sāngā of Citōr had sent his two Wakīls, Dūngar Sī and Jajar Sī, with presents to apologise for Jagmāl's faults. A son of Prithvirāj had embraced Muhammedanism before the Sultān, and the village Sital was consequently conferred upon him. A magnificent mosque at Ghāt Karcī was built by the Sultān. The country was at that time known as Bāgar and Bānswārā as Bānslā.

I believe there are some errors in Farīṣhta's account, as it contains in two places the wrong names of the Rājā of Bāgar as Parsurām. There is one error more. Farīṣhta has the reading 'Ghāt Karcī,' which is at present the name of a town in the possession of the Bānswārā Chief, and is close to the town of Bānswārā, but another copy reads 'Khat Kārā' which is said to be in the Dūngarpur territory. I think the latter to be the most probable reading.

The village Sital, which was bestowed by the Sultān on the newly converted Muslim son of Prithvirāj, is at present in the possession of the Dūngarpur State. It must be left for further investigation, how this village passed into the possession of Dūngarpur Chief.

There is another point, the truth of which is also doubted by the author of the Gazetteer. He says:—"There is little of note to be found in the history of Bānswārā till 1812, nearly three centuries after its foundation." But if we look at the Akbarnāma and other Persian histories, there are some facts worthy of note in connection with the Muhammedan period in the history of Bānswārā:—

Firstly, that when Akbar leaving Ajmīr in A.D. 1577 passed through the Mēwār territory on his way to Mālwa, Partāp Singh, son of Jagmāl, showed submission to the Emperor, and he was awarded the Manṣab and other imperial favors in recognition of his due submission and military services.

In 1594 A.D. Rāwal Partāb Singh's grandson, Ugrasain, began to plunder the imperial villages on the border. Thereupon the Mālwa Sūbadār, Mīrzā Shāhrukh, attacked Bānswārā. The Rāwal fled to the

hills and Mirzā returned unsuccessful to his headquarters.

The next year Bānswārā was again attacked by the said Mirzā. The Rāwal did not oppose him, but offered presents for the Emperor, and so peace was preserved.

In 1639 A.D. Samar Sī, grandson of Ugrasain, having proceeded to Delhi, presented to the Emperor thirty thousand rupees, in cash, three elephants, one pāndān, i.e., betel-box and one Khanjar (sword). He also received the Maṇṣab and other honors from the Emperor.

In 'Ālamgīr's time Mahārāwal 'Ajab Singh, grandson of Samar Sī, made incursions on the border of the Udaipur territory, and the Mahārānā Amar Singh, consequently, wanted to punish him. But Nawāb Aṣad Khān, Wazīr of the Emperor, mediated in the matter and had the dispute peaceably settled.

APPENDIX A.

عبارت از تاریخ فرشته جلد دوم

طبل عزیمت بطرف مہراسہ نواخت و بعد از وصول بمہراسہ خداوند خان و امرائے دیگر آمدہ ملازمت نمودند آنگاہ بکوچ متواتر بباگر در آمد و ضبط آنولایت کما ینبغي فرمودہ بہر جا تہانہ دار گذاشت و پرسرام راجہ باگر لا علاج گشتہ بملازمت پیوست و پسر او شرف اسلام دریافتہ در حضور سلطان بہادر مسلمان شد و از جملہ مقربان درگاہ گشت و چکا کہ برادر پرسرام بود با جماعت خود در کوہ و بیابان میگشت درینوقت از خوف جان رفتہ بہ رتنسی بن رانا سانگا ملتجی گشت کہ او را وسیلہ ملازمت خود سازد اتفاقاً سلطان بہادر بعزیمت شکار چون بہ بانسوالہ در آمد برتنسی بن رانا سانگا از راہ ملایمت و عجز رسول فرستادہ گناہ چکا درخواست نمود سلطان بہادر ملتقمی او را قبول نمودہ چکارا طلبداشت و در موضع گہات کرچی مسجد عالی بنا نمودہ آن قصبہ را بہ پرتھی راج داد و بقیہ ولایت باگر را میان پرتھی راج و چکا علی السویہ قسمت نمود و چند روز بجهت شکار در آنجا مقام داشت *

APPENDIX B.

عبارت از مرآت سکندری

در سال سنہ سبع و ثلاثین و تسعمایہ بعزیمت تسخیر ولایت باگر لشکر کشید چون بمقام خانپور کہ بکنارہ آب مہندری واقع است رسید خان اعظم آصف خان و خداوند

خان وزیر را حکم کرد که شما اردو را گرفته متوجه باگر شوید و سلطان با لشکر جرار بسیر کهنابایت و دیو متوجه شد بستم ماه محرم بکهنابایت تشریف برد و از آنجا بکشتی سوار شده به بندر دیو رسید اقمشته که در جهازات آمده بود همه را از برای سرکار خرید کرده میگویند که یکی از آن امتعه بغیر از متاعهای دیگر یک هزار و سیصد من گلاب بود و رومیانی که همراه مصطفی رومی آمده بودند ایشانرا نوازش فرمود و جای سکونت ایشانرا در دیو مقرر کرد و دیو را بعهد و اهتمام ملک توغائی بن ملک ایاز فرموده خود متوجه بکهنابایت شد پنجم ماه صفر بکهنابایت آمد و یکروز آنجا مقام کرد روز دوم بطرف محمدآباد نهضت فرموده بست و هفتم ماه مذکور بشهر مذبور نزول اجلال فرمود و فتح خان و قطب خان و عمر خان لودی اقارب سلطان بهلول که در فترات مغل پناه بسلطان آورده بودند بسلام مشرف گشتند سیصد قبائے زریفت و پنجاه و پنج اسپ و چند لک تنکه خرچ روز اول مرحمت شد بعد ازان بصوب باگر عزیمت نمود و در ناحیه مهراسه باردو ملحق شد و از آنجا بکوچ متواتر در بلاد باگر در آمد پرتھی راج راجه دؤنگریور آمده شرف پای بوسی در مقام سیتل دریافت پسر راجه مذکور ادراک دولت اسلام نمود بعد از آن اردو را در مقام مذکور گذاشته خود جریده بطریق شکار بانسله عزیمت فرمود و تا گهات کرجی میرو شکار کرد در آنمقام وکلای راجه رتنسی و راجه چنور اسمها دؤنگرسی و جاجرسی آمده پای بوسی کردند و پیشکش گذرانیدند بعد از آن سلطان در اردو تشریف آورد و موضع سیتل را به پسر نومسلم پرتھی راج داد و نصف باگرا پرتھی راج داد و نصف را بچکا عنایت کرد *

*The Bakhtiārī Hills, an itinerary of the road from Isfāhān to Shush^{tar}.—**By* RICHARD BURN.

[Read November, 1896.]

My object in this note is merely to give a brief account of the little-known route from Isfāhān to Shush^{tar} across the Bakhtiārī Hills. The present state of our knowledge of the curious people inhabiting the country has been fully discussed by Curzon,¹ and a hasty journey of fifteen days does not enable me to add much, except a precise description of the stages. I may note that Major Sawyer of the Intelligence Department has made extensive tours in the Bakhtiārī Hills, but his valuable report is at present treated as confidential by the Government of India.

October 30th, 1894. Our caravan consisted of Mr. C. N. Seddon of the Bombay C. S. and myself, one servant and two muleteers, with three riding and three baggage mules. Leaving Julfa, the suburb of Isfāhān in which most of the Europeans live, at 9 A.M., our road took us through a most fertile plain. At 2 P.M. we halted for breakfast by the Bāgh-i-Wahsh, where a mud wall alone marks the place where Shāh ‘Abbās had his menagerie. Beyond this place, the land is low-lying and produces excellent cotton, then being picked. It was 7 P.M., before we reached our halting place, the large village of Bistajān,² where the only lodging we could get was in a long cattle shed which we had to share with our mules.

October 31st. This part of the Cahār Maḥal is very beautiful. The road at first lies close to the Zendarūd, the river that flows past Isfāhān. It was fringed with canārs, in all the glory of autumnal tints, while rice and cotton were being harvested in the fields close by, and the number of villages dotted here and there by the river attested the fertility of the soil. Shortly after crossing the river, there is an ascent of some hundred feet, and on passing the crest the view is the

¹ Curzon, *Persia* II c. XXIV.

² Stack, *Six months in Persia*, gives Bizgun in his map. I believe the name means “the twenty tamarisks (aj).”

usual treeless plain of Persia. A little farther on, however, is a stream, and following it, we came to Kava Rukh, another village of considerable size, having a sarāi in which we got a room. A Lūr who had travelled to both Teherān and Mashhad was staying in the sarāi, and gave us his views on things in general. According to him the Zill-as-Sultān has now little influence, while Isfandiār Khān the present Ilbegi or junior ruler of the Bakhtiārīs is gaining in strength and popularity. He asked many questions about India and England, and finally requested us to take him with us, and on our demurring said that a Russian had offered him a grove, land, and 4 tomāns (=Rs. 15) a month if he would settle in Russian territory.

November 1st. Starting at 9 A.M., we marched through a very large plain, which is well watered and highly cultivated. To the west were two ranges of considerable hills, and beyond them was the snowy summit of the Kūh-i-Rang, (12,500 feet). At 11-30 A.M., we reached the village of Dih-i-Khurd, which I may note is not on the regular route, the cāravadār or muleteer having taken us there to pick up the rest of his caravan. Passing through the village to look for a lodging, we saw about 50 men taking leave of their friends before starting on their pilgrimage to Karbala, a long journey and not free from danger. Their friends kissed them on both cheeks, and then salāmed, but touched shoulders and chest also as if crossing themselves. The village was extremely dirty, and the only public buildings it possessed, a mosque and Imāmzāda, were mean and squalid. It was here we first saw the cattle of which Chardin speaks.¹ They are a sturdy breed, short-horned, and considerably larger than those of southern Persia. We got a room in the house of a man who had been to Karāchi with mules, and was called Hājī in consequence, though he had never been to Mecca. The house was like an ordinary Indian house, with a porch, courtyard, and living houses round it. In the courtyard was a frame on which a pair of saddle-bags or khurjīn were being woven.

November 2nd. The night was extremely cold, and when we began our march at 9 A.M., the water-courses were still covered with ice. Crossing the plain to the south and passing an Armenian village, with the usual large cemetery by it, we reached the edge of the plain and climbed a low ridge. In the valley beyond lies the village of Shamsābād, in spring surrounded by standing corn, but at this season the only green thing to be seen was fields of lucerne. We marched straight down the valley and through the defile at the south end where the little river is crossed by a stone bridge. The road lay for a short

¹ Coronation of Solyman III King of Persia p. 147. "This Province furnishes Isfahan and the neighbouring parts with cotton."

distance along the stream in a very stony pass, and finally came out in another valley where are two villages, the name of the principle one being Kharijī. Crossing the river again we skirted some high ground and then passed over undulating hills rising gradually higher, and came into sight of the massive ranges Zarda Kūh and Safid Kūh lying to the west and south-west. In the centre of the next valley lay the village of Shalamzār,¹ the halting place we should have reached the day before. There were a few trees, and the whole valley is carefully cultivated, but the only crop we saw was lucerne. The cemetery contained as usual three or four graves on which stood rudely carved leopards, whether as a symbol of the qualities of the deceased, or to scare away wild beasts, is uncertain. There are no sarāis on this road beyond Kava Rukh, and it was with some difficulty that at last we got an upper room. As usual a curious crowd watched all we did, and passed us the qaliān, but the tobacco was rank and strong. In return I handed them a cigar, which was also handed round, but as they tried to inhale the smoke nobody got very far with it.

November 3rd. We soon reached the foot of the hills on the south-west of the valley and the climb was exceedingly steep. The summit of the pass is 8,600' above the sea, and this is the highest point on the road. On the other side the descent of 600' is extremely rough, though but little engineering would be required to make it practicable even for artillery. The valley in spring is covered with grass and flowers, but at this season there was nothing but gorse. The road followed the Thalweg till the stream turned north when we crossed it and ascended the western hills. From the crest we saw the town or large village of Naghūn at our feet in the midst of cultivated fields well watered by a stream. The descent was again very rough; just at the bottom of the hill was the house of the Ilbegi, rather a rude structure built of stone, but possessing a high square tower like a Norman Keep that could be strongly defended. The Ilbegi resides here on his way from Cighakhur, the *sardsīr* to Māl Amīr, the *garmsīr*. At the time of our visit he was at Ardal, the residence of the Ilkhānī. We sent in a letter of introduction from the Governor of Iṣfāhān to whom the Ilbegi is (nominally at any rate) subordinate, and a room 30' x 12' in a building close by was allotted to us, and the usual "istiqbāl" of a sheep, a quantity of rice and clarified butter (*raughan*) was sent. From our room we could see the snow-capped Kūh-i-Gerra to the north-west. In the afternoon Hājī Alī Qulī Khān, brother of the Ilbegi Isfandiār Khān, who is Sartip or general of the Bakhtiārī cavalry in the Persian army, visited us. He was a most intelligent and pleasant

¹ The place where turnips abound.

man, and could read a little French. During my stay in Persia I only met two Persians who knew any English. We asked the Sartīp why they preferred French, and he said that it was because more of the Europeans, especially Russians and Germans, who visited Persia, knew it. He expressed a high opinion of the English methods of Government, and said that if we held Persia the province of Arabistān would be as fertile as Egypt. When the conversation came upon Afghānistān, and what would happen there when the Amīr dies he said “Urūs ‘sauvage’ ast, Inglīs ‘civilisé.’” His view of the Russian administration in Central Asia was that though on the whole good, it was needlessly cruel, and the people were treasuring up their wrongs, while there was no freedom for Muslims to follow their religion, and Afghāns being a free people would resent this. A suggestion that in this quality they resembled the Bakhtiārīs pleased him. He thought that a struggle between the Russians and English was inevitable, but that the battle ground would be Persian more especially if the Russians tried an advance on Herāt. A Sassanian coin and engraved seal were presented to me by the Sartīp.

November 4th. As we both had fever and ague we had to halt for the day, most of which was spent in receiving visits. Major Sawyer appears to have made a great impression on the people, and several men spoke of him. The sons of Isfandiār Khān and the Sartīp, each aged about 13 came to see us. Like most Persian boys they were very grave and self-possessed, but seemed keen sportsmen; they had learnt a little French in Teherān. The other brothers of the Ilbegi whom we saw did not appear such good specimens. One of them came both evenings, and begged some brandy. We obtained a box of the sweetmeat called ‘gez’ here. It is prepared from the droppings of a tree also called ‘gez,’ a kind of tamarisk, extremely like, if not the same as, the Indian farāsh.

November 5th. The Sartīp told off a “tufangcī” to accompany us, and informed us that while we were in the hills we were the guests of the Ilbegi. The road led down to a river called the Rūā Rūd, which illustrates admirably the method of irrigation in these hills. It differs from that in other parts of Persia, as the surface water is so plentiful that the underground channels with qanāts leading to the surface are not necessary. On each side of the river the soil is terraced, the fields as a rule being oval in shape, and rising one above another. At the head of the valley a small canal takes out of the river on each side, and water is taken from these as required. After fording the river we began to ascend again. A curious flower, sometimes yellow and sometimes purple, growing out of the stony ground with no leaves,

and no stalk to speak of, was plentiful. There were also flowers resembling that called "Bachelor's buttons" in country places in England, and hawthorn, now losing its leaves. The forest land also began here, most of the trees being chestnuts or scrub oak.¹ From the crest of the Hill we had a fine view of the Kūh-i-Gerra with the Karun river coming through a gorge to the north and flowing south. The track as usual was very bad, and we slipped about a good deal before we reached the collection of hovels forming the village of Dupulān.² The methods of our tufangcī rather reminded me of a tahsīlī chaprāsi, but the only lodging he could get for us was in a stable.

November 6th. We bought some rugs of local manufacture, and when I enquired for coins a man produced some brass forgeries of ducats. There was no coherent inscription; but there were Roman letters, some upside down and some sideways. Just below the village we crossed a stream by a rickety wooden bridge with a flooring of brushwood, and a little farther on crossed the Karun over the remains of a stone bridge repaired with branches of trees. Ascending the hill we caught up to a Persian travelling with a friend, and two or three tufangcīs all being armed with Martinis in good condition. After a little conversation he asked us point blank to give him a present, and as we refused, he left us. We halted for breakfast by a stream called the Sardāb, after which the road crosses an undulating plateau, almost bare of trees, and hence called Pazhmurda.³ The edge of the plateau is about 7,500' and then came a steep descent of several hundred feet, at the bottom of which was another stream, by the side of which were the white stones and heaps of rubbish marking the site of an encampment of the Iliāts who had left for the Garmsīr. The place is called Gandumkal, or the village of wheat, and it was surrounded by stubble. The stream had dried up, and crossing the bed and a dip beyond we ascended to a height of 7,550' by an easy climb. The road led south along the crest and there was a magnificent gorge to our right, which we finally reached by a tiring descent of 2,500'. The valley was very beautiful with high well-wooded hills on either side, and a river flowing through it. The autumnal tints were brilliant, and we passed many little streams with wild vines clinging to the trees on their banks. As we reached the village of Sarkhūn, I heard a man call out "Ai! Farangī! Īnjā barāe shumā manzil nēst" (Oh! Farangi! you can't stay here), the first and only instance of incivility we experienced in these hills.

¹ The word balūt is used for both. The Sartīp said that the trees were mostly chestnut (chataigne) not oak (chêne).

² = Two bridges.

³ = Withered.

We got a room with great difficulty, and even then the bites of the fleas with which it swarmed, the stamping of the mules, and the jingling of their bells, and the talking of men outside kept us awake.

November 7th. Forging the river we were involved in a thicket of scrub oak, but finally found the track and ascended about 1,500'. The road was easy and the scenery grand, in places almost park-like; in one place we saw the heap of stones and sticks with rags tied on them marking the Qadamgāh of some Imām. The country undulates, but there is gradual descent with a slight rise at the west, on topping which we saw the valley of the Bazuft. The descent was extremely steep and bad, and in places we had even to lead the baggage mules with great care. When we reached the bottom we found that the huts were all deserted, and not a man was to be seen. The place is called Pul-i-'Imārat, but we saw neither bridge nor building besides the usual stone hovels. Our experiences at Sarkhūn, however, had left us not disinclined for solitude, and we had the somewhat rare luxury in these hills of a comfortable wash in the clear cool river. It was one of the most beautiful valleys we had seen, the hills rising to the height of about 1,000' almost from the water's edge, while the river was about a hundred yards wide, with a greenish tinge in the deeper parts. It felt much warmer here.

November 8th. Ascending the valley for a short distance, we found a ford by which we crossed, and soon after we struck west up a defile, the road being extremely rugged. Before our halt for breakfast we were pleased to come across an Iliāt family on the march, who supplied us with bread. They were marching with their flocks and herds, with their black tents packed on ponies and cattle. The ascent was long, and the last mile or so was over almost bare, slippery rock, but we again reached a stretch of the park-like country we had seen before. From the edge of this we saw at our feet a large valley stretching away to the west and north-west, with two or three villages in sight. The descent to Dih-i-Diz, a large village, made us very hot. We were hospitably received here, and spent the evening talking to the Khān's brother. On our asking for coins they told us they had some curios (anṭiqī) and produced three bronzes, an Apollo and a Hercules about 18 in. each and a greyhound about 6 ins. long. I cannot say whether they were genuine or not, but the price asked, 200 tomans or Rs. 700 was beyond us. There can be no doubt that Alexander and his army passed through these hills, but the spurious ducats had made us careful, and the bronzes may have been fragments of modern candelabra. This village is the Garmsir, and the whole valley is very fertile, producing most crops but cotton. They grow figs, grapes, pomegranates, cherries and

tobacco. We got some dried figs pressed into a ball. They are small, but of fine flavour.

November 9th. Our march lay by the side of a small stream we had traced from its source. We saw a dead snake nearly 3' long soon after starting, and on the road passed many pomegranate orchards with the marks of Iliāt encampments, and saw several parties on their way to the lower plains. After about ten miles we turned suddenly to the south-west and crossing a steep ridge a few hundred feet high we came upon the Karun which is here a very swift deep river 60' to 80' wide flowing between high rocky banks. The mules were unloaded, while the boat on which we and our belongings were to be ferried across was prepared. It consisted of a kind of lattice of boughs, about 8' square, under which thirteen inflated goatskins were tied. A small boy with a bough five feet long with a piece of wood about half the size of the top of a handbox tied across the end, sat on the front and paddled hard. The stream swept it rapidly down, but we got into a back eddy and landed safely, the mules being simply driven into the water and having to swim across. Our halting place, Gūda-i-Balūtāk¹ is close to the other bank, and we got a room without difficulty. From Dupulān to this place the huts are of the same description. One wall is the rock of the hill side, the others being loose stones piled up, and roughly plastered on the inside, while the roof is made of branches of trees, barked but not shaped and covered with plaster, small stones and earth, so that from outside it looks like the ordinary ground. In a large room there may be one or two pieces of tree trunks as pillars. The houses are in terraces, so that the roof of one row serves as the cattleyard of the one above.

November 10th. The road lay north-west through the dry bed of a river reminding one of the two kotals, the Pīrzan and the Dukhtar on the road between Bushīr and Shīrāz. After a few miles we reached a sort of ridge connecting the hills on either side. From the top we saw a rather narrow valley with low hills on either side, and plunging into it, found the descent rough, especially at the end, where we came on two gorges branching north-west and north-by-east, there being a ruined fort called the Qil'a-i-Mādar-i-Shāh, the usual halting place at the junction. We marched along the north-west gorge seeing numbers of partridges in the ravines running down to it. After a mile or two we turned west and came upon the wonderful causeway called the Jadda-i-Atābak, about which so much controversy has taken place.² It is

¹ = The kernel of the acorn.

² Ibn Baṭūṭa trans. by Rev. S. Lee, pp. 37, 38. Curzon, *Persia* II, p. 288. De Bode, *Travels in Lūristān and Arabistān* II, pp. 7-12.

about 10' wide, composed of large stones 8" to 9" in diameter, put together so as to form a kind of large stair, each step being about 12' to 15' long and 6" to a foot high. In the course of time the stones have become rounded and very slippery, and an ordinary track is preferable, but the work is one that excites admiration. At the top we came on a perfectly open tree-less plain, the forest ending here. At the end of the plain was a steep descent of about 1,000' over the remains of the causeway, and a succession of zig-zags of loose gravel. The view over the plain of Māl Amīr was very fine with the large lake Shat Band in the north-west corner. From the foot Māl Amīr itself is 6 or 7 miles, but the road is perfectly level, and in spring the view must be lovely. Māl Amīr is a Garmsīr, and consists now of a few thatched reed huts on a mound, which appears to mark the site of an ancient city. To the south-west is the shell of a new fort in course of construction, for this is the winter dwelling of the Ilbegi. All spare huts were occupied by the followers of the latter, who were accompanying his mother on a pilgrimage to Karbala, and we had to sleep in a field with the shelter of one of the black tents used by the nomads. It consisted of eighteen stripes of a coarse cloth made from goat hair, each 20' by one foot, sewn together, supported by two 7' poles in the middle having a cross-piece between them about 4' 6" long. The front was held up by four short poles and the back was tied down to pegs within a few inches of the ground. Two of the lady's grandchildren came to see us, one of whom knew a little French. Owing to illness and the short time at our disposal we were unable to explore the remains of the Shikaft-i-Sulaimān, which have been fully described by de Bode,¹ and Layard.² It is to be hoped that the French who have received a concession from the Persian Government for exploration of its antiquities will not neglect this mound.

November 11th. There are two roads from Māl Amīr to Shushtar, one by Qil'a-i-Yūl, the usual though longer, and that which we followed which is shorter but more difficult. We crossed the plain to the north-west corner skirting the lake, till we reached the village of Māl Muṣṭafā, a Garmsīr of reed huts with remains of some of stone. The road then turned south over slight elevations presenting no difficulties till we reached a stream on the banks of which were several villages, of which Māl Saiyyidī, our halting place, was distinguished by a white Imāmzāda and a ruined fort. The old Saiyyid or head man of the place gave us a new hut to stay in. It was only 7' high in the

¹ Travels II c XVII.

² Early adventures (1894 edition) CVIII. Layard has published the cuneiform inscription.

middle with a door 3' high, and the caves came down still lower. All the huts in the village were of the same kind of reeds cut in the river-bed close by, and thatched with similar reeds. The walls are smeared with mud and straw (*kāh* and *gil*). Our host visited us after dinner and apologised for not being able to give us anything but fowls.

November 12th. The muleteer greeted us with the cheerful news that our march would be the worst of the whole way, and though he had lied to us on almost every possible occasion hitherto, we found that he was correct. For the first hour or two, we wandered up and down a labyrinth of small hills with hardly a track. In several places we passed over bare rock almost like the roof of a house, and once the mule our servant was riding went down such a drop, that, without its falling or even stumbling, it shot him over its head. We crossed several streams full of fish, and then began a very bad steep ascent, parts of which were the old causeway. The descent though not so bad was very steep, and we were glad to reach the bottom, where we found a few black tents by the stream; the road lay down the *Thalweg* over very rough and uneven ground, but when we had completed about 20 miles we came out on a comparatively level plain, and the last four miles into *Gūgird*¹ were easy. A stream we passed, called the *Āb-i-Shūr*, is largely impregnated with sulphur, which caused it to smell badly. The low range of hills to the south of the road is called *Asmārī*, and an *Imāmzāda* close by the road bears the name of *Sultān Ibrāhīm*. *Gūgird* contains 50 or 60 reed huts much larger and better made than the one we had at *Māl Saiyyidī*. This is the limit of the *Bakhtiārī* rule, so our *tufangcī* took leave of us.

November 13th. The march was over fairly level, but stony and barren country. According to Curzon's Map,² we should have come to two villages named *Tembi* and *Dara Kul*, but we could find no trace of these. After marching about 25 miles we reached a slight elevation covered with mules belonging to a caravan on the march to *Māl Amīr*. This place appeared to be the usual halting place and is called *Lābārī*. Three miles away to the south-west, we could see a village called *Rāh Dārī*. The only water we could get was brackish, and the mosquitoes were the most vicious I have ever known, except perhaps those at *Puzeh* near *Persepolis*. The only shelter we had was under a jujube bush.

November 14th. The rain and mosquitoes kept us awake most of the night, and we made an early start at 5-30 A.M. The road was easy, but every stream we passed was brackish, and about 10 A.M. I was attacked by ague and fever. Distances in the plain of Persia are most

¹ = *Sulphur*. According to Curzon the name is *Gūrgīr* = wild ass catcher.

² *Persia* II p. 284.

deceptive, and we were in sight of the two large domes of Shushtar for three hours before we reached the town, and crossed the stone bridge over the Āb-i-Gerger, that wonderful irrigation channel cut through the rock. Shushtar and the Karun river from Shushtar to Muharrama have been fully described by Curzon.¹

The importance of the route I have described, lies in the fact that by it Iṣfāhān can be reached by a road journey of 250 miles instead of the long road of 470 miles from Bushīr *via* Shīrāz, for steamers run on the Karun from Baṣra to Ahwāz and from Ahwāz to Shushtar. Rough as is the way, but little is needed to make the worst parts as easy as the road from Shīrāz to Bushīr. Even without this improvement, if sarāīs were built at the halting places caravans would quickly use the road. As it is, the trade which Lynch Bros. are trying to develop, increases but slowly.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From	to	Miles.	From	to	Miles.
Julfa	Bistajān	... 29	Pul-i-‘Imārat	Dih-i-Diz	... 12
Bistajān	Kava Rukh	... 21	Dih-i-Diz	Gūda-i-Balūṭak	11
Kava Rukh	Shalamzār	... 20	Gūda-i-Balūṭak	Māl Amīr	... 22
Shalamzār	Naghūn	... 12	Māl Amīr	Māl Saiyyidi	10
Naghūn	Dupulān	... 10	Māl Saiyyidi	Gūgird	... 24
Dupulān	Sarkhūn	... 18	Gūgird	Lābārī	... 25
Sarkhūn	Pul-i-‘Imārat or		Lābārī	Shushtar	... 22
	Rūdāb	... 12			
					248

These distances are if anything slightly under-estimated. Curzon gives the distance as 260 miles. I have omitted the *détour* we made from Kava Rukh to Dih-i-Khurd (7 miles), as it is out of the way.

¹ Persia II c. XXV.

On the Kāçmīrī Consonantal System.— By G. A. GRIERSON,
C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read May, 1897.]

The Kāçmīrī consonantal system is based on that in use in most Aryan languages in India. It can be well represented by the Çāradā Alphabet or by its congener the Dēvanāgarī.

Kāçmīrī has discarded the aspirated soft consonants, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*. When such sounds originally occurred the corresponding unaspirated sounds are substituted. Thus we have Kāçmīrī गेरुन् *gērun* to surround, but Hindi घेरना *ghēr'nā*; Kç. ब्वि *bōvi*, he will be, corresponding to the Sanskrit भवति *bhavati*.

Kāçmīrī has developed a new class of modified palatal consonants, viz., च *tsa*, छ *tsha*, ज *za*, and ञ *ña*. These are mostly direct modifications of original palatals. Thus—

Skr.	Kç.
चोरः <i>cōrah</i> , a thief.	चूर् <i>tsūr</i> , a thief.
चलति <i>calati</i> , he goes.	चलि <i>tsali</i> , he will go.
चलयति <i>chalayati</i> , he deceives.	छलि <i>tshali</i> , he will deceive.
जलम् <i>jalam</i> , water.	जल् <i>zal</i> , water.

So also we have the Skr. उत्पद्यते *utpadyatē*; Pr. उप्पज्जइ *up pajjai*; from which is derived the Kç. 3rd pers. fut. व्वपजि *wōpazi*, he will be born.

These modified palatals are also developed as secondary formations from dentals, followed by *ū-mātrā*, or by the semi-vowel *y*. Both these sounds are palatal, for *ū-mātrā* represents an original long *ī*.

Thus, take the base रात् *rāt*-, night. Its nominative plural is formed by adding *ū-mātrā*, and is therefore राच् *rātsū*.

Again take the root कत् *kat*-, spin. The feminine singular of its Past Participle is formed by adding *ū-mātrā*, and is कच् *katsū*. Its

Aorist Participle is formed by adding योव् *yōv*, and is कचोव् *katsōv*, the *y* first changing the *t* to *ts*, and then being elided under a subsequent rule.

Again take the adjective तनु *tat^u*, hot. Its abstract noun is formed by substituting इ + चर् *i + ar*, i.e., यर् *yar*, for the final उ^u. We thus get तचर् *tatsar*, heat, the *y* being elided as in the last case.

Similarly we have the base कथ् *kōth-*, a hank, Nom. Pl. कथ् *kwatsh^u*; the root व्यथ् *wōth-*, arise, Past Part., Fem. Sg., व्यथ् *wwatsh^u*, Aorist Participle व्यथोव् *wōtshōv*; the adj. वथु *wath^u*, open, वचर् *watshar*, openness.

So, ग्रन् *grand-*, a counting: Nom. Pl. ग्रन् *granz^u*; ✓ लद् *lad-*, build, Past Part., Fem. Sg., लज् *laz^u*, Aorist Part. लजोव् *lazōv*; थद् *thad^u*, high, थजर *thazar*, height.

Again ईरन् *yīran-*, an anvil: Nom. Pl. ईरन् *yīrañ^u* (usually written ईरञ् *yīrañ*); ✓ रन् *ran-*, cook, Past Part., Fem. Sg., रञ् *rañ^u* (usually written रञ् *rañ*); तनु *tan^u*, thin, तचर् *tañar*, thinness.

Note that as in the last instances, a final ज् *ñ^u*, is usually written ज् *ñ*, but this does not affect the pronunciation.

Note, also, that the letter य् *y* is elided whenever it immediately follows one of these modified palatals. It is, however, retained in a few verbs. These are given in my List of Kāçmīrī verbs (*J. A. S. B.*, for 1896, p. 308).

Besides the above, other instances of Palatalization occur. Thus,—

(1) Cerebrals become Palatals before इ *i*, य् *y*, but not before *i-mātrā*, or *ū-mātrā*. Thus—

Base पट् *paṭ-*, a tablet: Nom. Sg. Fem., formed by adding *ū-mātrā*, पट् *paṭ^u*, Ag. Sg. formed by adding इ *i*, पचि *paci*; Nom. Pl. formed by adding य् *y^a*, पच्य *pacē*.

Base काठ् *kāṭh-*, a stalk: Nom. Sg. Fem., काठ् *kāṭh^u*; Ag. Sg. काचि *kāchi*; Nom. Pl. काच्य *kāchē*.

Base बड् *baḍ-*, great: Nom. Pl., formed by adding *i-mātrā*, बडि *baḍi*, Nom. Sg. Fem. बड् *baḍ^u*; Ag. Sg. Fem. बजि *baji*; Nom. Pl. Fem. बज्य *bajē*.

Again म्वट् *mōṭ^u*, fat: Nom. Pl. Masc. म्वटि *mwaṭi*; म्वचर *mōcyar*

fatness : द्रोढ् *drōṭh^u*, hard ; द्रौढ्यर् *drāṭhyar*, hardness : म्बु *monḍ^u*, blunt ; म्ब्यर् *mōñjyar*, bluntness.

Again, ✓ फट् *phaṭ*, split : Aorist Participle, फच्योव् *phacyōv*, but Past Part., Fem. Sg., फट् *phaṭ^u* ; Nom. Pl. Masc. फटि *phaṭi*.

मठ् *maṭh-*, forgotten : Aorist Participle, मच्योव् *manchyōv* ; but Past Part., Fem. Sg., मठ् *maṭh^u* ; Nom. Pl. Masc. मठि *maṭhi*.

✓ गण्ड् *gaṇḍ*, bind : Aorist Participle, गञ्च्योव् *gañjyōv* ; but Past Part., Fem. Sg., गण्ड् *gaṇḍ^u* ; Nom. Pl. Masc. गण्डि *gaṇḍi*.

(2) Gutturals become Palatals before *ū-mātrā*, and य *y*, but not before इ *i* or *i-mātrā*.

Thus, बतुकु *batuk^u*, a duck : Fem. Sg., formed by changing *u-mātrā* to *ū-mātrā*, बत्च *bat^uc^ū*.

कखु *hökh^u*, dry : Fem. कखू *hwach^u* ; but Ag. Sg. Masc. कखि *hwakhi* :

द्युगु *dyūg^u*, a ball of thread : Fem. डौजू *dīj^u* ; Ag. Sg. Masc. डौगि *dīgⁱ*.

Again निकु *nyuk^u*, little : Abstract Noun, formed by adding यर् *yar*, निच्यर् *nicyar*, littleness. त्रिखु *tryukh^u*, clever ; त्रिच्यर् *trichyar* cleverness :

स्रुगु *srog^u*, cheap,

स्रुच्यर् *srōjyar*, cheapness.

Again, ✓ थक् *thak*, be weary : Past Part., Fem. Sg., थचू *thac^u* ; Aorist Part. थच्योव् *thacyōv* ; but Past Part., Masc. Pl., formed by adding इ *i*, थकि *thaki*.

✓ लेख् *lēkh*, write : Past Part., Fem. Sg. लीक् *līch^u* ; Aorist Part. लेच्योव् *lēchyōv* ; Past Part., Masc. Pl. लीखि *līkhi*.

✓ दग् *dag*, pound : Past Part., Fem. Sg. दजू *daj^u* ; Aorist Part. दच्योव् *dajyōv* ; Past Part., Masc. Pl. दगि *dagi*.

Exceptions are

चकु *tsok^u*, sour : Fem. चकु *tswak^u* (vi, 10) ; चक्यर् *tsōkyar*, sourness (iv, 48).¹

खूखु *khūkh^u*, speaking through the nose, fem. खूखू *khūkh^u* (vi, 10) ; Abstr. Noun खूच्यर् *khūkhyar* (iv, 48).

(3) ल *l* becomes ज *j*, when followed by *ū-mātrā*, or य *y*. Thus,

¹ These and similar references are to the *Kāçmīraçabdāmṛta* of Içvara-kaula.

वाल् *wāl*, a serpent's hole : Nom. Pl. वाज् *wāj̄*.

वोल् *wōl*, a large ring : Fem. वाज् *wāj̄*, a small ring.

कुसुल् *kumul*, delicate : कुसुज्यार् *kumuḡyār*, delicateness.

वूल् *wūl*, fickle : वोज्यार् *wōḡyār*, fickleness.

✓ पाल *pāl*, protect : Past Part., Fem. Sg. पाज् *pāj̄*. But Masc. Pl. पालि *pāl*.

(4) ह् *h*, becomes ष *ç* before *ū-mātrā*, or य् *y*. Thus,—

बाह् *bāh*, the twelfth lunar day : Nom. Pl. बाष् *bāç̄*; पाह् *pāh*, ordure : Nom. Pl. पाष् *pāç̄*.

हिह् *hyuh*, like : Fem. Sg. हिष् *hiç̄*; Abstr. Noun हिष्यार् *hiçyar*, similarity. चोह् *tsōh*, acrid ; Fem. Sg. चाष् *tsāç̄*; Abstr. Noun चाष्यार् *tsāçyar*.

✓ पिह् *pih*, pound : Past Part., Fem. Sg. पिष् *piç̄*; Aorist Part. पिष्योव् *piçyōv*; but Past Part., Masc. Pl. पिहि *pihi*.

(5) स् *s* shows a tendency to become ष् *tsh* before *ū-mātrā* or य् *y*. In such a case, also, the य् *y* is as usual elided. Thus,—

कूस् *kūs*, youngest : Fem. Sg. कूस् *kūs̄*, or कूष् *kūtsh̄*; Abstr. Noun. कैस् *kaīsar*, or कैष् *kaītshar*.

✓ बस् *bas*, dwell : Past Part., Fem. Sg. बष् *bas̄*, or (sometimes) बह् *batsh̄*; Fem. Pl. बस् *basā* (for बस्य *basē*) or (rarely) बह् *batshā*.

✓ लोस् *lōs*, be weary : Past Part., Fem. Sg. लूस् *lūs̄* or लूष् *lūtsh̄*. Fem. Pl. लोस् *lōsā* or लोह् *lotshā*.

Note that य् *y* is usually elided after स् *s*. This is specially the case in transitive verbs. A list of verbs in which य् *y* is not elided is given in my article on Kāçmīrī verbs already alluded to, J. A. S. B. for 1896, p. 308.

Finally,—in Kāçmīrī, no word can end in an unaspirated hard consonant. If an unaspirated hard consonant falls at the end of a word, it is aspirated. Thus,—

Base चक् *trak*, a certain grain measure, Nom. Sg. चख् *trākh*.

„ अक् *ak*, one, „ अख् *ākh*.

„ काच् *kāts*, glass, „ काक् *kātsh*.

„ कट् *kaṭ*, a ram, „ कट् *kāṭh*.

„ हत् *hat*, a hundred, „ हथ् *hāth*.

Base रात् *rāt*, night,Nom. Sg. राथ् *rāth*.,, कर् + त् *kar^u + t*, done by thee,कर्थ् *karuth*.,, ताप् *tāp*, heat,Nom. Sg. ताफ् *tāph*.

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t*, or च् *ts* forms part of a conjunct consonant. Thus,—

Base सच्च् *s^ats*, a tailor, Nom. Sg. सच्च् *s^ats*.,, मस्त् *mast*, hair,,, मस्त् *mast*.

This rule is commonly neglected when writing in the Persian character, in which, [for instance कर्थ् *karuth* is represented by ^{११}कर्ت.



A Comparative Vocabulary of the Gōṇḍī and Kōlāmī Languages.—By
CAPTAIN WOLSELEY HAIG, *Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Wun
District, Berar.*

[Read July, 1897.]

The following short comparative vocabulary of Gōṇḍī and Kōlāmī represents the beginning of an unfortunately interrupted attempt to study the Kōlāmī language. The only comparative vocabulary of these two languages to which I have had access is the long vocabulary contained in the "Notes" of the late Revd. S. Hislop, edited by Sir Richard Temple when Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Mr. Hislop's vocabulary is copious and instructive, but labours under more than one serious disadvantage. One of these is the complete absence of any system in the representation of sounds by the Roman character. Another is inaccuracy, the vocabulary containing in itself evidence that it was never, as a whole, revised and corrected by Mr. Hislop.

The Kōlāms are an aboriginal tribe found in the Central Provinces and in East Berar, more especially in the Wun District. They are classed by Mr. Hislop and by Mr. Sherring (following him) as one of the Gōṇḍ Tribes. That they are a tribe of common origin with the Gōṇḍ there can be no doubt, but inasmuch as they have, though interspersed in the south-western portion of Gōṇḍwāna with the Gōṇḍ, preserved certain distinctive customs, to say nothing of their language, which, though allied to Gōṇḍī as may be seen from the vocabulary cannot be understood by a Gōṇḍ; it is hardly safe to assert that they are a subdivision of the Gōṇḍ. Kōlāms differ considerably from Gōṇḍ in appearance, and the Gōṇḍ, in Berar, at any rate, do not admit that they are a Gōṇḍ tribe, while the Kōlāms on the other hand shew no anxiety to be considered so, but are rather inclined to repudiate the connection. The Pradhāns (called "Pāṭhāū" in Gōṇḍī), a tribe whose language is Gōṇḍī, perform for the Gōṇḍ offices in many respects similar to those assigned to Bhāṭs among Hindus, but they perform no such offices for Kōlāms and do not sing or provide music at their weddings and funerals as they do at those of the Gōṇḍ. It is not my purpose to attempt to

define the degree of relationship which exists between the Gōṇḍs proper and the Kōlāms. I do not think that this can be done in the present state of our knowledge of these tribes. All that can be said at present is that it does not appear that the Kōlāms can be placed in the same category with Rāj Gōṇḍs, Dhaḍavē Gōṇḍs and Kuṭulvār Gōṇḍs as a subdivision of the Gōṇḍ tribe, or a tribe of the Gōṇḍ nation. What their exact position is with regard to such tribes is yet to be ascertained. I hope to publish, before long, some notes on the Gōṇḍ tribes.

There are one or two points to be noticed with regard to the system which I have followed in representing Gōṇḍī and Kōlāmī vocables by Roman characters and symbols. The term transliteration can hardly be applied to this process, both Gōṇḍī and Kōlāmī being unwritten languages. For the sake of convenience, however, I may as well say that I have followed as closely as possible the system laid down by the Society for the transliteration of the Nāgarī and allied alphabets; *i.e.*, the sounds represented by the Nāgarī letters are, as a rule, represented by the equivalent symbols recognized by the Society. Thus the cerebral sounds appear as *t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, while the sound of the nasal letter ङ is represented by the symbol *ṅ*, etc. I have deviated from this system in respect of the sounds represented in Marāṭhī by the letters च, छ and ज. These I have represented phonetically by the symbols *ts*, *tsh* and *dz*. The symbol *!* represents the sound given in Marāṭhī to the letter ङ. I have used the short vowel mark (◌̣) over the letters *e* and *o* when those letters represent short sounds. I have also used it with other vowels when it has appeared to me to be necessary.

The capital letters in brackets, (H.), (M.) and (U.) signify Hindi, Marāṭhī and Urdū, respectively. In the case of the last named language I have designedly drawn no distinction between indigenous words and those derived from Persian.

Vocabulary.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gōṇḍī.</i>	<i>Kōlāmī.</i>
Ant (black)	<i>patten</i>	<i>sīmāl.</i>
Ant (white)	<i>ūdrī</i>	<i>sēdāl.</i>
Antelope	<i>kūrs</i>	<i>pōtgōryā.</i>
Arm	<i>kaī</i>	<i>kīy.</i>
Armpit	<i>kūtlī</i>	—
Arrow	<i>tīr (U.)</i>	<i>tīr (U.).</i>
Ass	<i>gārdī</i>	—
Axe	<i>mārs</i>	<i>gōllī.</i>
Back	<i>pērēkā</i>	<i>vēn.</i>
Bamboo	<i>vyadūr</i>	<i>vētūr.</i>

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gōṇḍī.</i>	<i>Kōlāmī.</i>
Basket	ṭōplī (M.)	pūrg.
Bee	kahadāl viṣiṇ	suruṇḍ pōttēl.
Bear	yardz	gūddī.
Beard	dādhī (H. M.)	gaddām.
Bed	bīṭsōṇā (H.), hatrūn	dzunḡē tāḍakāḍ.
Before	munṇē, samōr (M.)	mutti siddēn.
Beginning	mōhtur	—
Bell	tilmulī	} dzīrāṇā.
Bell (wooden clapper)	tāpur, taprī	
Belly	pēṭṭī	pōṭṭā.
Blood	natūr	natūr.
Blue jay	ṭaṭās	ṭavā.
Blue bull (nīlgao)	mau	—
Bone	pēḍēkā	bōkkā.
Bow	kāmṭā (H. M.)	gēllī.
Box	sālād, pēṭī (H. M.)	salād.
Boy	pēḍāl	bālā (H. M.).
Branch (of a tree)	khāṇḍā	kōmul.
Bread	sārī	ippāṭē.
Brother (elder)	dādā (H. M.)	annāk.
Brother (younger)	tammūr	tōrēn.
Buffalo (bull)	halyāl	} sūr.
Buffalo (cow)	yērmī	
Bull	kūrrā	kōḍē.
Bullock	kōṇḍā	ēḍ.
Calf	kurrā (bull), pīyā (hei- fer)	lēṇā.
Camel	hūt (M.)	lōṭṭī.
Cat	vyarkār	pillī (H. M.).
Cheap (adj.)	sastō (H.)	sukāraṇḍēm.
Cheek	karvī	dhāḍā.
Cock	ghōḡōḍī	pōt.
Cousin (father's bro- ther's son)	tsulat tammūr	kākōṇē annāk (elder), kākōṇē tōrēn (younger.)
Cousin (mother's bro- ther's son)	māvas tammūr	—
Child	peḍāl	bālā (H. M.).
Cow	mūrā	kūtē.
Crow	kākāḍ	kōrr.
Dagger	sūrī (M.), rūṇī	kaṭār (H. M.).
Daughter	pēḍgī	pillā.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gōṇḍī.</i>	<i>Kōlāmī.</i>
Daughter-in-law	<i>kōryāl</i>	<i>kōrrāl.</i>
Dawn	<i>ṭāhatē (M.)</i>	<i>pēhēlē (? H.), pōtūl.</i>
Day	<i>pōḍḍ, pīyāl</i>	<i>pātē.</i>
Deer (spotted)	<i>tsitrā</i>	<i>tsitryāk.</i>
Distant (adj.)	<i>lak</i>	<i>pērdāv.</i>
Dog	<i>nai</i>	<i>ātē.</i>
Ear	<i>kēvī (s.), kēvv (pl.)</i>	<i>kēv, (s.) kēvul (pl.).</i>
Earth	<i>dhartri (H. M.)</i>	<i>tūk.</i>
Evening	<i>pōḍḍzutā, pōḍḍburēmātā</i>	<i>pōtsēddīn.</i>
Face	<i>tōḍḍī</i>	<i>mōkām.</i>
Father	<i>bābāl</i>	<i>bā, kīvhā.</i>
Father-in-law	<i>mūryāl</i>	<i>sāsrā (M.).</i>
Fever	<i>yērki</i>	<i>vēssā.</i>
Field	<i>vāvar</i>	<i>vēgād.</i>
Flesh	<i>savī</i>	<i>nāṇḍzul.</i>
Fire	<i>tarmī</i>	<i>kis.</i>
Fly (subs.)	<i>vīṇī</i>	<i>nīṇāl.</i>
Food	<i>dzihū</i>	<i>ambāl.</i>
Foot	<i>kālk</i>	<i>gēṭṭā.</i>
Forenoon	<i>sakāl (M.)</i>	—
Forest	<i>kēḍā</i>	<i>arāvī.</i>
Fort	<i>killā (U.)</i>	<i>vādā (M.).</i>
Fox	<i>kōlyāl (M.)</i>	<i>kōlyāk (M.).</i>
Fruit	<i>kāyā</i>	<i>pāṇḍl.</i>
Girl	<i>pēḍī</i>	<i>pillā.</i>
Goat	—	<i>mēkē.</i>
Gold	<i>sōnā (H. M.)</i>	<i>sōnē (H. M.).</i>
Grain	—	<i>sōnnāl.</i>
Grandfather	—	<i>dōbāk.</i>
Grass	<i>dzāḍī</i>	<i>gaḍḍī.</i>
Hair	—	<i>tīr.</i>
Hand	<i>kāi.</i>	<i>kīy.</i>
Heart	—	<i>dzām.</i>
Heat	—	<i>ubbā.</i>
Hide (subs.)	—	<i>tōl.</i>
Hill	<i>mēttā</i>	<i>mālē.</i>
Hog	<i>padī</i>	<i>turrē.</i>
Honey	—	<i>tēnē.</i>
Horse	<i>khōḍā (H. M.)</i>	<i>gurrām.</i>
House	<i>rōn</i>	<i>ēllā.</i>
Husband	<i>muīdō, mānasō</i>	<i>māgvān.</i>

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gōṇḍī.</i>	<i>Kōlāmī.</i>
Jackal	<i>kōlyāl</i>	<i>kōlhā</i> (M.).
Jawār (sorghum vul- gare)	<i>dzōnnā</i>	<i>sōnnāk.</i>
Jungle	<i>kēḍā</i>	<i>arāvī.</i>
Leaf	<i>ākī</i>	<i>yēg</i> (s.) <i>yēgul</i> (pl.).
Leech	<i>dzērū</i>	—
Leg	<i>kāl̥k</i>	<i>gēt̥tā.</i>
Lips	<i>ṣivalī</i>	<i>pēddēl.</i>
Mad (adj.)	<i>pīsāl</i>	<i>pīsāk.</i>
Man	<i>mānyāl</i>	<i>peddā.</i>
Maternal uncle	<i>māmā</i> (H. M.)	<i>māmā</i> (H. M.).
Maternal uncle's wife	—	<i>āppā.</i>
Monkey (red)	<i>kōvē</i>	<i>kōtī.</i>
Monkey (langūr)	<i>gaḍḍē</i> (m.), <i>mūṇdz</i> (f.)	<i>muī.</i>
Mother	<i>māya, baiyē, avāl</i>	<i>bē.</i>
Mother-in-law	<i>pōrāl</i>	<i>pōdāl.</i>
Mouse	<i>yēllī</i>	<i>ēlkā.</i>
Moustache	<i>mīṣāl</i>	<i>mīsāl.</i>
Mouth	<i>tōḍī</i>	<i>mūtī.</i>
Neck	<i>gūrṇā</i>	<i>mak.</i>
Night	<i>narkā</i>	<i>ālē.</i>
Oil	<i>nī</i>	<i>nūnē.</i>
Panther	<i>karyāl</i>	<i>ṣinnāmpul.</i>
Parrot	<i>dzātāṇ</i>	<i>hōryāk.</i>
Partridge	<i>kākrāṇdz</i>	—
Paternal uncle	<i>kākā</i> (H.)	<i>kākō</i> (H.).
Peacock	<i>mal</i>	<i>nāmlī.</i>
Pig	<i>padī</i>	<i>turrē.</i>
Pigeon (green)	<i>pōnāl</i>	—
Plantain	<i>kēr</i> (s.) <i>kērēṇ</i> (pl.)	<i>kērē</i> (H. M.).
Plough	<i>nāṇgyāl</i>	<i>nāṇgar</i> (M.).
Poison	<i>vīk</i>	<i>dziṇā.</i>
Pumpkin	<i>purkā</i>	<i>burrā.</i>
Quail (subs.)	<i>utti</i>	<i>sālē.</i>
Rat	<i>yēllī</i>	<i>ēlkā.</i>
Salt	<i>sōvar</i>	<i>sūpp.</i>
Sambar	<i>sāmbar</i> (H. M.)	<i>kaḍās.</i>
Sand	<i>vālū</i> (M.)	<i>vārū</i> (M.).
Small (adj.)	<i>tsudōr</i>	<i>tsinnām.</i>
Smoke (subs.)	<i>pōyā</i>	<i>pōg.</i>
Snake	<i>tarās</i>	<i>pām.</i>

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gōṇḍī.</i>	<i>Kōlāmī.</i>
Son	<i>marī</i>	<i>bālā</i> (H. M.).
Spear	<i>bartshī</i> (M.)	<i>barsī</i> (M.).
Stone	<i>baṇḍā</i>	<i>ghuḍ.</i>
Teak	<i>tēkā</i>	<i>tēk.</i>
Throat	<i>ghōṭī</i>	<i>ḍōḍḍor.</i>
Tiger	<i>burkāḷ</i>	<i>pull.</i>
Tooth	<i>palk</i>	<i>pāl</i> (s.) <i>pāḷkul</i> (pl.).
Tree	<i>marā</i>	<i>māk.</i>
Turban	<i>pāgōṭā</i> (M.)	<i>dzōḍē.</i>
Village	<i>nār</i>	<i>ūr.</i>
Waist	<i>naḍī</i>	<i>tikānē, mulkē</i> (small of the back.)
Water	<i>yēr</i>	<i>īr.</i>
Wife	<i>bāekō</i> (M.), <i>navarī</i>	<i>kōlāmā.</i>
Wine	<i>kallū</i>	<i>sarā.</i>
Wolf	<i>lāṇḍgyāl</i> (M.)	<i>lāṇḍgā</i> (M.).

NUMERALS.

One	<i>uṇḍī</i>	<i>ōkkōḍ.</i>
Two	<i>raṇḍ</i>	<i>īṇḍīṇ.</i>
Three	<i>mūṇḍ</i>	<i>mūṇḍīṇ.</i>
Four	<i>nālū</i>	<i>nālīṇ.</i>
Five	<i>sīyurṇ</i>	<i>aīḍ.</i>
Six	<i>sāruṇ</i>	<i>ār.</i>
Seven	<i>yēruṇ</i>	<i>sāt</i> (H. M.).

For numbers above seven the Marāṭhī numerals are used. I have made careful inquiries on this point, and have always been told by Gōṇḍs that they have no numerals of their own above *seven* except *nūr*, which means “a hundred” and seems to be used as a collective noun. The Kōlāmī numerals go no higher than *six*.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS.

East	<i>pōḍḍpaisē</i>	<i>pallām.</i>
West	<i>phurāyīṇ</i>	<i>pōḍēlāṇ.</i>
South	<i>talavaḍḍā</i>	<i>mēṭlāṇ.</i>
North	<i>ṣirayīṇ</i>	<i>tēlāṇ.</i>

There is little to be said regarding the vocabulary.

It is strange that the Gōṇḍs have not preserved their own names for the bow and arrow, weapons on which they probably relied for food and self-protection long before their speech could have been influenced by the tongues from which the names now given to those

weapons are derived. I have satisfied myself by careful inquiry that the Gōṇḍs, in Berar at any rate, have no words for those weapons other than those given in the vocabulary.

Another curious point is the paucity of the numerals. I have made very particular inquiries on this point. It is incredible that a people which attained to the degree of civilization which the Gōṇḍs are known to have reached, should have been unable to count beyond seven. The fact that they have a word of their own for “a hundred,” shews that their numeration was not so limited. The strange thing is that the words for the numbers above seven should have been lost.

The vocabulary which I have given is but meagre, and labours under the disadvantages which must always attach to a mere list of words. I hope at some future time to have an opportunity of further investigating the Kōlāmī language.

The story of the Prodigal Son, translated into the Kurku Language.—By
REV. JOHN DRAKE, *Missionary to the Kurkus, Ellichpur, Berar.*

[Communicated by G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.]

[Read July, 1897.]

[The following translation is a specimen of another Aboriginal Language spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar. It has been prepared for Dr. Grierson in connection with his Linguistic Survey, but unfortunately reached him too late for that purpose. However, as trustworthy specimens of these Aboriginal Languages are very rarely met with, the Editor readily accepted Dr. Grierson's suggestion to publish it in this *Journal*.

The Kurkus, or Korkus as their name is spelt in the last Census Reports, are a Kolarian tribe living in different parts of the Central Provinces and Berar. We learn from Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnography of Bengal* (page 231) that their name is said to be a plural of *kūr* "man." They are also spoken of as *Muāsī*, but this rather seems to be merely the name of one of their tribal subdivisions. The total number of Kurkus is entered in the last Census Reports as 96,218 for Central Provinces, and 37,126 for Berar, thus giving a total of 1,33,344. The Berar Census Report states that "the primitive hill-men are beginning to find their way into the world, and as they do so their language will probably merge into that of the province." Under such circumstances, it is to be hoped that the following specimen of their language, however short it may be, will still be welcomed.¹

As to the Author's system of transliteration, no attempt has been made to adapt it to the Society's system, on account of its dealing with the sounds of a Kolarian language, a general standard for which does not exist. He distinguishes every short and long vowel by different vowel-marks (except in the diphthongs *ai* and *au*); thus *ǎ* and *ā*, *ĕ* and *ē*, etc. The letter *ĵ* means a sound much like the German *ch* in *ich*, *dich*, etc.—Ed.]

¹ A description of the Kurkus by W. H. P. Driver will be found in this *Journal*, Vol. LXI, for 1892, Part I, page 128 ff.

Miā kōrōn bārī kōnkīng dān. Dō shānī, itai hējā bātēkēn māndi-wēnēj, Ābā, mālā ātā ingyā dāūbā dī īngkēn ilē. Dīj hējā māl kātīngkē. Ghōnōch dīn dā dūntē shānī kōn shābōkā gōlākē, dō kālāngkā dēshōn ōlēn. Dō dēn hējā māl būrā chāltēn bīdkē. Dō dīj shābō pār shīākē-gātēn dī dēshōn kād kāl bōchōēn, dō dījēn kāmtiyū ēndāēn. Dō dī dēshō miā t̄hārītaijā mērān dīj mīlātīngyū ōlēn; dō dīj hējā khītīn sūkārīkūkēn gūgūpī āntīn dījkēn kulkēnēj. Dō sūkārīkū jūjum dān dī sālītēn dīj lājō bibī tākū dān; dō dījkēn yē kā iwēj bāng dān. Dīj ūsārēn mākhan dīj mhēnēn, Įngyā ābā mērā chōtō bhāgiyākūkēn kē ātā ghātāūbā, dō sārāēyū ētō ghātāūbā, dō īng rāngējā mār gūjū lāpkēn! Įng bīdbā, dō ābā mērān shēnēbā, dō dījkēn māndiwējā, Ābā, āgāsō sāmman, dō āmā sāmman īng pāpō dākē. Dō sūtūkēn āmā kōn māndiyū lēkān īng bāng ū: īngkēn āmā miā bhāgiyā lēkān dōkīng. Dō dīj bīdjēn, dō bātē mērān kēēn. Mēlīn dīj kādīlīn dān, dī khēndōn dījā bātē dījkēn dōkēnēj; dō lirābārāēn, dō sārūbjēn. dō dīja kōīrīn gātīēn, dō tōtō ilē. Dō kōntē dījkān māndiwēnēj, Ābā, īng āgāsō sāmman dō āmēn dūgūgēn pāpē dākē, dō āmā kōntē māndiyū lēkān īng sūtūkēn bāng ū. Mētīn bātē hēja bhāgiyākūkēn māndiwēkū, Āwāltēn āwāl lijā sālī, dō dījkēn ūgūrki, dō dīja tīn mūndī ūrīki, dō dījā nāngān kaurē ūrīki. Dō ābūng jūjum, dō aiyākū: inī ingyā kōn gōēn dān, dō ētā jītāēn; dīj ādjēn dān, dō ghātāēn. Dō dikū aiyāū lāpkēn.

Mētīn dījā kādkōn khītīnēj dān: dō dīj hējē lāpkēn, dō ūrā mērān hādīrū lāpkēn, dī khēndōn dīj bājā sādī dō chūsūn ānjūmkē. Dō bhāgiyākū mīkōrkēn dīj konyēnēj, dō kōkōmarāēn, Įnī māndī chōi? Dō dīj dījkēn māndiwēnēj, Āmā bōkōtē hēēn; dō dīj āwālsājāten ghātāēn, inī lāgin āmā bātē bhānā ikē. Dō dīj khījūēn, dō tālān shēnē tākū dūn dān. Įnī bērē dījā bātē dārūmēn hēēn, dō dījkēn bīntikēnēj. Dō dīj māndī irādōnē bātēkēn māndiwēnēj, Dōgē, ētō ōrōsōtēn āmā kāmō īng dāē lāpkēn, dō āmā hūkūm īng tōnē kā khēndōn dēj dūn; mētīn ingyā kībīlikū gēlēn īng aiyāū lāgin ām īngkēn miā shīrī kōnkēn tai i dūn. Mētīn būtānīkū gēlēn āmā māl jōfēn inī āmā kōn hēēn, dī kā khēndōn ām dījā āntīn bhānā ikē. Dō dīj dījkēn māndiwēnēj, kōn, ām shābōkā dīn īng gēlēn pēriākū lāpkēn, dō ingyā shābōkā āmā kā. Aiyāū dō āriyū āwāl dān, āmā bōkōtē gōēn dān, dō ētā jītāēn; dō ādjēn dān, dō ghātāēn.

Notes on the Vernacular dialects spoken in the District of Sāran.—By
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by G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.]

[Read July, 1897.]

The political boundaries of the District Sāran are:—

North.—The sub-division of Bētiā in the District Campāran and parganā Sidhwā Jobnāhā in Paraunā Tahsīl of District Gōrakhpur.

South.—Parganā Sikandarpur and parganā Kharid of Baliā which is now a separate District having been detached from Ghāzipur and Azamgarh; parganās Ārā and Bārahgāō of District Shāhābād and Dinapur and Bankipur side of District Patna.

East.—The sub-division of Mōtīhārī in District Campāran; the sub-divisions of Muzaffarpur and Hājipur in District Tirhut.

West.—Parganā Salēmpur Majhaurī in Deoriyā-Tahsīl in District Gōrakhpur.

Its natural boundaries are the following:—

East, the river Gaṇḍak; South, rivers Gōgrā and Ganges; North, rivers Chōṭā-Gaṇḍakī and Khanwā; West, Chōṭā-Gaṇḍakī.

Both the natural and the political boundaries of the District have influence on the various dialects spoken in it, and these dialects though differing a good deal from one another are not such as to be unintelligible to their respective speakers.

The following is a list of the Parganās of the District:—

Parganās.				Square miles.
1.	Andar	...	...	116·46
2.	Bāl	...	...	389·37
3.	Bārā	...	...	208·56
4.	Bārī	...	...	164·86
5.	Caubār	...	...	130·23
6.	Dangsi	...	...	92·20
7.	Gōā	...	...	377·62
8.	Kuārī	...	...	421·82
9.	Mājhi	...	...	48·30
10.	Makēr	...	...	118·37

Parganās.				Square miles.
11.	Maṛhal	...	...	101·73
12.	Narhan	...	...	46·73
13.	Paclak	...	...	119·74
14.	Sipāh	...	...	116·36
15.	Cirand	...	...	42·27
16.	Kasmar	...	...	116·
17.	Manēr	...	...	2·

If we take the internal boundary of the District we find it is bounded on the north by parganās Kuārī and Sipāh; the south, Andar, Narhan, Kasmar and Cirand; the east, Dangsi, Maṛhal and Makēr; the west, Caubār and Paclak.

On a close observation it will appear that the conterminous parganās of the neighbouring districts speak a hybrid tongue, each adopting some of the vocabulary of their neighbouring parganās; and differing a great deal, say eight to twelve annas, from the language spoken in the district proper or in the head-quarters. Travelling from the north, for instance, we come across the *Khanwāpārī bōlī* of Māṛar Ṭappā, which is an admixture of three dialects:—1. The Nawāpārī dialect of parganā Salēmpur Majhauī. 2. The Jobnāhā dialect of parganā Sidhwā Jobnāhā. 3. The Kuārīhā dialect of parganā Kalyānpur Kuārī in district Sāran. Of these the two first differ from each other by so much as eight annas, although the two parganās are conterminous; and though situated in the same district of Gōrakhpur, their difference from the Gōrakhpurī language is still greater. Hence it is not right to call any of these three parganā dialects by the general provincial name of Kanaujiā or Gōrakhpurī.

Although these different parganā dialects prevalent in the district, have not been given any specific names, they are differentiated from each other either (1) by the parganā or Ṭappā names such as Kuārīhā, Jobnāhā and Nawāpārī, or (2) by the name of the rivers which separate them, in the same sense as 'cis' and 'trans' are used in English. For an instance the people of Baliā district will call the dialect on the other side of the river *Dēwhāpārī bōlī* and *vice versā*.

The differences in the various dialects can be best classified under the following heads:—

- (a) Difference in affixes (verbal nominal or pronominal).
- (b) Difference in substantive.
- (c) Difference in indeclinables and phrases.
- (d) Difference in pronouns.

Commencing from the north we find the small rivulet Khanwā dividing the parganā of Kalyānpur Kuārī, the northern portion of the

district, into two parts flowing between the two Ṭappās, Māṛar and Bhōrē. A Khanwāpārī or trans-Khanwā dialect differs from the cis-Khanwā or Kuārīhā dialect by some four annas, and more than eight annas from the dialects of the neighbouring parganās of Salēmpur Majhauī and Sidhwā Jobnāhā in the Gōrakhpur district. The dialects of parganā Salēmpur Majhauī and parganā Sidhwā Jobnāhā differ from each other by eight annas, although the two parganās are conterminous. The annexed comparative statement A of these northern dialects will clearly show that three different dialects are spoken in the north of the district, *viz.* ; (a) The Khanwāpārī bōlī, influenced by the dialects of two parganās of Gōrakhpur ; (b) The Kuārīhā dialect ; (c) The dialect on the eastern boundary of Sīpāh, influenced by the dialects of the conterminous parganās in Campāran.

From north we travel towards the west into the parganā of Caubār and Paclak. The parganā in the district conterminous to these is parganā Salēmpur Majhauī, the dialect of which has been recorded in statement A. Looking at the list B, showing the dialect of Paclak and Caubār we find that the dialect in the west of Sāran is an admixture of Kuārīhā dialect of Sāran and Nawāpārī and Jobnāhā dialects of Gōrakhpur.

From the west we proceed to the south which for convenience's sake we divide into three blocks, passing through (1.) the parganās of Andar, a portion of Caubār, Narhan ; (2.) Mājhi, Bāl ; (3.) Kasmar and Cirand. The districts conterminous to these are (1.) Baliā ; (2.) Shāhābād ; (3.) Patna respectively.

The corresponding parganās of Andar, southern Caubār and Narhan are Sikandarpur and Kharīd in Zila Baliā on the trans-Gōgrā side, and the dialects of the parganās of the two districts are therefore differentiated from each other by the *Dēwhāpārī bōlī*. The annexed comparative statement C will show their difference and affinity.

Proceeding on, we come to the parganās of Mājhi and Bāl, the corresponding parganās of which on the trans-Gōgrā side are parganās Ārā and Bārahgāō in district Shāhābād. Statement C will show their difference and affinity.

The bordering parganās of Shāhābād do not speak the strict Bhōjpurī bōlī which runs फलाना जात वडुंये or आवत वडुंये, उ पटनासे आवत बाटे, and not as given in the statement. We then come to the extreme corner of the district in parganās Kasmar and Cirand. The corresponding trans-Gangetic parganās of which are Manēr and Phulwārī in Patna District. The sub-joined comparative statement C will show their dialectical difference and affinity. From the south we proceed up to the east into the parganās of Dangsi, Maṛhal, Makēr. The comparative statement D will exhibit their kinship.

Having finished the principal parganā dialects prevalent in the district, I now come to racial and tribal dialectical differences. The professions of barber, oilman (तेली), the washerman (धोबी), the milkman (अहीर), carpenter (बढ़ई), are followed by Hindus and Muḥammadans alike, forming themselves into a separate caste. The Muḥammadan milkman is called गद्दी (Gaddī) and Muḥammadan Baniyā रांकी (Rāṅkī). The Hindī spoken by the Muḥammadans is different from that spoken by the Hindus having an admixture of Urdū, as statement E will show.

Of the aboriginal tribes the *Maghaiwā Dōms*, the *Naṭuās* and *Siarmarwās* (jackal hunter), (but not the Musahars who speak Hindī just in the same way as other Hindus) use a distinct dialect of their own in conversation among themselves, and these dialects are quite unintelligible to others. Appendices F, G & H are specimens of their language.

As it may be interesting to give a short account of these tribes, I take the liberty to deviate a little from my subject. The Bengal Police Code speaking of *Maghaiwā Dōms* says: "The *Maghaiwā* of Campāran and Sāran are inveterate wanderers and thieves. They build neither villages nor huts, but shelter themselves under *sirkīs*, bushes, and blankets, moving from place to place in search of plunder. They extend their operations into Nepal. They enter houses at night (not by a mine) by the door and carry no light. They are armed with knives which they freely use. Sometimes they strap them to their fore-arms, so that the blade projects at the elbows. When attempts are made to arrest them they become dangerous and resist strenuously, wounding themselves or threatening to dash a child to the ground, so as to deter the Police from acting. They occasionally use as accomplices, the bad characters of the locality in which they are working. They are feared and detested by the people; but some of the less respectable land-holders permit them to squat and share their plunder."

Naṭuās:—A low born type of Muḥammadans who allow their daughters to be professional prostitutes, but not their daughter-in-law or wives whom they purchase when they are very young. Mr. Magrath describes them: "They are a vagabond race, seldom settling down and having as their nightly covering a small pent house of reeds commonly called a *sirkī*. They not unfrequently profess to be Muḥammadans and are said to be regularly circumcised. They are most of them hard drinkers, and resemble so much the gypsies of Europe, that it seems almost impossible not to identify the two. They have a secret language like the Gypsies besides the ordinary dialect used by them."

Siarmarwās :—A wandering tribe of robbers settled by the Government of the North-Western Provinces on the borders of Gōrakhpur. Their profession is to hunt jackals, hiding themselves in ambush and imitating their yells which makes the whole pack around come near the hunters yelling. They eat their flesh and prepare an oily substance from their fat and extract from them a substance called “*Siār Singhī*” which is used as a charm amulet for fever and ague. They are sometimes found wandering in Sāran, like the *Maghaiwā Dōms* or other tribes following a nomadic life.

I now conclude my note by one more dialectical difference. There are certain words, phrases and idioms peculiar to the fair sex and never used by males, as will be seen from the following examples :—

NOUNS.			
	Males.		Females.
1. Cloth worn round the waist and between the legs ...	धोति		लूगा
2. Eatable vegetables ...	तरकारि		तियना
3. Son ...	बेटा		बेटवा
4. Daughter ...	बेटौ		बोटिया
5. Forehead ...	कपार		लिलार
6. Maid servant ...	लउंडी		कमहिया
7. Plastered consecrated ground for keeping cooked food ...	चौका		ठहर
8. Husband ...	सरद		भतार
9. Complaint ...	नालीस		ओरहन
PRONOUNS.			
10. My or mine ...	हमरा		मोर or मोरा
11. Yours or your...	तोहरा		तोर or तोरा

(a) आँहि दावो, (b) दुर तोर भला होखो, (c) माईरे हे, and abusive languages such as (d) लड़ापुता, (e) गुखौका, (f) पगरी जारों, (g) करिखइ हंडिया मारों are phrases used exclusively by females. The peasants call the breeding bull with a peculiar sound “*हेहाहाहो* (Hē Hā Hā Hō)” and, as obedient as a dog to his master’s whistle, the bull comes running from a distance to cover the cow.

(a) Very strange. (b) Away, be good to thee (an exclamation when any improper action is done). (c) O mother. (d) An abbreviation of an indecent abuse. (e) Eater of ordure. (f) I burn your turban. (g) I beat you with black cooking-pot.

FORM A.

Comparative Statement of the Northern dialects of Sāran and contiguous parganās of other Districts.

(a) DIFFERENCE IN SUFFIXES.

SĀRAN.			GĒRAKHPUR.		CAMPĀRAN.		REMARKS.
	Khanwāpārī Bōlī of Mārar Tappā (Trans-Khanwā.)	Kuārihā Bōlī (Cis- Khanwā.)	Sipāh Bōlī.	Nawāpārī Bōlī of Salēmpur Majhāulī.	Jobnāhā Bōlī of Sidhwā Jobnāhā.	Parg. Majhā- ulwā Bōlī of Tappā Sannau- wal in Mōtihā- ri subdivision.	
(a) Is dinner ready? Yes.	(a) रसोइ तैयार वाटे? वाटे ।	(a) रसोइ तैयार भेल वा? भेल वा ।		(a) रसोइ तैयार है? तैयार है ।	(a) रसोइ तैयार भेल? भेल ।		
(b) Four ploughs are being employed in my field.	(b) हमारे खेतमें चार-हर चलत वाटे ।	(b) हमारे खेतमें चार हर चलता ।	(b) हमारा खेत में चार गो-हर वहता ।	(b) हमारे खेतमें चार हर चलत वाटे ।	(b) हमारे खेतमें चार हर चलताटे ।	(b) हमारा खेत में चार हर वहता ।	
(c) Breaking thro' the demarcation-line of my field (he made a water course) to water his field. I re-monstrated, but he did not listen.	(c) खेतके डराड़ तुरकर पानि पटावे वास्ते खेग ले हम मना किलिं ना मानले ।	(c) खेतके डंडार तुरकर पानि पटावे वास्ते खेग लेह हम मने किलिहं न मनलेह ।		(c) खेतके मेड़ तोड़कर पानि पटावे वास्ते ले गेल हम मना किलिं नाहि मानल ।	(c) खेतके डंडार तुरकर पानि पटावे वास्ते खेग लेह हम मना किलिं ना मानल ।		

FORM A.—(Continued.)

Comparative Statement of the Northern dialects of Sāran and conterminous parganās of other Districts.

(a) DIFFERENCE IN SUFFIXES.

SĀRAN.					GŌRAKHPUR.		CAMPĀRAN.	
	Khanwāpārī Bōlī of Mārār Ṭappā (Trans-Khanwā.)	Kuāṛihā Bōlī (Cis- Khanwā.)	Sipāh Bōlī.	Nawāpārī Bōlī of Salēmpur Majbāulī.	Jobnāhā Bōlī of Sidhwā Jobnāhā.	Parg. Majbā- nwa Bōlī of Ṭappā Sanau- wal in Mōṭihā- ti subdivision		REMARKS.
(d) The marriage of the son of such and such a person has taken place with the daughter of such and such a person.	(d) फलाने के लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैलह ।	(d) फलाने के लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैलह ।		(d) फलाने का लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैलह ।	(d) फलाने के लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैलह ।			
(e) I am going to my village.	(e) हम गाँवे जातवाटि । हम गाँवे जातवाणि ।	(e) हम गाँवे जातवाणि ।	(e) हम गाँवे जातवाणि । हम गाँवे जातानि ।	(e) हम गाँवे जात- वाटि । हम गाँवे जातवाणि ।	(e) हम गाँवे जातानि ।	(e) हम गाँवे जातवाणि । हम गाँवे जातानि ।		

(b) DIFFERENCE IN SUBSTANTIVES.

Khanwāpārī.	Kuārihā.	Sipāhī.	Nawāpārī.	Jobnāhā.	Majhauwā.	REMARKS.
(a) डेंकुल	(a) डेंकुल	(a) ढंकि	(a) डेंकुल	(a) ढंकि	(a) ढंकि	
(b) डगर and पैड़ा	(b) डगर and रखा but not पैड़ा		(b) राद्ध	(b) डगर		
(c) सकइ	(c) सकइ		(c) जनेरा	(c) सकइ		
(d) घड़ा } गगरि } घेला }	(d) गगरि } घेलि }		(d) गगरि	(d) घेलि		
(e) छिपा	(e) थरिया } छिपा }		(e) थरिया	(e) छिपा		
(f) वंगुरि	(f) वंगुरि (g) धनकुटि (h) वाध } वाधि }	(f) वंगुरि (g) ओखर (h) रसरि } जेवर }	(f) वन्दिया and not वंगुरि	(f) वंगुरि	(f) वंगुरि (g) ओखर (h) रसरि; जेवर; (i) दामाद	
(j) जुता	(i) कुटुम (j) जुता	(i) दामाद (j) जुता	(j) पनहि			

(a) Bamboo lever for raising water from well. (b) Road. (c) Maize; Indian corn. (d) Water jar. (e) Plate. (f) Bracelet.
(g) Wooden instrument for breaking corn. (h) String, cord. (i) Son-in-law. (j) Shoes.

FORM A.—(Continued.)

	Khanwāpārī.	Kuārīhā.	Sipāhī.	Nawāpārī.	Jobnāhā.	Majhauwā.	REMARKS.
	(k) कैंटि (l) लाठी (m) गोजी (n) डंटा	(k) कैंटि (l) लाठी (m) गोजि (n) डंटा	(k) कैंटि (l) लाठी (m) गोजि (n) डंटा	(k) खाँचि (l) लौर (m) लकड़ा (n) डेंगा			
(c) DIFFERENCE IN PRONOUNS.							
(a) Respectful form of "you."	(a) रौबां	(a) रौरां	(a) रौरा (not the usual sound).	(a) रौरा	(a) रौबां	(a) रौरा	
(b) Undignified form of "your."	(b) तुंछके	(b) तोछके	(b) तोछराके	(b) तुंछके	(b) तोछराके	(b) तोछराके	
(d) DIFFERENCE IN INDECLINABLES.							
Come here.	(a) इधर आव or एहर आव	(a) हेने आव	(a) एने आव	(a) एहर आव	(a) हे आव	(a) एने आव	
Afternoon.	(b) उपरि बेरा or तिसरे पहर	(b) उपरि बेरा and तिसरे पहर	(b) सिपहरि	(b) तिसरे पहर	(b) उपरि बेरा	(b) सिपहरि तिपहरि	

(k) Basket. (l) Big bamboo stick. (m) A long slender stick. (n) A small thick stick.

FORM B.

WESTERN DIALECT.

List showing the dialect of Paclak and Caubār Parganā.

(a) <i>Difference in Suffixes.</i>	(d) <i>In Indeclinables.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
<p>(a) रसोइ तैयार है? तैयार है।</p> <p>(b) हमरे खेत में चार हर चलत वा or वहत वा।</p> <p>(c) खेतके मेड़ तुरकर पानि पटावे वास्ते लेजैलेह नाहि मनले।</p> <p>(d) फलाने का लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैल है।</p> <p>(e) हम गांवे जातानि and not वाटिं or वाणि।</p>	<p>(a) एहर आव and एमे आव</p> <p>(b) उपरिवेरा and तिजहरिया</p>	(Vide English translation in form A.)
(b) <i>Difference in Substantives.</i>		
<p>(a) डेंकुल</p> <p>(b) राह and डगर both</p> <p>(c) सकइ and not जनेरा</p> <p>(d) गगरि घेलि</p> <p>(e) थरिया बिपा</p> <p>(f) वगुरि and not बन्दिया</p> <p>(j) जुता and पनहि both</p> <p>(k) बैटि and खेंचा</p> <p>(l) लौर and लाठी both</p> <p>(m) गोजि</p> <p>(n) डंटा and ठेंगा both</p>		
(c) <i>In Pronouns.</i>		
<p>(a) रौरा</p> <p>(b) तोहराके</p>		

FORM C.

SOUTHERN DIALECTS.

Comparative Statement showing the dialects in Southern Parganās of Sāran and those of the trans-Gōgrā and trans-Gangetic Districts.

Andar, a portion of Caubār and Narhan in Sāran.	Zilla Baliā, Parganā Sikan-darpur and Kharid.	Mājhi and Bāl in Sāran.	District Shāhābād, Parganās Ārā and Bārahgāō.	Kasmar and Cirand in Sāran.	District Patna, Parganās Manār and Phulwāri.	REMARKS.
(a) DIFFERENCE IN SUFFIXES.						
(a) रसोइ तैयार भै- लवा ।	(a) रसोइ तैयार भैल- वाटे	(a) रसोइ तैयार भै- लवा	(a) रसोइ तैयार भै- लवा	(a) रसोइ तैयार भै- लवा	(a) रसोइ तैयार भै- लवा	Vide English translation in form A.
(b) हमरा खेत में चा- र घर चलत वा and not वहत वा ।	(b) हमरा खेत में चा- र घर चलत वाटे ।	(b) हमरा खेत में चा- र घर चलत वा or वहत वा or नधा- इलवा ।	The same.		(b) हमरा खेत में चा- र घर चलत वा र वहत वहत है	
(c) खेत के डंडार प- तुरके पानि प- ठावे वासे लैगे लह नाहि मनले ।	(c) खेत के डार काट- कर के पानि से- चने वासे लैगे ल- हनाहि मनले ।	(c) खेत के डंडार तु- रके पानि पठावे खातिर लैगे लेह (respectful) लैगे लह (low caste) मना कैलिना मनले	(c) खेत के चार तुरके पानि पठावे ख- तिर लैगे लेह म- ना कैलि नाहि मानले	(c) खेत के डंडर तुड़- कर पानि पठावे खातिर लैगे लनह हम मना कैलिह ने मन लनह	(c) खेत के कैयारि काट कर पानि पठावे खातिर लैगे लन हम मना कैलिह ने मन लनह	

(d) फलाने के लड़का का वियाह फ- लाने के लड़की के साथ भेलह ।	The same.	(d) फलाना का ल- ड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भएलह	The same.
(e) हम गाँवे जातानि and not वानि ।	(e) हम गाँवे जात- वानि & also वानि	(e) हम गाँवे जातहंइ	(e) हम गाँव जातहंइ

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(b) DIFFERENCE IN SUBSTANTIVES.

(a) देकुल	(a) देकुल	(a) देकि	(a) लाठा
(b) रास्ना (not राह or जनेरा	(b) रास्ना, डगर, केडर	(b) रास्ना, डगर	(b) राह, रास्ना
(c) जनेरा	(c) जनेरा	(c) मकइ	(c) मकइ
(d) गगरि घेलो } both.	(d) घला गगरि	(d) घैला गगरि	(d) The same.
(e) थरिया; बिपा	(e) बिपा; थरिया	(e) बिपा; थरिया	(e) थरिया
(f) वंगुरि	(f) वंगुरि		
(g) जुता	(g) जुता; पनहि	(g) जुता	(g) जुता
(h) खाँचि	(h) खाँचि	(h) कैँटि	(h) दौरि
(l) लाठी; लौर	(l) लाठी; not लौर	(l) लाठी	(l) लाठी

Comparative Statement showing the dialects in Southern Parganās of Sāran and those of the trans-Gōgrā and trans-Gangetic Districts.--(Continued.)

Āndar, a por- tion of Caubār and Narhan in Sāran.	Zilla Baliā, Parganā Sikan- derpur and Kharīd.	Mājhi and Bāl in Sāran.	District Shāhā- bād, Parganās Ārā and Bārahgāō.	Kasmar and Cirand in Sāran.	District Patna, Parganās Manār and Phulwāri.	REMARKS.
(m) कड़ि ; not गोजि	(m) कड़ि ; not गोजि	(m) कड़ि ; गोजि	(m) कड़ि ; गोजि	(m) कड़ि	(m) कड़ि	Vide English transla- tion in form A.
(n) डंटा	(n) डेंगा	(n) डंटा	(n) डंटा	(n) डंटा	(n) डंटा	
(c) DIFFERENCE IN PRONOUNS.						
(a) रौरा	(a) रौरा	(a) रौरा	(a) The same.	(a) रौरा	(a) अपने	
रौरां		अपने का				
(b) तोहरा	(b) तोहरा	(b) तोहरा	(b) The same.	(b) तोहरा	(b) तुम्हरा	
(d) DIFFERENCE IN INDECLINABLES.						
(a) एन्ने आव	(a) एन्ने आव	(a) एन्ने आव	(a) एन्ने आव	(a) इंचा आव	(a) The same.	
(b) डपरिवेरा	(b) तिसरे पहर	(b) सिसपहर उपरिवेरा	(b) ओवेरा.	(b) ओवेरा	(b) सिसपहर	

FORM D.

EASTERN DIALECT.

Comparative Statement of the dialect of Dangsi, &c., in Sāran and Parganā Rattī in Muzaffarpur and Parganā Majhauwā in Campāran.

Parganā Dangsi, &c., in Sāran.	Parganā Rattī in Muzaffarpur.	Parganā Majhauwā in Campāran.	—
(a) DIFFERENCE IN SUFFIXES.			
(a) रसोइ तैयार है or वा ।	(a) रसोइ तैयार है or वा ।		
(b) हमरा (not हमरे or हमार) खेतमें चार हर चलत वा or चलता ।	(b) हमरा (not हमरे or हमार) खेतमें चार हर चलत वा or चलता ।		
(c) खेतके डंडार तुरके पानि पटावे खातिर लेगैलेह नाहि मान- लेहा ।	(c) खेतके डंडार तुर- कर पानि पटावे ला लेगैलनह ने मनले ।		
(d) फलानेके लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैलहा ।	(d) फलाने के लड़का का वियाह फलाने के लड़की से भैलह ।	Vide form A.	Vide English translation in form A.
(e) हम गांवे जातवानि or जातानि ।	(e) हम गांवे जातांड़ि ।		
(b) DIFFERENCE IN SUBSTANTIVES.			
(a) ढंकि; ढंकुल	(a) ढंकि		
(j) जुता; पनहि	(j) जुता		
(k) बैंठि not खांचि	(k) बैंठि		
(l) लाठी not लौर	(l) The same.		

Parganā Dangsi, &c., in Sāran.	Parganā Ratti in Muzaffarpur.	Parganā Majhauwā in Champāran.	—
(c) DIFFERENCE IN PRONOUNS.		Vide form A.	
(a) रौरा } रौया }	(a) The same.		
(b) तोहरा	(b) The same.		
(d) DIFFERENCE IN INDECLINABLES.			
(a) एन्ने आव	(a) The same.		
(b) सिपहर } उपरिवेरा } तिपहरिया }	(b) The same.		

FORM E.

Specimen showing the difference in the dialects of Hindus and Muḥammadans having the same professional callings.

ENGLISH.	MUHAMMADANS.	HINDUS.
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(a) DIFFERENCE IN SUFFIXES.

(a) I am going for a certain work.	(a) हम फलाना काम के वास्ते जाते हैं ।	(a) हम फलाना काम के वास्ते जातवानि ।
(b) You are going to Mirganj; tell this or that man my news.	(b) तुम मीरगंज जाते हो फलाना को हमारा सम्वाद कह देना ।	(b) तुं मीरगंज जाताड़ हमार हाल फलाना से कह दिह ।
(c) Don't abuse me; curb your mouth (tongue).	(c) हमको गालि मत दिजीये मुह समारके बोलिये ।	(c) रौरा गारि मत दिं मु समारके बोलिं ।

(b) DIFFERENCE IN SUBSTANTIVES.

(a) Razor.	(a) अस्तरा	(a) कुरा
(b) Spade.	(b) कुदाल or कुदालि	(b) कुदार or कुदारि
(c) Milk-pot with a spout.	(c) बधना	(c) करवा

FORM F.

Specimen of dialect of the Magahiwa Dōms, obtained from Ravilganj, Caprā.

Original Hindī.	What they speak with others.	What they speak among themselves.	English Translation.
(a) हमारा बयल उसके खेत पर गया है ।	(a) हमर बरच वोकर खेत खइलस ह ।	(a) हमर बयल खेत खंदआ टिकुनस हवे ।	(a) My cattle (or bullock) has trespassed into his field.
(b) हमारी जौर से उसके बेटे से मारपीट हुआ है ।	(b) हमर मेहर से वोकर येठा भग्रा कइलस ह ।	(b) हमर भौतीन् से वोकर चेठा भग्रा कहलस हवे ।	(b) There was a fight between my wife and your son.
(c) हमारे खेत में आज दो हल चल रहा है ।	(c) हमर खेत में आज दोगो हर चलत् वाए ।	(c) अमर खेत खइआ मइ दोलैल गो हर चलत् हवे ।	(c) Two ploughs are being plied in my field to-day.
(d) उसका डांडार तोड़कर पानी पटवा लीआ ।	(d) वोकर खेत के डार तुड़ के पानी पटावल गइल हवे ।	(d) वोकर खेत खंदआ के डरेर तुड़ देलन नेवारी चटा लेलस ।	(d) Breaking through his demarcation-line he watered (his field).

FORM F.—(Continued.)

Specimen of dialect of the Maghāiwa Dōms, obtained from Ravilganj, Caprā.

Original Hindi.	What they speak with others.	What they speak among themselves.	English Translation.
(e) कल रात तीन घड़ी रहते हमारे घर में पुलिस का जमादार आया वो हमसे कहा के तुम हमके दस रुपैया रिश्वत देव नहीँ तो चोरी के इलत में तुमहे को बंधवा देगे हम इनकार किया तब हमको वो हमारे लड़के को पकड़कर मारपीट किया और हमारे गोबर घड़ी बीछा फेंकवा दिया और मकान का फूस उजड़वा दिया ।	(e) बीहन हीछा रात तीन घड़ी वाकी रहल व हमर घर में याना के जम्दार अइले हमरा से कहले के तु हमरा के दसगो रुपैया द नाही व तोहरा के चोरी के अबरंग लगाएव त तुं वन्हा जइव हम कहली की ना रतैया वाट न देव तब हमरा के वो हमर लड़का के पकड़ लीएलए वो मारे लगाले हमर गोबर टैंची बीछा सब बीगवा कीहले वो घर के बान उजड़वा दीहले ।	(e) अलुआद बीरात् तोलेल् घड़ी बीरात् खंदआ बील् वेला घर खंदआ नीपाही बड़का मोखार् वरशो आइल् हमर से लोवा दसगो घुमिआं देशोह कोड़ देशो ना देवो मौना देवो हमर् भा नइखे जाइ अपने मन में आवो शो करं न हमरे चुक्का के चकड़ ठसावे लगल् हमर गोबर पर टैंची चौआ बीगया देशी हमर घर खंदआ के कपर उजाड़ देशे ।	(e) Yesterday when three hours of the night remained the head-constable of the Police entered my house and told me, "Give me a bribe of Rs. 10, else I will have you imprisoned on a charge of theft." I declined, then he beat me and my son catching hold of us and threw away my cowdung, cowdung cakes and seeds, and dismantled the thatch of my house.

FORM G.

Specimen of Siarnarwā dialect obtained from Gōrakhpur.

REMARKS.	
Vide English translation in form E.	

FORM H.

Specimen of Naṭuā Dialect obtained at Hatwā.

HINDĪ.	NAṬUĀ DIALECT.
(a) हमारा बैल उस के खेत पर गया है ।	(a) भमार नागल नेथल वैथ गया ।
(b) हमारी जोर से आप के बेटे से मारपीट हुआ है ।	(b) भमार खेउटी के भाप के लोला से टिपाओ ऊया ।
(c) हमारे खेत में आज दो हल चल रहा है ।	(c) भमार नेथल में आज दोहल चल रहा है ।
(d) उसका डारा तोड़कर पानी पटाव लीया ।	(d) उसका चिवान नौथ को नेवानि निखड़ आया ।

Specimen form of petition.

कोरात तिन घड़ी रहते भमार घर में थान किला आया । भम से नोकावल दश तिहा घुस देव भहींतो गैमी भिलमत में चोन्हवा देंगे । भमन हि टिक लेंगे । तब भम के भमार लोला के ठीका के टिपाओ किया । और भमारे जोवर बैंटी विया फंकवा दिया और मकान का फुश उजड़वा दिया ॥

(*Vide* the Hindī form and English translations of this petition in form F. (e); the dialect of the Maghāiwā Dōms.)

Three further Collections of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia.—By
A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., PH.D.

(With Plates VII—XXX.)

[Read August, 1897.]

Since the publication in this *Journal*¹ in 1893 of my account of the Weber Manuscripts, three further collections of Central Asian Manuscripts have been placed in my hands by the Foreign Department of the Government of India. I received them in April 1895, November 1895, and December 1896, respectively.

I. FRAGMENTS. (Plate VII.)

The first of the three collections consists of mere scraps of manuscripts. A preliminary account of these was published by me in the *Proceedings* of this Society for May 1895 (pages 84, 85). They had been presented to Mr. Macartney, the British Agent in Kashgar by the Manager of the Chinese Foreign Commerce in that town. Mr. Macartney sent them to Sir A. Talbot, K.C.I.E., the British Resident in Kaçmîr, who forwarded them to the Foreign Office in Simla, which made them over to me. In the same way, I may here add, the other two collections of manuscripts have come into my hands.

The Foreign Office letter, of the 28th March, 1895, forwarding to me the fragments, simply stated that they had been dug out in Kuchar. On my request for further particulars, Mr. Macartney very kindly forwarded to me "the translation of a letter received in Kashgar on the 7th December, 1894, from Lew, Amban of Kuchar, to Tsing, Manager of the Foreign Commerce Office in Kashgar." This letter, he added, contained all the information he was able to afford with reference to my request. The letter runs as follows:—

"I have received your letter, desiring me to enquire whether there are any sacred Tibetan Manuscripts in the family of Timur Beg. I lost no time in summoning him. He stated that he had no such manuscripts, but that some people had, several years ago,

¹ See *ante*, Vol. LXII, p. 1 ff.

dug some out from a big mound situated at the west of the city [Kuchar], and almost 5 *li* [slightly over a mile] from it, and that as this took place a long time ago, the documents had now either been sold or burnt. I also went in person to make an inspection of the mound which was about 10 *chang* [approximately 100 feet] in height and of about the same dimension in circumference. As people had already been digging there, a cavity was seen, which, however, had fallen in. I hired 25 men to dig under proper supervision. After two months' work, they only dug out a parcel of torn paper and torn leaves with writing on them. I now forward this to you. If afterwards I discover any person possessing such manuscripts I shall again communicate with you."

The locality of the find, indicated in this letter, as I shall show further on (*infra*, p. 240), appears to be the same as that from which the Bower MSS. and the Weber MSS. have been recovered.

Specimens of the fragments, which constitute this collection, are shown on Plate VII in full size. It will be seen that they are the merest scraps of manuscripts. There is none among them of any larger size than the largest shown in the plate. Of course, the most legible specimens have been selected for exhibition, though even among them there are some which are only legible with the greatest difficulty. But their interest lies not so much in what they contain, as in the various types of character in which, and the material, on which they are written.

The material of the fragments is of three different kinds: palm-leaf, birch-bark, and paper. The fragments of palm-leaf are shown under No. I: they are all that were found in the collection. Those of birch-bark are shown under No. II: there are four more which have not been figured. The whole of the remainder are scraps of paper. It will be noticed that the paper is of several very distinct varieties, from a very brown and hard (No. IX) to a very white and soft (No. XII) kind. The latter, like the paper of some of the Weber MSS., is coated with a thick sizing of gypsum.

The following is a summary of the collection:—

No.	I, palm-leaf,	9 pieces.
„	II, birch-bark,	13 „
„	III, paper,	12 „
„	IV, do.	1 „
„	V, VI, do.	8 „
„	VII, do.	10 „
„	VIII, do.	2 „
„	IX, do.	25 „

No.	X, paper	20 pieces.
„	XI, do.	36 „
„	XII, do.	9 „

Total 145 pieces

Quite irrespective of the material, these fragments are inscribed with two quite distinct types of Brāhmī character, *viz.*, Northern Indian (Gupta) and what I have called in my paper on the Weber MSS.² Central Asian. To the former division belong Nos. I, II, III (with the exception of piece No. IIIc), V, VI, VII, VIII (probably), and XI. Of these No. I is of palm-leaf, No. II of birch-bark, and the others of paper. To the Central Asian division belong Nos. IV, IX, X and XII. The best test-letters for distinguishing the North-Indian from the Central Asian are the superscribed vowels \bar{e} and ai . These, in the Central Asian, are made in the form of an almost perpendicular stroke with a slight top-curvature to the right,³ while for the short vowel i the same form is used which the North-Indian uses for \bar{e} . Hence what is \bar{e} in the North-Indian, is i in the Central Asian. Regarding the time when these Central Asian forms of \bar{e} and ai originated, I may offer the following suggestions. In the Northern Indian Gupta, at a certain time, the tendency shows itself, to give to the usual superscribed curve of \bar{e} a serpentine form. This form may be seen on one of the Godfrey MSS., on Plate VIII, leaf 11, reverse, line 3, in the word *manasē*, while the usual form occurs just below in *ghōṣē*. Now by straightening the serpentine line, but preserving the upward curve, at the left end, the Central Asian form of \bar{e} is produced. The serpentine line was a mere artistic fancy in vogue at a certain time, but I believe it eventually led to the evolution of the Central Asian forms of \bar{e} and ai . A look at Professor Bühler's Table IV (column XII–XIX) in his *Indian Palæography*⁴ shows that the period during which the fashion of writing the serpentine forms of \bar{e} , ai , \bar{o} , au prevailed in Northern India with regard to engraved documents was the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. For manuscripts the fashion must have commenced much earlier. Manuscripts, therefore, showing that fashion cannot be well dated later than the 6th century A.D., and may be placed the earlier, the more sporadic the observance of the fashion shows itself. To that period, say the fourth or fifth century A.D., may be referred the evolution of the Central Asian forms of medial \bar{e} and ai . See also the remarks, *infra*, p. 257.

² See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.*, Vol. LXII, page 4.

³ The same is the case, of course, with the superscribed vowels \bar{o} and au ; only with them, from the nature of the case, the distinction is not so clearly marked.

⁴ In the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*.

An equally good test-letter is the akṣara *ma*. The Central Asian form of it is made in two distinct divisions: an open square (like the ordinary Brāhmī *pa*) above and a horizontal line below. On the other hand the North-Indian (Gupta) form consists only of an open square, the left side of which is serpentine. The two forms can be distinctly seen and compared in IVa² (*mi* Central Asian) and VII³ (*ma* Northern Indian).⁵ It will be noticed here that the Central Asian form originated by prolonging the dent of the left perpendicular line of the North-Indian form so far as to touch its right perpendicular line.

Another minor test is the general slant of the writing in Central Asian, contrasted with the upright writing of the Northern Indian; this, however, makes itself not so apparent in single letters or words as in a whole page, where the difference of the two types of Brāhmī characters forces itself at once on one's attention. There are other minor points of difference between the two types: thus the medial long *ā*, made by a long horn-like projection or curve as in *hā* (VIIIa¹), *tā* (IXa⁴, IXc⁴), *svā* (IVa³), *yā* (III d⁵, XI b³).

A further good test is the form of *ya*, which in the Northern Indian is distinctly tridental, whence it passes, through an intermediate, into the modern square form. In the Central Asian, on the other hand, the old tridental form of *ya* gradually passes into a bi-annular form. It is particularly to be noted, as a land-mark for chronological purposes, that the Northern Indian intermediate form only existed for a comparatively short time. It first appears in engraved documents about 370 A.D., and disappears again about 540 A.D.⁶ It lasted in round numbers for (say) 200 years, and was only used in conjunction with the superscribed vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, *au*. It was clearly an attempt at producing a more convenient cursive form. It consisted in the closure of the left side of the trident, producing an irregular circlet. By the gradual broadening of this circlet, and the concurrent atrophy of the right side of the trident, the modern form of *ya* was produced. The latter is practically dominant in Northern India from (say) 600 A.D. It is curious to observe that the subscribed conjunct *ya* passed through a very similar course of evolution, though several centuries earlier than the non-conjunct *ya*. There the process occurred in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the period being also about 200 years, and there was also the same intermediate form of *ya*. An instance of the latter is given by Prof. Bühler, from the 1st century A.D., in Plate III (Column

⁵ Raised numbers indicate lines. Thus IVa² means the second line on fragment *a*, belonging to No. 4 on Plate VII.

⁶ See detailed proof in my paper on the date of the Bower MS. in *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX, pp. 83, ff.

III, line 42). The tridental form maintained itself sporadically in the 2nd century, but from the 3rd century (say, 300 A.D.) the final square form is dominant. In Central Asia a somewhat similar evolution, though in another direction, took place. Both sides of the original trident followed a tendency to close up and become irregular circlets; the left side, first; the right side, later on; till at last the whole form became a combination of two circlets. In this manner the Central Asian form of *ya* became in appearance very much like the ancient form of the numeral figure 10.

The fragments, shown on Plate VII, afford a useful means of study of the gradual evolution of the Central Asian type of the Brāhmī characters. Thus in general appearance the Central Asian piece III*d* is hardly distinguishable from the surrounding Northern Indian pieces III*a* to III*b*. But No. III*d* is known by its distinct Central Asian *i* and *ma*. Compare, for example, *ni* in III*d*⁶ with *ri* in III*f*¹; also *m* in III*d*⁶ with *mya* in III*f*². So also in general appearance the Central Asian piece, No. IV, closely resembles the Northern Indian pieces No. VII*ab*; but the former can be distinguished as Central Asian by the forms of its *ē* and *ma*. Observe, *e.g.*, *rē* in IV³; also compare *mi* in IV² with *ma* in VII*b*⁸ and *m* in VII*a*¹. By 'general appearance' I mean principally the absence of the characteristic slant; but note also the presence still of the tridental form of *ya*, *e.g.*, in *yā* III*d*⁵ and IV². Here, then, we have two examples of the beginning divergence of the Central Asian from the Northern Indian, shown in two quite distinct handwritings.

The next step of the evolution we have in No. IX. The general appearance is still upright; but note the characteristic forms of *ya* in IX*c*² and IX*f*³, which are no more tridental, the left side having been closed up into a circlet (the whole resembling the old numeral 10). Note also the characteristic forms of *ē* and *m* in *mē* IX*i*², *ma* IX*a*¹, *vē* IX*e*¹, *et passim*. A further step in advance is shown in No. X. Here the general slant is already clearly marked; compare this No. with No. VII by its side. Note also the distinctive Central Asian *ya* in X*a*², X*c*^{5,7} (exactly like the numeral 10), *ē* in *çē* X*c*⁴, *yē* X*c*⁷, *bhē* X*d*², *ā* in *tā* X*a*⁴, *m* in X*b*³. As to the form of *m*, No. X shows a curious further development in closing the top of the ordinary Central Asian form of this letter. This is the only case in which I have hitherto noticed this very peculiar form of the Central Asian *m*. On comparing this piece with Part VI of the Weber MSS. (*Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, LXII, plate II, fig. 2) it will be observed that they are both written in exactly the same handwriting: the only difference is in the form of *m*, Part VI of the Weber MSS. showing the usual Central Asian form of that

letter. The last step of the evolution is reached in No. XII, which shows all the characteristics of the Central Asian type of Brāhmī, just like Part IX of the Weber MSS. (*ibidem*, Plate III, fig. 3–5); but note especially the full biannular form of *ya* in *yā* XIIb³, also the angular form of *dha* in XIIb³.

I proceed to notice some details of this collection of fragments.

No. I. This is written on palm-leaf, in a very neat, clear, and careful hand, so that it is a pity that not more has been preserved of the manuscript. The characters are of the Northern Indian Gupta class, and their type indicates a rather early Gupta period. The letter *ya* is used in its tridental form; even the intermediate form is absent; see *yō*, *yai* in I, *h³*, *yē* in Ii³. The superscribed conjunct *r* is formed within the line, see *rda* Ih², *rtta* Ic¹. A date before 350 A.D. suggests itself. There is nothing in the fragments to indicate the size of the leaves, or the extent and contents of the work. The fragment *h*, however, shows the number 2 on its margin, which would seem to indicate it as the remnant of the second leaf.

No. II. These fragments are written on birch-bark and might be of a work of the same age as the Bower MSS. From the style of the characters they might, indeed, be fragments of that work, though there is nothing in them to indicate the nature of the work to which they may have belonged. Fragment IIc is written in a larger hand than the others, and probably belonged to a separate work.

No. III. All these fragments are written on paper. The five pieces *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f* are written in Northern Indian Gupta, while piece *d* is written in Central Asian. The latter, therefore, belonged to a work quite different from the others. But the handwriting in the pieces *a* and *b* is a little different from that in the pieces *c*, *e*, *f*; and these two sets, therefore, may have belonged to two different manuscripts, though their purport is the same: they treated of spells. Pieces *a* and *b* are still connected with the original thread; and other pieces of thread which I received together with this collection of fragments are shown in the centre of the Plate. I would place the date of the manuscript to which pieces *a* and *b* belonged early in the 5th century, contemporary with the Bower MS., on account of their showing the intermediate form of *ya* in *yō* III a.² But it must be noted that the tridental form also occurs in *yō* III c.³ The superscribed conjunct *r* is formed within the line; see *ṛṇṇī* III e¹.

No. IV. Written on thin paper, in bold and clear Central Asian of a very early type, as shown by the tridental form of *ya*, and the straight form of the medial *u* in *asuka*, line 1. Both forms point to a date not later than (say) 450 A.D. The curious appendage to the foot

of the horizontal stroke of *a*, *k*, *r* and *su* is worth noting. Its intention, of course, is to delimit that stroke.

Nos. V and VI. These two fragments, both on paper and in Northern Indian, seem to me to be the most archaic looking in the collection.

No. VII. In Northern Indian and on paper. Piece *a* shows the old numeral 3 in the third line.

No. VIII. On paper and in Northern Indian. In hardly legible condition. The large letter *lu* on piece *b* possibly indicates the numeral 30, though its position in the lower right-hand corner is not the usual one for pagination.

No. IX. On brown paper, and in Central Asian in a large, bold hand and of a somewhat later type than No. IV. Piece *d* shows a numeral figure on the margin, which I take to be 9. Piece *h* shows the numeral figure for 90 and below it that for 2.⁷ This fact shows this piece to be the remnant of the 92nd leaf of some large work of an unknown character.

No. X. On paper, and in Central Asian Nāgarī of exactly the same type as in Part VI. of the Weber MSS. The original breadth of the leaf is shown by piece *c*, which measures about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and shows that there are eight lines to the page, the top and bottom lines nearly touching the margins. The leaves of Part VI of the Weber MSS., measure $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and there are only seven lines on a page. Moreover, as already stated (*ante*, p. 217) the letter *m* is formed differently in the two manuscripts. All these circumstances proves sufficiently that our fragment cannot have belonged to that Part VI, which contains an ancient Sanskrit *koṣa* or vocabulary. On the other hand, from the occurrence, in *Xc*⁶, of the phrase *padau vanditvā*, it seems probable that the subject of this manuscript was the same as that of Set Ia of the Macartney MSS.⁸ and Parts V and VII of the Weber MSS.

No. XI. On thin paper, and in Northern Indian Gupta of an early type, as shown by the absence of the intermediate form of *ya* in *yē* *XId*³ and *yō* *XIa*³ and *XId*⁵. It may be referred to the 4th century A.D. Noteworthy are the curious elongated forms of medial *i* and sub-scribed *y*.

No. XII. On soft white paper, thickly coated with a white sizing; written in fully developed Central Asian, of the same type as in Part IX of the Weber MSS.

⁷ Of the second stroke of 2 only a minute trace remains. Of course, it is possible that there may have been a third stroke, which would make the number to be 93.

⁸ See *infra*, page 243, on Leaf II, obverse, lines 4 and 5.

The language of every one of these fragments is Sanskrit. Their subjects cannot be determined, except in the case of Nos. III, IV and X. Nos. III and IV belong to some kind of works on spells, and No. X appears to have contained the story of the Mahāyakṣa General Mānibhadra.

TRANSCRIPTS. PLATE VII.

- No. I, *a*. Line 1: mā hitau ॐ⁹
 „ 2: ndama
- No. I, *b*. Line 1: cakṣa-viḥā(ta)
 „ 2: hāyāḥ (ṣa)
 „ 3: + va +
- No. I, *c*. Line 1: rā varttaya
 „ 2: sa-viḥa
- No. I, *d*. Line 1: haya
 „ 2: nī +
- No. I, *e*. Line 1: + y
 „ 2: nanō ha
 „ 3: + + +
- No. I, *f*. Line 1: citābhasam
- No. I, *g*. Line 1: + y + āvarṇa-dhāra
 „ 2: p(r)atiṣ=c=āṣṭ-ōttarī vā rāṣ(a)
 „ 3: + +
- No. I, *h*. Line 1: (m)aḥ yātrā s(a)
 „ 2: khē ṣatrūṇām=abhimarda
 „ 3: 2 dēyō na katarāy=aiṣō rō(ṣa)
- No. I, *i*. Line 1: rā ca (ṣa)
 „ 2: mō nīlakaṇṭhāya ॐ
 „ 3: [v]i(j)ayē ॐ
 „ 4: + ḥ
- No. II, *a*. Line 1: guṇē ya(jē)
- No. II, *b*. Line 1: ṣantā
- No. II, *c*. Line 1: praha
- No. II, *d*. Line 1: samāha
- No. II, *e*. Line 1: + ty(a)n(amaṣ) = ca
 „ 2: ptō mahā-ma
- No. II, *f*.¹⁰ Line 1: sam (ju)hu

⁹ This is either the sign of the numeral 1, or more probably a mark of interpolation.

¹⁰ This piece is placed upside down on the plate.

No. II, g. Line 1: + +
 „ 2: +kam ci
 „ 3: +ē

No. II, h. Line 1: n(a)
 „ 2: kam çai
 „ 3: + || +i

No. II, i. Line 1: +y
 „ 2: (tē) hi
 „ 3: (pita)m

No. III, a. Line 1: (p)ā ça(tru)
 „ 2: prayō +sa(ti) vi +
 „ 3: +natō va(d)ya gaṇḍi + +
 „ 4: (va) ○ tavya (bbhyaṇḍa) +
 „ 5: va
 „ 6: u + +

No. III, b. Line 1: taga + + va +
 „ 2: + va || harṣa¹¹-vāja-vyōma
 „ 3: (ā) ○ tanā ○ phalaḥ pā + +
 „ 4: k(ā)çi ○ tilī ○ nahulī
 „ 5: +ṣani bhavanti tad = ya [thā]
 „ 6: gaccha tṛvi□□i
 „ 7: (ṇa) çar(ma) +

No. III, c. Line 1: svāha ruru ○ (ku)ru ○
 „ 2: vaṇyamāyabhabhu r + +¹²
 „ 3: + (ka)çatō bhayō . tasya +
 „ 4: + (mam junī dra) + (ja)nis=trayasya puruṣasya
 „ 5: ḥ ○ tad=yathā ○ hili ○ mili ○ da(nṛ)mili ○ +
 „ 6: (a)ṣṭamī ○ mani ○ va(ma) ○ akṇā ○ haru +

No. III, d.¹³ Line 1: + +
 „ 2: + + +
 „ 3: + + + va + + tha + + ṣata + m
 „ 4: ggram sa(tēm)ṣā(ta) + rçu
 „ 5: çniyāt ghr(tam) v(ā) ā(h)ritam +
 „ 6: çōṇitam sa(r)va

¹¹ The akṣara ṣa, which had been erroneously omitted, is inserted below the line, its proper place being indicated by a dot above the line.

¹² This line apparently indicates an interpolation. It is written interlinearly, and in much smaller letters, which are very difficult to read.

¹³ This piece is written in Central Asian character, but in the Sanskrit language.

No. III, e. Line 1: arṇṇ(i) (sa) + +

„ 2: sanā(gh)ō

„ 3: +i +i +i ∪ (pa)

No. III, f. Line 1: +ri gaṇya ∪ çī +

„ 2: (hata) bavamha bhamya

„ 3: ṣ(ṭa)-duṣṭa-bandhō 'si ∪ mā

„ 4: nā uktaṁ pratibhānasi

„ 5: + + +i +ō ta(m) ∪ hari

„ 6: yakṣa ∪ yamō ha

„ 7: ṣṭa-baddhō 'si :

„ 8: + tisi¹²

„ 9: + ta

No. IV. Line 1: mandrēna asuka asuka(ñ)=ca

„ 2: + mi ∪ vittayāmi ∪ vighayā[mi]

„ 3: + cirēṇi svāha ∪ anta-pakṣē

„ 4: + ∪ a(mā) + □(ta)mēna svāha ∪

„ 5: + svāha ∪ vi +

No. V. Line 1: + maḥ prava

„ 2: + m = ava + ṇa (jra)

„ 3: + ramā +

„ 4: +

No. VI. Line 1: +bdha + +ṭa +

„ 2: cittēṣu sūpta

„ 3: +n-āny-añja

No. VII, a. Line 1: n=āsti (m)i

„ 2: manyasaṁ param ṇ tyā +

„ 3: 3

No. VII, b. Line 1: (maṁ) ē

„ 2: + çayam

„ 3: siddha-pitāma

„ 4: (ç)ū kāka-hṛdayaṁ

„ 5: (ta)

No. VIII, a. Line 1: +

„ 2: (tī)kṣṇāṇi + +

„ 3: (mu)dg-ōdakaṁ (pra)

„ 4: jaṁ çā + +

„ 5: çarāvaka + i

„ 6: vata

„ 7: +

No. VIII, *b*. Line 1: +
 „ 2: +
 „ 3: lu (or 30)

No. IX, *a*. Line 1: + ◡ mahārā(ja)-sa(ma) ++
 „ 2: ma + m̃

No. IX, *b*. Line 1: II haritālam=a+
 „ 2: + ā + + i

No. IX, *c*. Line 1: + + + r + (kapada) + ṣ(ō)
 „ 2: (echā)satāya : appratihata

No. IX, *d*. Line 1: 9 ga
 „ 2: (rāka)

No. IX, *e*. Line 1: kēcid=bhavē

No. IX, *f*. Line 1: +
 „ 2: + gra +
 „ 3: tam yah
 „ 4: + d(ūra)

No. IX, *g*. Line 1: tani +
 „ 2: trasya ◡
 „ 3: vāra
 „ 4: + yā

No. IX, *h*. Line 1: sani
 „ 2: (vāva)
 „ 3: ṇēt(i)
 „ 4: sādha
 „ 5: 92+

No. IX, *i*. Line 1: kṛtvā
 „ 2: mēna ◡
 „ 3: (m)ida
 „ 4: + kalpayē(t)

No. X, *a*. Line 1: (va)
 „ 2: ya
 „ 3: ++
 „ 4: tāç=ca

No. X, *b*. Line 1: + ṣa ta ¹⁴
 „ 2: tatr=ā(ka)
 „ 3: + mama
 „ 4: +

¹⁴ The akṣara *ta* stands interlinearly and its exact relation is unknown.

- No. X, c. Line 1: +
 „ 2: +
 „ 3: (çata çā)
 „ 4: çētā pratha
 „ 5: (dha)rm[ō]'yam ca vi
 „ 6: padau vandi(tv)ā
 „ 7: ++ç=ca yē(na)
 „ 8: ç=ca ++(tana)
- No. X, d. Line 1: ++(dya) ८ rāṣ(ṭa)
 „ 2: +āstyapabhēti
 „ 3: + dhō mē mantra(ñ=ca)
 „ 4: dasy=āsi va
 „ 5: +m +i
- No. XI, a. Line 1: +ya + çañṭa +
 „ 2: + vā tadyā idam
 „ 3: prathamayō
- No. XI, b. Line 1: +di +cha
 „ 2: +y+iyami
 „ 3: + +i + +i
 „ 4: m=aṣṭa-vārasahā
 „ 5: ddhaḥ ॥ yad=icchanty=ākāçē ruprō
 „ 6: ++tī +ti yad=icchatī parasya vā
 „ 7: ॥
- No. XI, c. Line 1: +ē ca hṛdayam tā(va)
 „ 2: rātrō paṣītēna¹⁵ sahā
 „ 3: +m=anuyittāda +
 „ 4: + dēvi māraṇam
- No. XI, d. Line 1: +mā ca rā + +
 „ 2: (ṭhaṇa)nāma mūla-mala +
 „ 3: ṣayēt chāyāya pariçōṣa
 „ 4: mṛṣṭav=ānugamiṣyati
 „ 5: +am sapra(bu) +i
- No. XII, a. Line 1: cakṣyā(ṇap)r(ṇā)
 „ 2: (bhamta) +(va)
- No. XII, b. Line 1: khavēham(laçuna)
 „ 2: ndurārēma + + + + + + + +
 „ 3: +āyā ardhini cā + +
 „ 4: jvaraç=c=aiva

In the foregoing transcripts, illegible letters are indicated by crosses, missing letters by squares or angular brackets, and indistinct letters by round brackets.

¹⁵ Read *rātrau pōṣītēna*.

Page 225, line 18, *for* Shayok *read* Suru.

II. THE GODFREY MANUSCRIPTS.

(Plates VIII-XIV and XXVII-XXX.).

A short preliminary notice of these Manuscripts will be found in Mr. A. Pedler's Presidential Address of 1896. They were forwarded to me, in the manner already explained, towards the end of November, 1895. They were secured by Captain S. H. Godfrey, at that time British Joint-Commissioner of Ladak, now Political Agent at Gilgit, and, for that reason, they have been named by me "the Godfrey Manuscripts."

Captain Godfrey has been good enough to supply me, in a letter, dated the 27th June, 1897, with the following information regarding the circumstances in which the Manuscripts came into his possession:—

"In 1895, when British Joint-Commissioner of Ladak, I was telegraphed to from Kargil that the Leh trade route had been broken down by disastrous floods, and that the traffic valuing lakhs of rupees was consequently at a standstill. On my arrival at Kargil in July, I found the sarais blocked with merchants and their wares, unable to proceed to Central Asia, and unwilling to lose their whole venture by a return to India. For a month I was camped with a party of officers on the banks of the Shayok endeavouring to throw a cantilever bridge across the flooded river. At last we got up wires from Kashmir and succeeded in passing over the traffic. A party of Pathān merchants, bound for Yarkand with a valuable consignment of coral, asked me how they could mark their sense of obligation for being saved from heavy loss, if not ruin, by the success of our measures. I said that if they could procure me some of the old manuscripts found in the sand-buried cities of Tibet or Central Asia, I should consider the debt to be on my side. I returned from Ladak in the autumn, having forgotten the incident. But while at Sialkot, I received a parcel done up like *caras*, containing the MSS. now in your hands."

In Captain Godfrey's Report, forwarding the manuscripts to the Resident in Kaçmīr, they were, on the authority of the merchants, from whom he had received them, stated to be "very ancient Tibetan Manuscripts." This, as will be shown presently, is a misdescription. It appears to be a very common idea in those parts of the country to look upon old manuscripts, procured from Central Asia, as Tibetan. The Weber MSS. which also came to me from Leh in Ladak, were also originally described to me as Tibetan. In explanation of the possible

source of this error, Captain Godfrey writes to me in a letter dated the 18th July, 1897:—

“ I am personally ignorant of the language of Tibet, but having heard that old manuscripts of alleged Tibetan origin were occasionally found in the Central Asian deserts by excavation, I requested certain merchants trading with countries to the North and North East of Leh to endeavour to procure me any of which they might hear. These merchants were under some obligations to myself, and they promised to do their best. On their return journey they brought me the old papers which are now in your hands. You are probably aware that the Chinese authorities of the New Dominions do not regard the excavations of old ruins with favour. They are said to believe that archaeological interest is merely a pretext, and that a search for buried treasure is the main object. However this be, the merchants referred to were anxious that their names should not appear, and sent me little information beyond a statement that the manuscript was very old, that it was of Tibetan origin, and that it was dug up near some old buried city in the vicinity of Kuchar. These merchants trading in Chinese territory had obvious reasons for not causing displeasure to the Chinese authorities. The crushed lumps of paper were transmitted to me sewn up in skin as though the packet were a sample of *caras*.”

Specimens of these manuscripts are figured on Plates VIII to XIV. A glance at them will show that there is nothing Tibetan about them. There are various styles of character used in Tibetan writings, but they are all of a different type from that occurring in these manuscripts. The fact also that they were dug up near Kuchar militates against their being Tibetan. Further reasons against the Tibetan theory will appear later on. In fact there is no evidence whatever to connect them in any way with Tibet.

Captain Godfrey's description of the original appearance of these manuscripts as a parcel of *caras* gives a good idea of them. When they came into my hands, they were a mass of pieces of flimsy, and apparently rotten paper, crumbled up into a large number of shapeless lumps. The first thing to be done was to open out these lumps, flatten them, and fix them between panes of glass. This had to be done most carefully; and was a very tedious and laborious work, consuming a good deal of time. However, it was done successfully, and practically the whole by the deft fingers of my wife.

It now was seen that there were seventy-one pieces of manuscript. With the exception of four or five, all these pieces are mutilated. They are of several entirely different sizes and shapes, and may be distributed into several sets.

(1) The first set consists of long oblong leaves measuring $11 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Two of these leaves are shown on Plates VIII and IX. There is a third leaf of this set which is nearly perfect. Besides, there are two small fragments. The total is five pieces of manuscript. The material of this manuscript is Daphne paper of coarse texture, but rather thick. It is inscribed on both sides. The characters are Brāhmī of the North-Indian (Gupta) type, written in a clear and bold, thick hand. The language is Sanskrit. The purport, so far as may be judged from the fragmentary state of the manuscript, is the teaching of incantations. One point should be noted: the leaves are numbered on their obverses (left-hand margin), as may be seen from the transliterations given below. One leaf (Plate VIII) is clearly numbered 11 (or it may be 17), *i.e.*, the numeral 10, with the numeral 1 (or 7) below it. Another leaf (Plate IX), I take to be numbered 19; but the numeral is not quite distinct. On the remaining fragmentary leaves the numbers are either lost or quite illegible. Professor Bühler, in his notice of the Weber MSS., in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 261, calls attention to this point, and seems disposed to suggest, that Central Asian manuscripts paginated in this manner are in some way connected with South-India, because the practice of numerating the leaves on their obverses is, in India, peculiar to the South, while in the North they are numbered on the reverses.¹⁶ The difficulty, to my mind, about this suggestion is that there is nothing else in these manuscripts suggestive of South-India. If they had been written in South-India and thence carried away into Central Asia, they would exhibit a Southern Indian style of writing throughout; or, if a Southern Indian Buddhist had migrated into Central Asia, and there written the manuscripts, it does not seem probable that he would have retained his South-Indian method of pagination, while adopting, in all other respects, the North-Indian type of writing which prevailed, more or less modified, in his adopted country. Anyhow, paginating the obverses of leaves seems to have been a not uncommon practice in Central Asia, however it may have originated. Another instance of the same practice will be noticed further on (see page 247). The fact of the leaves of this set being numbered proves that the existing leaves are connected and are the remnants of a larger work. From the sporadic occurrence in this manuscript of the serpentine form of the medial *ē* (in *manasē*, fl. 11b³),¹⁷ its date may be referred to the 5th century A.D. See my remarks on the subject on p. 215.

¹⁶ See also Professor Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, § 36, p. 86, on pagination.

¹⁷ Here and subsequently throughout this paper, *a* and *b* mean obverse and reverse respectively; the raised numbers refer to the lines.

(2) Of the second set there is only one specimen. It is shown as No. 3 on Plate X. It is the merest fragment of a leaf, and it is impossible to say what its dimensions may have been. From the very large size of the letters, however, it may fairly be concluded that the leaves also were probably of considerable size. It will be noticed that on the margin, in the upper left-hand corner, there is the pagination number 90. As it is usual to inscribe these numbers in the middle of the margin, it is at any rate probable that the width of the leaf was about 11 inches, its existing portion being $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The material is paper of a texture and thickness similar to that of the preceding set. It is also inscribed on both sides, in characters of the same type as those of that set, but even larger and thicker than those. The language is Sanskrit, but it is impossible to determine the purport of the work from the little that has survived of the text. The work, however, must have been one of a large extent, seeing that the existing leaf was its ninetieth.

(3) Of this set also there is only one specimen. It is No. 4 on Plate X. Both ends of the leaf are lost, thus rendering it impossible to determine its length. Its width is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Its material is paper, of a texture and thickness similar to that of the two preceding sets. The characters of the writing on it are also of the same type, and it is inscribed on both sides. The language, however, is not Sanskrit, nor, to judge from the peculiar ligatures occurring in it (*e.g.*, *ysā* on line 5), any Sanskritic language. I do not know what it is, nor, for that reason, what the purport of the writing may be. The occurrence, however, of the peculiar double dot, or double anusvāra, may be noticed. This mark connects it with No. IX of the Weber MSS.¹⁸ and with the Petroffski MS. published by Dr. von Oldenburg.

(4) Of this set again there is only one specimen. It is No. 5 on Plate X. It is greatly mutilated, and its full size cannot be determined. Its width seems to be complete, and would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Its material is paper of a whiter colour, and rather finer and softer texture than that of the preceding sets; it is also covered with some sort of sizing. It is inscribed on both sides. The characters are essentially of the same type as the preceding ones, only smaller in size. The language seems to be some non-Sanskritic language. There is no instance of a double dot on the existing portion; but it is too small to admit of any safe conclusions.

(5 and 6) I may here add that there are two other fragmentary leaves among the Godfrey MSS., each being a single specimen of a separate work. They are in a too bad state of preservation, to admit of useful

¹⁸ See *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXII, Part I, pp. 8, 9, 34.

reproduction: the ink is very much faded. They are both written on very thin paper, exactly like that of the seventh set which will be presently described; hence they are only inscribed on one side. Both are mutilated at the two ends, thus rendering their length impossible of determination; their width is preserved, and it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in either leaf. Both are furnished with string-holes, enclosed concentrically within a larger inked circle. The presence of these string-holes shows that they are, in all probability, the solitary remnants of larger works. One of the leaves is inscribed with characters exactly of the same type as those of the fragment No. 4 on Plate X, but of smaller size. The other leaf is inscribed with characters of the cursive type, like those on Nos. 6 to 15, on Plates X to XIII.

(7) The seventh set consists of large, squarish sheets, measuring 11×8 inches. Of these No. 8 on Plate XI is a sample. Of these sheets there are two more, also in practically perfect condition, and five fragments of very large size, such as Nos. 9 and 11, shown on Plates XII and XIII respectively. There are further a large number of small pieces, which are evidently fragments of similar sheets. Samples of these fragments are Nos. 6 and 7 on Plate X, No. 10 on Plate XII, and Nos. 12 to 15 on Plate XIII. There are altogether 51 of them. The total number is 59. These sheets consist of a very coarse and flimsy species of paper, which is almost transparent. As a rule, the writing is inscribed on one side only, and traces of it show through on the back side; but there are six small fragments on which there is some writing on the back. The material appears to be the ordinary Daphne paper, of the same type as what is still made at the present day in the Himālayan countries. I have seen modern paper of the same coarseness, though not quite of the same tenuity. The characters of the writing are evidently Brāhmī of a very cursive type. Moreover, as shown by the forms of the superscribed *ē* and *ai*, they belong to that peculiar type of Brāhmī which I call the Central Asian. See the facsimiles in the second column of Plates XXVII to XXX, which I have excerpted from Plates X to XIII, and arranged in alphabetical order. In the first column, I have added for comparison, alphabetical facsimiles of other portions of the Godfrey MSS. inscribed with Brāhmī of the Northern Indian type. The language on these sheets I am unable to identify. It does not seem to be any Sanskrit dialect, though, with one or two exceptions, I have not noticed the occurrence of any non-sanskritic ligatures. Most of the syllables, indeed, are of the most simple character, and, so far, might be prākritic; only there is nothing in the surrounding circumstances (*e.g.*, the frequent occurrence of the double dot) that renders that supposition at all probable. The occurrence,

three times, of the syllable *grī* in No. 9 is very curious. It is the solitary instance of a word with a distinctly Sanskrit sound, and seems to suggest that the following group of letters *ājhātai* is a name with the well-known Sanskrit honorific prefix *grī*. It is noteworthy that the cursive Brāhmī characters of this set occur side by side with Chinese on No 16 of the following 8th set. The frequent occurrence of numeral figures on these sheets is also a noteworthy circumstance, so also the repetition of the same phrases. Seeing that the Chinese fragment No. 16 refers to taxes and rents, it suggests itself that these sheets may be the records of an ancient revenue office in Turkī (Uighur) territory, possibly under Chinese rule. Could they be in the Chinese language, though written in non-Chinese characters? My own impression is that the several pieces of this set do not form any connected series of the pages of a book, but that they are separate documents, though all of a similar character.

(8.) Of this set there are two specimens, Nos. 16 and 17 on Plate XIV. Both are fragments. No. 17 is of very coarse paper, a sort of packing paper. It looks as if it was one-quarter of a sheet of the size of No. 8. It is inscribed on one side only. No. 16 is of paper like Nos. 2 and 3; it is well covered with a sizing of a pinky-white colour. It looks like the fragment of an oblong leaf, of unknown length, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches breadth. Both leaves appear to be inscribed with what looks like Chinese characters, but on No. 16 there is also a line of the same cursive Central Asian as on Nos. 6–15. The outer lines on this No. are Chinese; of the two inner lines, the left is Chinese, but the right is Central Asian Brāhmī. The latter does not run vertically like the Chinese, but horizontally, the three letters which compose the line being placed side by side parallel with the long side of the leaf. The first letter adjoins the broken line of the leaf. The three letters, as I read them, are

रि हा डे *ri hau dē*,

but I do not know what they mean. A similar group of letters occurs also on Nos. 10 and 11 (see *infra*, p. 236). Mr. A. Foucher, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Calcutta, was good enough to submit a photograph of No. 16 to the well-known Chinese scholar Mr. Chavannes in Paris, who has had the great kindness of supplying me with the following explanation, reading the characters from top to bottom :

Colonne de droite.

- 1, “et autres” (marque du pluriel par rapport à ce qui précède.)
- 2, anciennes
- 3, (et) nouvelles

- 4, taxes }
 5, (et) redevances } droits de douane.
 6, ? (ce caractère ne se rencontre guère que dans
 des noms de lieux.)

7, un (le nombre 1)

Colonne de centre.

Colonne de gauche.

1, de soi-même, naturellement. 1, porte, catégorie.

2, rempli, parfait. 2, deux.

3, dix }
 4, six } seize.
 3, ?
 4, solide.

5, ?

6, ?

7, ?

8, porte (signifies aussi catégorie, espèce).

I am ignorant of the Chinese language myself, and am unable, therefore, to offer any information on these two Chinese scraps; but it would be interesting to know whether the style of the Chinese writing affords any light with regard to such questions as the age of the manuscripts.

To sum up: the Godfrey Manuscripts appear to consist of eight distinct portions, comprising the following number of leaves or fragments of leaves:—

Set I consisting of 5 pieces.

„ II „ „ 1 „

„ III „ „ 1 „

„ IV „ „ 1 „

„ V „ „ 1 „

„ VI „ „ 1 „

„ VII „ „ 59 „

„ VIII „ „ 2 „

Eight Sets „ „ 71 „

I now proceed to details, so far as the present state of my examination of the manuscripts permits me to do.

Set I. (Plates VIII and IX). Five pieces of manuscript; full size $11 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; letters, Northern Indian Brāhmī; language, Sanskrit; purport, probably incantations. The figured leaves are numbered 11 and 19 (?); they read as follows:

LEAF 11: OBVERSE.

1, guṇē svāhā: Namō ṣṛī-pradīpāya tathāgatāya: tad-yathā siri
 siri · pradīpa-

- 2, siri svāhā : Namō jina-sūryāya tathāgatāya : tad-yathā jinē
jinē · ji-
- 3, na-sūryē svāhā 91 Namau mēgha-vipul-ābhāya tathāgatāya : tad-
yathā vi-
- 4, pulē vipulē gagana-vilē svāhā 2 Namō ratna-çrī-pradīpa-guṇa-
kētavē tathāga-
- 5, tāya : tad-yathā pradīpē · pradīpē · çrī-tēja-pradīpē svāhā 3
Nama siddha-vratā-

REVERSE.

- 1, ya tathāgatāya : tad-yathā siddhē su-siddhē mōcani mōkṣaṇi ·
muktē vimuktē
- 2, amalē vimalē maṁgalyē · hiraṇya-garbhē · ratna-garbhē · sarv-
ārtha-sādhani · para-
- 3, m-ārtha-sādhani manasē · mahā-manasē · adbhutē · a(ty)ad-
bhutē · vīta-
- 4, bhayē suvarṇē brahma-ghōṣē · brahma-dhyuṣitē · sarv-ārthē
sva-parājitē sarva-
- 5, tī=āpratihatē · catu-ṣaṣṭi-buddha-kōṭi-bhāṣitē · Nama sarva-
siddhānām tathāgatānām svāhā.

LEAF 19 : OBVERSE.

- 1, tad-yathā avabhāsē · avabhāsē : avabhāsa-karaṇē svāhā : 92
Namō mēgha-
- 2, vil(am)bitē svāhā ॥ Namau sūrya-tējasē tathāgatāya : tad-yathā
suru
- 3, suru · sūrya-uditē svāhā 4 Namō dharma-pradīpa-çrī-mēravē
tathāgatā-
- 4, ya : tad-yathā dīpē dīpē · dharma-pradīpē svāhā : Namaḥ arca-
kāya tathāgatā-
- 5, ya : tad-yathā ciri ciri · ciciri svāhā 3 Namō dēva-çrī-garbhāya
tathāgatā-

REVERSE.

- 1, ya tad-yathā dēvē dēvē · dēva-(p)ū(j)itē svāhā : Nama simā-
vina(rd)i(t)a-vidyut-pra-
- 2, bhāya tathāgatāya : tad-yathā simē simē · buddha-sim(hē) simē
svā-
- 3, hā : Nama samanta-guṇa-mēghāya tathāgatāya : tad-yathā mēru
- 4, mēru : buddha-mēru svāhā ॥ Namō gagana-cittāya tathāgatāya :
tad-yathā
- 5, gagana-gatāya svāhā : Nama su(stha)-bhava-vyūhāya tathāga-
tāya tad-ya

The bracketed letters are not quite certain. The akṣara *pū* in *pūjitē* (fl. 19b¹) rather looks like *bū*; so also *pra* (fl. 11b⁵) like *bra*. *Namau* in fl. 19a² and fl. 11a³ is apparently a clerical error for *namō*, so also *gagana-vilē* in fl. 11a⁴ for *gagana-vipulē*. *Mēghāya* in fl. 19b³ looks more like *mēyāya*, but *gha* and *ya* have very similar forms. The Sanskrit is not perfect; the sandhi of *namaḥ* is frequently wrong. The numeral sign for 92 in fl. 19a¹, if read correctly, shows that this leaf follows the other which is numbered 11.

The purport is a series of invocations addressed to the Tathāgata (or Buddha) under his various names of Sūrya-tējas, Dharma-pradīpa, Ārī-Mēru, Arcaka (?), Dēva-ārī-garbha, Simā-vinardita Vidyut-prabha,¹⁹ Samanta-guṇa-mēgha, Gagana-citta, Sustha(?) -bhava-vyūha, Ārī-pradīpa, Jina-sūrya, Mēgha-vipulābha, Ratna-ārī-pradīpa-guṇa-kētu, Siddha-vrata. Probably all or most of these names may be traced in known Buddhist works. In the charms themselves, introduced by *tadyathā* 'as follows,' the female counterparts of the Buddhas seem to be invoked. *Mōcanī* and *mōkṣanī* (fl. 11b¹) can only be feminine vocatives; which shows that the other forms ending in *ē* must also be taken as vocatives of feminine names.

Set II. (Plate X, No. 3.) One piece of manuscript. Breadth probably 11 inches, length unknown. Letters, Northern Indian Brāhmī, similar to those of Set I (Plates XXVII-XXX, column 1). Language, Sanskrit; purport, unknown. The figured leaf is numbered 90. It reads as follows :

1, ⊕ रतः	= 90 rataḥ
2, चरता	= caratā
3, न्युप	= nyupa .....[ē-]
4, वमेव	= vam-ēva.....[ta-]
5, द्यथा स्व	= d-yathā s(v)a
6, संविद्यते	= saṁvi(d)yatē.....
7, न संविद्य	= na saṁvi(dya)[tē]...

Set III. (Plate X, No. 4.) One piece of manuscript. Breadth 3³/₄ inches; length unknown. Letters, similar to those of Sets I and II (Plates XXVII-XXX, col. 1.) Language and purport, unknown. The figured leaf reads as follows :—

1, (kh)ö + pyū śvā ndā ntā + yu +

¹⁹ I.e., 'bright as a lightening the thunder of which reaches to the horizon.' The reading *vinardita*, however, is uncertain. *Simā* seems to stand for *sīmā*, or it may mean 'everywhere' from *sima* 'whole.'

- 2, + cum dā vā tē tu a ta (bbh)a ra nā
- 3, + ā ndā vā ta · a ta a cī ma jsē v(ī)
- 4, pha tē u spu cā hā mā tē vā tē
- 5, sta mā na pra ysā tā na ssa ddē

The bracketed letters are uncertain. Thus, what I have read as *bbh* in line 2, might be *ñça*; the upper portion looks like *b*, but the lower rather seems to be *ç*. Crosses indicate indistinctly visible letters. The double dot occurs very frequently; but I may note here that it never, so far as my observation or memory serves me, occurs with any vowel but short *a*, of which it would hence seem to indicate some variety.

Set IV. (Plate X, No. 5). One piece of manuscript. Breadth $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; length unknown. Letters, similar to those of Sets I to III. Language and purport unknown. What is distinguishable of the figured leaf, reads as follows:

- 1, + + + +
- 2, ysē ra trā nda
- 3, vi + gam jri va svē ba
- 4, pra (cca) + (t)i bu nti (or tti) cu

Set VII. (Plates X to XIII, Nos. 6 to 15.) Fifty-nine pieces of manuscript. Size of full leaf about 11 × 9 inches. Letters, a kind of cursive Brāhmī of the Central Asian type, especially with reference to the formation of the superscribed vowels *i*, *ē*, *ai*. See Plates XXVII to XXX, col. 2. Language and purport unknown. It may be noted as a peculiarity that the right-hand one of the double-dots is, a rule, made with a curve to the right: also, that ligatures are not very common, and those that occur are, with rare (and uncertain) exceptions, such as might be found in a Sanskrit dialect.

In the subjoined transliterations, undetermined consonants are indicated by a query; uncertain letters, by italics; indistinctly visible letters, by a cross or within round brackets; and missing letters, by a square or within angular brackets. Recurrent groups of letters are joined by hyphens, see especially Nos. 9 and 11. It must be understood that the value of some of the letters, though not specially indicated, is more or less conjectural; thus, *t* and *n* are difficult to distinguish, and in every case, what has been given as *t* may really be *n*, or *vice versâ*. Otherwise, however, I believe the values given are fairly certain; but ultimate certainty will only be attainable, when the language of the writing has been determined.

No. 6. (Plate X).

- 1, ña + i yau di (ā) ṇā vi (ṣ)au
- 2, ji ṇū ra haṁ gō pra (ṣṇi) (ka) h(i)
- 3, hva ?ta kō □ + + (lya) (b)ā □ē
- 4, □ām + i + ā + i yaṁ □i.

No. 7. (Plate X).

- 2, 40 2 hvaṁ □
- 3, ṇū ri ntā
- 3, 40 2 (t)ē (hv)

No. 8. (Plate XI).

- 1, **J**²⁰ sa li 20 ṇā ṇā cvā na ja ha dā pi 3 nyē hr̥m tā ūm dā vā ṣr
vā haṁ dā jyē ṣṣau vā jya
- 2, da ttā gā-rya vā dā pi da kā nyē pra cai ta cā bu-gu-ra ṇaṁ-dru
sā ta ṣaṁ dā gā-ryē a vi (jya)
- 3, gaṁ rsa kru dai vi ra jrai kru ṣēm rcū-rā-vā-ṣr̥m-ra pi ha vē ṇū
rā jhā rā ttā bu-rā nyē ṣaṁ jyē ha jjha
- 4, (raṁ) + ā + cā (jjh)ai p(r)a ña vā rṣā hī ya + m + nū vā jhi sa
nē kra lā hī (v)i (k)a (ḍ)a dā (rā) ña
- 5, + + m + ā khī (bu)-gu-ra + ā kā ra kṛ stā i dā khai ttī ṇaṁ-
dru sā rcū-rā-vā-ṣr̥m-ra bu-(rā)
- 6, i-jhgātā nē (i)-jhgē dē ṇaṁ gā da ra tā i-jhgā-rya hā ṇā + ra pā
(p)i □ praṁ
- 7, ṇāṁ khu ha ṇaṁ-dru saṁ (haṁ)(gu) ṣtā vā ṇā ttā bu-rā va ra
byāṁ ta ya byē a sō laṁ byē
- 8, u + ai bu-(rā) ta (k)ā byē □ dā ≈ ṇaṁ-dru | sā | haṁ.

No. 9. (Plate XII).

- 1, ṣt(i) pi rā va²¹ kpī (or kyī) ra sē ca²² tām-pu-vya-kaṁ-tha gēm □
- 2, □ tā bhā²¹ bā ri bē rām ñā ri · ū ha ji +
- 3, (t)ā ṣa ṣa-puṁ-ti · si gaṁ jjha tām-puṁ-ya-kaṁ-tha hā
- 4, pa rjhu ñai yē-paṁ jjhā sō (or sā) gaṁ pha hā ṣṇi i □
- 5, jha ta²¹ va²¹ jjh[a] [ṣ]t[a] (pu) sti nta ri da ri ta hvaṁ ji (d)i
- 6, □ (pa) + ṣṇi ṣa-puṁ-ti ya va khyāṁ ti kā da bā ji □

²⁰ This is a symbol which occurs at what seems to be the head of each fresh entry on the sheets. It reminds one of the Sanskrit symbol for *ōm*.

²¹ The black spots under *va* and above *bhā*, shown in the photographic facsimile, are really holes in the paper. This unlucky result of photography occurs also in other places, though only in the case of minute holes. Bigger holes show distinctly enough as white places.

²² *Ca* is distinguished from *va* here, and elsewhere in these MSS. by a distinct tail on the left of the loop. By a similar tail *bha* is distinguished from *ta* or *na*; see the comparative table in Plate XXII.

- 7, sti u (k)ā pu hā-lai puṁ-ñu-ṛi²³-ā-jhā-(t)ai
- 8, ña-ṛi²³-ā-jhā-tai nta-hvē-si cu hi ri kē ṇa □
- 9, ṣṭi ta rma pu-ñā-ṛi²³-ā-jhā-tai bhī nta-(hv)ē-[s]i
- 10, chā pa ta ya tba (or tva) a jhu ra su va (ṇ)a
- 11, +i ra ga rāṁ tu²⁴ ū di ṇau hā-lai □
- 12, □ ti pyā khu pu ? u (su) jh(y)ā □
- 13, □ pyā +i +i rvē hi □ i
- 14, □ +ām +i ntī + □ di

No 10. (Plate XII).

- 1, (chā)
- 2, 2 bhi
- 3, + hvam̐ (ḍ)i 10 7
- 4, + 1000 900 50 hvam̐ (ḍ)i 10
- 5, 10 3 thau-ta hau-ḍi²⁵ 10 3 va (ñai)
- 6, (ḍi)-[th]a]u-ta i-di 10 8 va ñai □
- 7, (ḍi)-thau-ta i-di 10 1 (va) (ñ)ai
- 8, 4 u 2 chā 3 (a)
- 9, jjha □ ki 3000 800 50

No. 11. (Plate XIII).

- 1, J (ḥ)a lā u + + +
- 2, ṇō (or ṇrō) 10 3 □ ē □ (k)ai ṣṇi pī kṇa ki rdē ña cai na ca ū ha
- 3, + ḍi-yē-ṇm̐-u-tai-hōm̐-ḍi²⁵-yu-ḍi-va-ñai
- 4, da-sō-chā-ya bhī ri ñam̐ prām̐ hō pri
- 5, ṣṭi vi ṇō ū ha da | bhō | ham̐-| gū-ṣṭi
- 6, + pu-ḍi-yē-ṇm̐-u-(t)ai-hōm̐-ḍi²⁵-yu-ḍi-va-ñā
- 7, □ ḍi-thau-ta (see No. 10) ka hē-ḍi (see No. 12) ddha da-sō-chā-ya
- 8, hā (r)am̐-pra-ki-ham̐-gū-ṣṭi | vi ṇō | | |
- 9, (r)am̐-pra-ki-ham̐-gū-ṣṭi

No. 12. (Plate XIII).

- 1, + (va) (8) +
- 2, thau-ta h(ē)-ḍ(i) (see No. 10) 8
- 3, (ḍ) 9

No. 15. (Plate XIII).

- 1, +i bhi tva hvam̐ (ḍ)ām̐ ṇū ri hi +ā ri □ 2
- 2, □ ā sa pam̐ □ ā sī chā bhī
- 3, □ ā
- 4, □ ēm̐ hi (ṇ)ā □ i 8000 900

²³ This is the only akṣara or word which has a distinctly Sanskrit sound.

²⁴ Over this akṣara there is the mark of the vowel ē, cancelled by a stroke drawn through it.

²⁵ See No. 16, on page 230.

III. THE MACARTNEY MANUSCRIPTS.

(Plates XV-XXVI).

These manuscripts were sent to me by the Foreign Office, with their D. O. letter, dated the 14th December, 1896. They were obtained by Mr. G. Macartney, the Special Assistant for Chinese Affairs at Kashgar to Lt.-Colonel Sir A. C. Talbot, K. C. I. E., British Resident in Kaçmîr. On that account, following the precedent hitherto observed, I have named them "the Macartney MSS."

When I received the manuscripts, they were carefully arranged in six distinct sets. This arrangement had been made by Mr. Macartney. It has only reference to the circumstances in which they reached him. It has no intrinsic value, as will be seen in the sequence. But, for the present, it has been found convenient to retain it, with reference to the facsimile plates XV to XXVI.

In a letter, dated the 12th October, 1896, and addressed by Mr. Macartney to the Resident in Kaçmîr, he gives the following account of the circumstances under which the manuscripts were discovered and given to him.

"Set, No. 1. This is a manuscript presented by Dildâr Khân, an Afghan merchant in Yarkand. It appears that when the Bower MS. was found in Kuchar, two others were at the same time and under the same circumstances discovered. Dildâr Khân obtained possession of the latter and took them to Leh in 1891. He gave one to Munshî Aḥmad Dîn, who in his turn presented his acquisition to Mr. Weber, Moravian Missionary. Hence the origin of the Weber Manuscripts. The other manuscript in Dildâr Khân's possession was taken by him to India and left with a friend of his at Aligarh, a certain Faiz Muḥammad Khân. Dildâr Khân brought it back to Turkistan last year and presented it to me.

Set, No. 2. Munshî Aḥmad Dîn purchased these leaves during my absence from Kashgar. They were found by a certain Islām Ākhūn Khōtānī. This person was sent to Kashgar with them in July last [1896] by the Afghan Aksakal in Khotan, to whom I had written desiring him to obtain ancient manuscripts for me. Islām Ākhūn gave me the following particulars regarding his discovery. The manuscripts were found at Aksufil, an uninhabited place in the desert, situated at about three marches N. E. of Khotan. His attention was first attracted by the presence on the sand of a few pieces of charcoal, near which was a piece of woollen cloth, with the lower portion of it buried in the ground. In digging this cloth out,

the manuscripts were found wrapped up in it, and buried in about three feet of earth.

• Set, No. 3. Purchased by Munshī Ahmad Dīn at the same time as set No. 2. These leaves were also discovered by Islām Ākhūn, at Jabu Kum, which appears to be situated at 50 or 60 miles N. E. of Khotan in the midst of the Takla Makan desert. Islām Ākhūn states that at Jabu Kum some ruins of a mud wall are still visible. The manuscript was found wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and mixed up with human bones, the whole lying on some partially exposed boards of a wooden coffin.

Set, No. 4. Found by Islām Ākhūn in August last at Kara Kul Mazar Khojam, said to be situated in the desert at 50 miles East of Guma (long. $78^{\circ} 25'$ and lat. $37^{\circ} 37'$). The manuscript was simply picked up on the sand. It was originally bound between two little wooden boards, which, having been broken on Islām Khān's journey to Kashgar, he did not bring with him. Kara Kul Mazar Khajan [sic] is described as an immense graveyard in ruins, possibly ten miles long.

Set, No. 5. Found in October last [1895] by Islām Ākhūn in the desert at Kuk Gumbaz (green dome), which is said to be five days march East of Guma. Islām Ākhūn there saw a circular wall of baked bricks three feet high; and at about 15 paces from it, there was another wall, in which a hole plastered over with mud was discovered. In removing this mud, the manuscript was found, contained in the remnant of what was once an iron box.

Set, No. 6. These leaves were also found by Islām Ākhūn at Kuk Gumbaz. They were picked up from the ground."

Specimens of the first five sets are figured on Plates XV to XXVI. The leaves of the sixth set are in a too bad state of preservation, to make them, for the present, worth reproduction. The first glance over these plates will show that the manuscripts of the 1st set, shown on Plates XV and XVI, are of an entirely different class and character from those of the other sets, shown on Plates XVII to XXVI. They are moreover from two quite different localities, Set I being from Kuchar, on the Northern side of the Gobi desert, while Sets II to VI are from Khotan, on its southern side.

With regard to Set I, a point of greatest interest and importance is that it was found at the same time and under the same circumstances as the famous Bower MS.²⁶ There is, however, a slight mistake or

²⁶ I may here mention that my edition of this Manuscript, published by the Government of India, is now finished, as far as the original text is concerned. An introduction on its history, age, etc., is in course of preparation.

misunderstanding in the details of the account of the discovery. Mr. Macartney states that, together with the Bower MS., "two other manuscripts" were found which ultimately found their way into the hands of Mr. Weber and himself respectively. Now the Weber MSS., as I have shown elsewhere,²⁷ by themselves consist of several, not less than nine, separate manuscripts; and Set I of the Macartney MSS., as I shall show presently, consists of two separate manuscripts. It cannot, therefore, be correct that "two other manuscripts" were found: what was probably found were two bundles of manuscripts. What, however, appears to me to be probably the truth of the matter, is that, in addition to the Bower MS., a large bundle of other manuscripts was found. Of this bundle Dildār Khān obtained possession, and he divided it into two parts, one of which he gave to Munshī Ahmed Dīn, whence it passed to Mr. Weber, while the other was retained by himself and ultimately reached Mr. Macartney. This would seem to agree with the earlier, but somewhat vague, information given to me by Mr. Shawe, and published by Sir A. Croft in his Presidential Address of 1894, where it runs as follows (p. 33) :

"I may add as the latest information that Dr. Hoernle has lately been informed by Mr. Shawe, a colleague of Mr. Weber, that it now appears that the [Weber] MSS., were not found in "Kugiar," as reported at first, but in Kuchar. They come, therefore, from the same locality as the Bower MS. Mr. Shawe also writes that he has ascertained that a packet of manuscripts similar to the Weber MSS., but larger in bulk, were in the hands of a Pathān who cannot now be traced, but who is said to have gone to Kabul. Dr. Hoernle suspects that he went in the other direction, to Kashgar, and that his manuscripts eventually got into the hands of the Russian Consul in Kashgar, and that they are identical with the Petersburg collection of manuscripts, on which Professor von Oldenburg is now engaged. What leads him to think so, is that the Petersburg collection appears to contain other portions of the same manuscripts of which portions were found by him in the Weber MSS."

The Pathān, spoken of in the above quotation, would seem to be identical with the Afghan merchant Dildār Khān of Mr. Macartney's report. This "Afghan merchant," as Mr. Weber also calls him,²⁸ in

²⁷ See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part I, page 1 ff. I may here mention that, in the meantime, the Weber MSS. have passed into my own possession by purchase from Mr. Weber.

²⁸ See *ibidem*, p. 1.

hopes of discovering buried treasure, undertook the excavation of a "house" near Kuchar (not Kugiar), and there found the manuscripts as well as the bodies of some "cows." It is now clear, what this so-called "house" was. It was evidently the stūpa or vihāra, with the usual settlement of Buddhist monks, from which the Bower MS. also was dug out.²⁹ From the fact that Dildār Khān obtained possession only of one half of the find, it may safely be concluded that his search in the vihāra was a joint-undertaking with some one else to whom the other moiety of the find (the Bower MS.) went. Who this other person was, appears from Major Bower's account, in the *Geographical Journal*,²⁹ of the acquisition of his manuscript, in which he informs us that "a Turkī who had been in India [Afghanistan?] told him that he and one of his friends [the Afghan merchant Dildār Khān?] had gone there [to the ancient vihāra] and dug for buried treasure, but had found nothing except a book [the Bower MS.]." But further, Mr. Macartney's report accounts only for "two other manuscripts" or, more correctly, for two portions of the bundle of manuscripts, which was discovered together with the Bower MS. But there is every probability that there was a third portion of that bundle. For the collection of manuscripts which is now in St. Petersburg and which was sent there by the Russian Consul in Kashgar, contains complementary parts of some of the Weber MSS. (see *infra*, under Set Ia), and must originally have come from the same source as the latter manuscripts and Set I of the Macartney MSS. It follows, therefore, that Dildār Khān, if he really obtained possession of the whole of the moiety of the Kuchar find, must have divided it into three portions: one portion he gave to Munshī Aḥmad Dīn (and thus to Mr. Weber), while of the remainder he gave one portion to Mr. Macartney, the British Agent, and the other to the Russian Consul. This, from his point of view, would be a natural and impartial division between the representatives of the two Empires whom he no doubt wished to gratify; and that he did not introduce either of those officers into the secret of his diplomacy is equally natural. But there is one comfort in all this, that we have probably not yet heard the last of that Kuchar discovery, and that we may hope that further instalments of the manuscripts, found on that occasion, may yet come to light. Of most of the manuscripts which constitute the Weber MSS. collection, only the merest fragments—a few leaves—have yet been recovered, and of the palm-leaf manuscript (No. I of the Fragments, described on p. 218) which must also have been

²⁹ See *Proceedings As. Soc. Beng.*, 1890, p. 221; *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX, Part I, p. 93; the *Geographical Journal* (Roy. Geogr. Soc. of London), Vol. V, 1895, p. 255.

obtained from that ruined vihāra, only the veriest scraps. Some of these fragmentary manuscripts, *e.g.*, the Sanskrit vocabulary in Part VI of the Weber MSS., are sufficiently important to make us wish to obtain the complement. It is possible that the missing portions of these manuscripts may have suffered destruction in the course of the excavation of those two treasure seekers; a good deal undoubtedly must have been destroyed; but it is also quite possible that some further portions are still held back by the finders, and may come to light hereafter as a result of suitable inducement.

I now proceed to a detailed account of the several sets of the Macartney MSS.

SET I. This set consists of two entirely different manuscripts, specimens of which are shown on Plates XV and XVI respectively. They are written in two different types of Brāhmī, Set Ia being in the Central Asian, while Set Ib is in the Northern Indian type.

Set Ia consists of 35 leaves, two of which are shown on Plate XV. They are all broken off on one side. Their width is complete, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The existing length is 5 inches, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches must be broken off; the total length, therefore, would be $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the missing part there must have been the string-hole. This calculation can be easily proved. Comparing the Macartney MSS. fragment with the Weber MSS. fragment No. VII,³⁰ and with the Petroffski MSS. fragment No. VIII,³¹ it will be seen at once that all these three fragments absolutely agree in all points of shape, size, and type of letters. If we add to this that all three fragments treat of the story of Māṇibhadra, there cannot remain the slightest doubt but that they are portions of the same manuscript, one of which has gone to St. Petersburg, while the other two are in my hands. Now, by a careful comparison of the eight leaves in his possession, Dr. von Oldenburg has been able to practically restore the text on the obverse side of his leaf No. 3. The restored transcript of this page he has published, as well as its original.³¹ It will be seen from the transcript that the average number of akṣaras on a full line is 34. On the second line of the page the existing akṣaras number 23, and the line itself measures nearly 5 inches. Accordingly the missing 11 akṣaras, together with a small margin, would require a space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Hence the page, when complete, would have measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Further, the missing akṣaras on the second and fifth lines number 11 and 12 respectively, while on the third and fourth

³⁰ See *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXII, Part I, p. 31, and Plate II, fig. 3.

³¹ See *Journal, Imp. Russian Archaeological Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 13, 17, and Plate II, fig. 8.

lines they number only 6 each.³² This difference can only be accounted for by the fact that the string-hole stood on the missing portion of the leaf and, with its surrounding blank, took up the space of about 5 or 6 akṣaras. Precisely the same conclusions may be drawn from the obverse of the Macartney MS. Leaf I, a restored transcript of which is given by me below. In lines 2 and 4, about 14 and 12 akṣaras respectively are missing, while in lines 2 and 3 only 8 and 2 akṣaras respectively, thus suggesting a space for the string-hole in the latter lines. The total number of akṣaras in the 2nd and 4th lines is about 35, which represents a length of leaf of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

To complete the case of this manuscript, it is now clear that altogether fifty leaves of it exist: 8 leaves are in the Petroffski collection, 7 in the Weber collection, and now 35 in the Macartney collection. This gives a fairly large manuscript, and when all the three portions are once brought together, read and compared, it will probably appear that nearly the whole, if not the whole, of the manuscript has been recovered.³³

This manuscript is written in the Central Asian Brāhmī, marked by the peculiar form of ē and the peculiar general slant of the letters. The alphabet of it has been published by me in my paper on the Weber MSS. in volume LXII of this *Journal*, Plate IV.

The subject of the manuscript is the story of the Great Yakṣa General Māṇibhadra, and how he visited Buddha and received from him a powerful spell. It was a favourite story with the Buddhists; for it seems to be also the subject of Part VII of the Bower MS.³⁴ It is also very briefly told in one of the Sūtras of the Saṃyutta Nikāya.³⁵

TRANSCRIPT. PLATE XV. LEAF I: OBLVERSE.

- 1, || Nagar-ōpama ārāmō sōlmē p(rārambha)
- 2, [Ēvaṃ mayā ṇrutam=ēka-samayē Bhagavāṃ vi]ha[rati] jētavan(ē) Anāthapiṇḍad-ārāmē · atha khalu
- 3, [Māṇibhadra mahāyakṣa](sē)napati paṃca-yakṣa-ṇata-parivārō pu(rask)ṛta-pari(kṛtō) atikrā-
- 4, [ntāyāṃ rā](tryāṃ) sarvaṃ jē(ta)vanam=udār(ē)ṇ-āvabhāsēna(s)pharitvā (yēna) Bhaga-

³² The word *astu* in the fourth line, printed by Dr. von Oldenburg in italics as missing, really exists on the original leaf, and should have been printed in Roman.

³³ I may add that the same story of Māṇibhadra is also contained in Part V, of the Weber MSS., of which 8 leaves exist in that collection, and apparently one leaf in the Petroffski collection, No. 7 in Dr. von Oldenburg's paper.

³⁴ See my edition of the Bower MS., p. 236.

³⁵ See Series of the Pali Text Society, Part I, p. 208. This was first pointed out by Dr. von Oldenburg.

- 5, [vān=tēn-ōpasamkramitvā + + + +]tā sārddha-sa + + sammōda-
ti samrañjati kathām vividhām=upasaṃhr-
6, [tya + + + + + + + + + +]Māṇibhadra mahāyakṣa sēnāpa-
tir=Bhagavantam=idam=avōcat

LEAF I: REVERSE.

- 1, (ha)yata svadhyāyata paryavāpnuta manasi kuruta tat-kasmā
2, [nagar-ō]pamam vyākaraṇam dharm-ōpasamhitam ādi brahma-
caryasy=ābhi-
3, nirvāṇ-ā + + + + (a)tha ca punaḥ kula-putrēṇa bra-
4, +yā agāraṇa-nagarika (pravra)ditvā nagar-ōpamam vyāka-
5, [raṇam + + +] + dhārayita(vyam) (udgrā)hayita(vyam) vācay-
itavyam svadhyā-
6, [yitavyam] + + + + + Bhagavām a(stu) mana + ēbhi.

LEAF II: OBVERSE.

- 1, + + (mahā)-v(ā)cya(m) pūrva-vad=idam vaditvā brahmā Sa-
natkumā-
2, [raḥ] + =pradakṣiṇī-kṛ(tvā)(tatr=ai)=(ā)ntarhitā atha catvārō
mahārā-
3, [jānō] abhikrāntāyām rātryām yēn=(āha)m tēn=ōpasamkrānta
(upētya)
4, [padau çirasā] vanditvā yathā svaka-sva(ka) + + i niḥçṛtya
ēkāntē tasthurē
5, [i](da)m vaditvā catvārō mahārājānō mama pāda çirasā vaṃdi-
6, [tvā pradakṣiṇī-kṛtvā ta](tr-ai)v=āntarhitā · udgrhṇata bhik-
ṣavō nagar-ōpamam vyāka-

LEAF II: REVERSE.

- 1, [raṇam] +ya (s)phalēn=mūrdhā daçadhā hrdayam phalēt idam
vaditvā
2, (pa)dau çirasā vanditvā Bhagavantam trs-pradakṣiṇī-kṛtvā tatr=
ai-
3, [va] Bhagavām ēva ra + + utyāyāt=purastād=bhikṣu-(saṃgha)
4, nyāṣīdat niṣadya Bhaga(vām) (bhi)kṣūn=āmantryayati (c=
ārtha)=dya-
5, +(vēṇa) abhi(krāntā)yām rā(tryām) yēn=āham tēn=ōpasam-
krāntaḥ
6, + + + ē + + [ē]k(ā)nta-sthita (bra)[hm]ā Sanatkumārō

Imperfectly visible letters are shown in round brackets; missing letters and restorations, in angular brackets. Of *sōlmē* (Ia¹) I can make nothing; one would expect a number, say *ṣōḍaṣō*, Pāli *sōlasō* or *sōlasamō* 'sixteenth.' We have clearly here the beginning of a new chapter, in which Buddha appears to narrate to Māṇibhadra the story of

the Brāhmā Sanatkumāra. The name of the chapter would seem to be *Nagarōpama Ārāma* or 'the town-like park.' On the obverse of Leaf I I have restored what can be concluded with much probability to be the missing portions. This will give an idea of the original state of the page.

Set I, b. This set consists of 15 leaves. As a rule there are 9 lines on a page, only exceptionally 10, as on fl. 23a. The manuscript is incomplete, both as regards the number and the size of the leaves. Its beginning and end are missing; but, so far as I can see from Dr. von Oldenburg's paper in the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, no portion of it appears to have gone to St. Petersburg. All the leaves are mutilated at their right-hand side, and the only indication of their original length lies in the well-known fact, that Central Asian manuscripts have their string-hole on the left side of the leaf, at the distance of about a quarter of the length of the full page. Hence it may be concluded with some probability, that about one-quarter of each leaf is missing. As the existing length is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, this gives the full length as probably about 6 inches.³⁶ The breadth of the leaves is about 2 inches. The material is a very soft kind of paper of a darkish colour; it is in a very rotten and broken state.

The writing is very slovenly done. Small and big letters frequently alternate without any apparent reason; and the lines are not kept properly straight and apart, so that their letters occasionally run into one another. Also errors occur not unfrequently, syllables or sounds being occasionally omitted; thus fl. 22a² *paṃca* for *paṃcamē*, fl. 22a⁴ *tryōdaṣamaṃ* for *trayōdaṣamaṃ*; fl. 23a³ *rāṣṭōpadravē* for *rāṣṭrōpadravē*, etc. All these blemishes aggravate the difficulty of reading the manuscript, and, I hope, will be accepted in extenuation of the imperfect state of the transliteration, given by me below.

The characters used in this manuscript distinctly belong to the Northern Indian class of Brāhmī, of the early Gupta period. They are of a rather archaic type, as I shall presently show in some detail. It will be seen from the excellent comparative tables, published by

³⁶ Professor Bühler in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 261, points out that "numerous copperplate grants with one string-hole on the left" exist in India, and infers from it that manuscripts with one string-hole on the left "were once not unknown in India." There is every probability that this inference is correct. For as the material (birch-bark or palm-leaf) shows, some of the Central Asian manuscripts, (e.g., the Bower MS.) must have been imported from India (see p. 258). In fact, in the case of such exported Indian manuscripts, the peculiar position of the string-hole is an additional proof of their great age. For no Indian manuscript, found in India itself, shows that position; they either show one hole in the middle, or one on either side. Even the Horiuzi MS., exported from India to Japan early in the 6th cent. A.D., already shows the double hole.

Professor Bühler in illustration of his essay on Indian Palaeography,³⁷ that the marks, enumerated by me below, have, in their cumulation, entirely disappeared from all engraved records (copperplates, stone-tablets, rocks, etc.) in India, from about the seventh century (say, 650 A.D.). It is a natural result of the process of engraving that archaic forms of letters, which as a rule are simpler and stiffer than cursive ones, conserve themselves much longer in such records than in manuscripts. It is a principle, now universally admitted, that manuscripts show the presence of cursive forms very much earlier than engraved records. It may be expected, therefore, that the marks above referred to will have disappeared very much earlier from all manuscripts, to give place to their corresponding cursive forms. This expectation is fully born out by the Bower MS., the date of which, from the occurrence in it of a special cursive form (the intermediate *ya*), can with certainty be fixed to be about 450 A.D., *i.e.*, about two centuries anterior to the term above-mentioned for engraved records. In that manuscript, indeed, none of the marks, enumerated below, occur at all. On the other hand, in our Macartney MS., they are all present in cumulation. This proves very clearly that this Macartney MS. must be very considerably older than the Bower MS. Further, some of those marks have disappeared from engraved records, from about the end of the fourth century (say, 400 A.D.). They prevail in them in the first, second and third centuries : they also prevail in this Macartney MS. It may, therefore, as it seems to me, safely be concluded that this Macartney MS. may not be dated later than the middle of the fourth century, and that it may be very much older. Provisionally I would suggest 350 A.D. as a fairly safe date. This result makes this particular Macartney MS. the oldest existing Indian manuscript. For, though found in Central Asia, it is abundantly clear from the characters of its writing, that if not written in India itself (which, for my part, I am disposed to doubt on account of the material on which it is written), it was written by a Native of India, or an Indian Buddhist, who had emigrated to Central Asia.³⁸

The marks, above referred to, are the following :—

(1) Initial long *ā*, with curve, indicating length, attached to the right-hand side of the vertical line ; disappears from the fourth century. After that date, the curve is attached to the foot of the vertical line, and this is also the case in the Bower MS. See fl. 23a^{1, 8}.

³⁷ In the *Encyclopedia of Indo-aryan research*. See his Plates III to V.

³⁸ It is a well-known fact that Indian Buddhist teachers, either on their own initiative, or on vocation by others, frequently settled in foreign parts (*e.g.* Tibet and China).

(2) Initial short *i*, with the apex turned to the right, disappears from the third century. After that date, the apex is turned to the bottom, in the Bower MS. it is to the top. See fl. 22b², 23a⁵.

(3) Medial short *i*, made by a nearly perfect circlet, extremely rare, even in the most ancient records. From very early times (first century) it is usually made by a line curving to the left. See fl. 22a⁴ (*bhi*), 22a⁵ (*ti*), 23a⁷ (*pi*).

(4) Medial long *ī*, made by a line curving *to the left*, like short *i*, but more convoluted; disappears from the beginning of the fifth century (last seen in the Bilsad record 414 A.D., in *hī*, *ṣrī*) and is not found in the Bower MS. It occurs regularly here, see fl. 22a² (*ṣṭhī*, *vī*, *mī*), 22a⁴ (*dhī*), 22a^{3, 5} (*rī*), 22b⁵ (*nī*) 23b⁹ (*kī*), *et passim*.

(5) Medial short *u*, in the form of a straight line, attached to the bottom of the consonant, disappears from the end of the sixth century. After that date curves or wedges are used; the latter also in the Bower MS. See fl. 21a¹, 22a³, 23b⁵ (*su*), 21b⁵ and 23a⁵ (*pu*), 22a⁴ (*hu*), 22a⁶ (*mu*), 23a¹ (*ju*), 23a⁸ (*dhū*).

(6) Initial *ē*, with the apex turned upwards (Δ), disappears from the end of the fourth century (last seen in the Allahabad record, 375 A.D.). After that date the apex is turned to the bottom, in the Bower MS. to the left. See fl. 22a³ and 22b⁶.

(7-11) *Ka*, *ṛga*, *ja*, *ṇa*, and *ra* made with stiff straight lines, disappear with the end of the sixth century, *ja* and *ṇa* even earlier. After that date the lines are curved and the ends wedged. In the Bower MS., the ends of the vertical lines of *ka* and *ra* are always wedged, and the lines of *ja* and *ṇa* are curved. See fl. 22a⁴ (*kē*, *kaṁ*), 21a¹, 23a⁶ (*ṛga*), 23a¹ (*ju*), 23b⁹ (*ṇa*), 23b⁷ (*rā*), *et passim*.

(12) *Ya*, in its trident form, disappears from the end of the sixth century.³⁹ After that date its square form is universal, while an intermediate form occurs with the vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, *au*, from about 370 to 540 A.D. In the Bower MS. the only forms that occur are the trident and the intermediate. In the Macartney MS., the trident form alone occurs, thus showing that it cannot be placed later than 370 A.D., and probably dates from much earlier.

(13) The numeral figures 1, 2, 3 and 20 are of an ancient type. See the left-hand margin on the obverses of fl. 21, 22, 23. In the Bower MS. the same forms are used, though occasionally the figure 3 has a more modern form.

I may add that the superscribed conjunct *r* is, in our manuscript, always written above the line; see fl. 21b³, 23a⁷ (*rva*), 22b⁷ (*rta*), *et*

³⁹ See *ante*, pages 216 and 217.

passim. The only exception is in the case of the ligature *rya*, when *r* is formed on the line; see fl. 22a³. All this, however, is a practice which goes as far back as the first century A.D. .

I may also note, that as a rule no marks of interpunctuation or division are used. Exceptionally, however, a circular mark occurs, to mark the end of a chapter (*adhyāya*), as on fl. 21a⁵, 21b³, and an oblong mark to indicate the end of a paragraph as on fl. 23b⁴, 6.

It may also be worth noticing that the leaves of this work are also numbered on the obverse pages. This a practice on which I have already remarked on page 227.

The language of the manuscript is Sanskrit, but of the well-known ungrammatical or mixed type which was peculiar to the earlier Buddhist writers. Examples of this are the prakriticisms *aikō* (for *aikaḥ*) in fl. 22a⁴, *tasmā* (for *tasmāt*) fl. 22a⁴, *bhavē* (for *bhavēd*) fl. 22a³, 5, *mantrēna* (for *mantrēṇa*) fl. 22b¹, 23b⁴, 8.

The work is written partly in verse (*ṣlōka*) and partly in prose. The *ṣlōkas*, however, are frequently, very irregularly formed, the *pādas* being sometimes too short, sometimes too long by one syllable; sometimes two *pādas* are run into one uninterrupted half-verse; see fl. 22b⁶, 23b⁹. In my transcript, below, I have indicated any *ṣlōka* that could be recognized by the insertion, within angular brackets, of the usual single and double lines of division. A clear prose passage can be distinguished in fl. 23b⁶, 7.

The work appears to have been divided into *adhyāyas* or chapters. On fl. 22a⁵ we have the end of the eighth chapter, and on fl. 22b⁹ the mutilated ending of the ninth chapter. The tenth chapter which follows seems to have been called *gandharva-karma* or 'business of Gandharvas.'

A point worth noting is the frequent occurrence of unusual or unknown words. I have noticed the following instances: *kējāla* fl. 22a⁴ (for *kiñjāla* ?), *yanti* 'ingredient' fl. 22b⁴, *kaṇavīra* fl. 23a⁶ (for *kaṇajīra* or *karavīra* ?); *spandana* and *rāsabha* fl. 23a⁵ as names of two medicinal plants. This adds to the general archaic look of the work. On fl. 23a² there occurs the word *rājamātra* or 'a person of princely position'; it occurs together with the word *rāja*. According to the St. Petersburg dictionary, the word *rājamātra* is extremely rare; it seems to occur but once, in Caraka, part I, chapter 15. The context in Caraka is different; but the coincidence is surprising. Could our manuscript have anything to do with the original Caraka, that is, the work of Agnivēṇa? For the nature of the work in our manuscript is undoubtedly medical or semi-medical.

TRANSLITERATION. PLATE XVI.

LEAF 21 : OBERSE.

- 1, + ka[r]tavyā (nāra)dati buta + + va vasuṣ=ca(trā)ṅgadaṣ=ca
+ + +
- 2, nām prastha (3) (paṁca)-rātram jāpam=anuvartana-sarva-
gandha + +
- 3, kṣatā sampūjanā + m(ca) maddhyēvīnām kuryāsi + +
- 4, jana ṣamta ku(mati) sarva-dēva-nāga-yakṣām vai +
- 21 5, + m + muddyat=īti ○ aṣṭamō 'ddhyāyaḥ ◎
- 6, + tyāyam ni(t)o + mē + + bhanēna ṣa + +
- 7, + ganētō māṣa ya
- 8, + + ā + sarva + + ai +
- 9, + + + +

REVERSE.

- 1, + + + +
- 2, + + + + +
- 3, nyaiṣ=ca pūjayitavyam + + +
- 4, + + + pam=anuda(t)ō manah sa(pta-rā)tram ma +
- 5, + + + ti tatō ○ 'sya so puruṣō maṇi-rū
- 6, + + ch + (tataṣ=ca + + (bha)m gacchati manuṣyāṇām
- 7, sya (dha)nikām + + + tā + + lam lapsati divē +
- 8, (va)mō 'dhyāy(a) (sa)māp(t)am ◎ Atha gandharva-karman
nāma bhavati +
- 9, + ānām hitāya tu paṁca-rā(tra)-su + + + pūrv-ātmā + + +

LEAF 22 : OBERSE.

- 1, tta⁴⁰ pravālam ca[i]suvarṇam rajata[m] tathā [u] kṛṣṇ-āyasam
ca tāmram ca [i] kā(ṇḍa)m ca trapus(ā)-sam
- 2, yā paṁca⁴¹ [i] ṣaṣṭhī bhavati mṛttikā [u] saptamī brahma-(k)u-
[ṣa]n [i]=tusa-vijāni v=āṣṭamē [u] +
- 3, (mi)[i]daṣamē trīṇi tējasā [u] ēkādaṣa tu gandha-dakam [i] bha-
vē[d] dvādaṣē tu (ku) +
- 4, trayōdaṣam⁴² kējalam [u] sahasr-ābhiḥṭaṣ=c=aikō [i] tasmā [t]
sthānam vidhīyatē
- 22 5, yā bhavē[d] nārī [i] ○ sadyaḥ snātā labhēt=sutam [u] rā(ṭi)-dvārē
vī + dēṣu [i] +
- 6, vighrēṣu vā sadyaḥ [i] snātō muc(y)ētē sadyas=tatō [u] jā + ya
+ (drayō)

⁴⁰ This akṣara is written very minutely on the margin.⁴¹ Read *paṁcamē*.⁴² Read *trayōdaṣam*.

- 7, rājyā sadya + + + jaṁ + yañ=ca + i + + + + yaṁtra + + ā +
 8, sās=tu sudaruṇāṁ vā + tinā + + kā + + ya granthānā + +
 9, + + + + +

REVERSE.

- 1, + + + + +
 2, vā mantrēna i + + dhā + + mantra ana + + + + (ca bā va
 piṇva)
 3, sa saha(srē) + + + + + cakkra la + + + + + (ṇṭhī tra) + hā
 4, nandini tathā[||]ksīrikā-tvaya-yantiṭ=ca[|]apāṁ ma + + (saṁ-
 gha)rē ca
 5, n=aiv=ērgu ca ta O thā[||]sūry-ānuvartīnī çuri vā n=āgra-danti
 ca +
 6, bala tathā[||]ētās=tu dōṣaṁ dhīdim vyāsaṁ[|]vā vighnā-vinā-
 çanī[||]catu +
 7, laçu[|]kartavyā dvija-sattamaḥ[||]samāyāṁ sn(ā)p(t)a-liptāyāṁ
 sōmya-sāmya +
 8, mūlāma-vyagra [|] sa-(vi)çāṇa⁴³ su-kukṣiṇaḥ[||]daça-dāṇṭa ca
 kartavyā[|]kalaçā snāptā
 9, nēyyanti⁴⁴ tvī sō rgha vyā ghī + + + va sahaṁ(ta) saha(dēçam)
 +(dvijānām) + +

LEAF 23 : OBVERSE.

- 1, nāhula-drakṣamayānām āç[|]ti⁴⁵-sahasraṁ juhōtavyaṁ āturaśya
 sa +
 2, tirājē rāja-mātrē vā dēv(ē) (ampu)rikāsu ca n=ānyasmiṁn⁴⁶=
 ēṣa mantra-pralē +
 3, mantrēṇa rāṣṭ⁴⁷-ōpadravē tr⁴⁸-hastam mā(rum)guram kṛtvā harī-
 takī vibhītakam=āpi + yani
 4, (da)sth-ōdumbara-bilva-palāça-vījaka[||]-saptaparnaç=ca[|]drōṇam
 vaça(n=ta)thā + i
 23 5, spandanam candanam ta O thā [||] sarj-ārjunam vījakam [|]
 rāsabham mōkṣakam tathā [||] + karē 2 ima
 6, nāgam vaṇça-kulam tathā [||] priyaṅgum=atha puṁnāgam=[|]
 arkam kaṇavīram ca kadambaṁ + manam drōṇa
 7, vṛkṣō 'pi yō + + + + gandham sarvō maddhyaḥ [|] sarva-dhū
 + + + ōmayam [||]

⁴³ The akṣara ṇa is placed below viçā, between the lines.

⁴⁴ The two ya are placed side by side, overlapping one another.

⁴⁵ Read açīti.

⁴⁶ Dele the anusvāra.

⁴⁷ Read rāṣṭr-ōpadravē.

⁴⁸ Read tri-hastam.

- 8, dhi⁴⁹-madhu-ghṛt-ākta + + ç=ca āhati-sahasraṁ hō + + yē
+ + +
9, myanti⁵⁰ viṣayē + + + + + anēn=aiva (ma)[ntrēṇa]
+ ha(n-ō)padra
10, + + + + +

REVERSE.

- 1, + + + + + (kara) + +
2, + ka-rātra (su-bāta)sa-bilva-samidhānā (vō) + + + ghṛtākta
3, hōtavyaṁ kṛṣṇa ca + + + + + pūrv-ōktē tā + + + + +
pūrva +
4, ṣ-pathē⁵¹ nadī-pula(napa) + anēna mantrēna⁵² || ch(a)trēṇa
dhruva + +
5, anilē kṛṣṇa-vā O sasē vṛga-bhūtē 'miki tiṣṭhasē asukō mē tathā vā
6, hā || sō 'sya rājā vaçyō vidhēyō bhavati ātmanēna dhanēna vā
jijñāsā
7, ktavyaṁ prāṇātyayō bhavati dharmaç=ca rāja-ghātinō bhavati
rāja-ghātinō ta(thā)
8, narakēṣu ca paccatē⁵³ anēna mantrēna⁵² rāj-antarēṣu pūrvam
dakṣiṇam datvā ça
9, rayēṇa dakṣiṇasya siddh(ā)nta-mamtra[ī]-vidhir=ēṣa prakīrti-
taḥ [ī] samī + + ām (ça) +

With regard to the remaining sets of the Macartney MSS., I must, for the present, content myself with merely publishing photographic specimens, and adding a few words of description. These manuscripts are written in characters which are either quite unknown to me, or with which I am too imperfectly acquainted to attempt a ready reading in the scanty leisure that my regular official duties allow me. I thought, however, that even a mere publication of specimens of the original manuscripts would be welcome to Oriental scholars. My hope is that among those of my fellow-labourers who have made the languages of Central Asia their speciality, there may be some who may be able to recognize and identify the characters and language of these curious documents. To such I would only ask to be permitted to address the request that any discovery made by them may be communicated to me, with a view to arranging a full publication of the manuscripts.

Regarding their age I cannot venture to give any opinion, except

⁴⁹ The full word is *dadhi*.

⁵⁰ Perhaps *çāmyanti*.

⁵¹ The full word is *catus-pathē*.

⁵² Read *mantrēṇa*.


⁵³ Read *paccatē*.

that I am not disposed to believe that they are so old as the other manuscripts which came from Kuchar. All these came from the neighbourhood of Khotan, and there is nothing in the circumstances of their discovery which necessarily involves a very high antiquity, or need make them older than the early middle ages. The occurrence in them of what appears to me Uighur and Tibetan writing also seems to point in the same direction. See also *infra* pp. 255 and 256.

They are all written on a coarse, stiff paper, of a very dark dirty-brown colour. It is very different from the comparatively white and soft paper of the Kuchar manuscripts. The condition, however, in which they are now, may be partially due to their long burial in the hot, dry sand from which they were rescued. Unfortunately the dark colour of these Khotan manuscripts has proved a great difficulty in photographing, and some of the Plates are not quite so clear as one would wish.

SET II. This consists of two distinct parts, of very different shape and size. One part (Plates XVII and XVIII) consists of two large sheets of paper, measuring about $16 \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The second part (Plates XIX-XXII) consists of 12 sheets, of which eight are folded in the middle to make 2 leaves each. Hence there are 16 double-leaves and 4 single leaves; that is, the 12 sheets make up 20 leaves. These leaves measure about $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches each; or a double-leaf measures $13\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The double-leaves show, close to their folded margin, four pin-holes, which seem to indicate that they were once stitched together, though no trace of a thread has survived. These 12 sheets are inscribed with four different kinds of characters; nevertheless, of course, they might form a connected whole; but this I am unable to determine. Accordingly I shall describe them in four separate, subordinate sets.

Set II *a*. Plates XVII and XVIII show the two sides of one of the two large sheets. Each of these sheets bears writing in two different characters, and two different inks. The lines of writing are, as a rule, arranged so that two lines of black letters alternate with one line of white letters. On one side (Plate XVIII) the double lines of black writing are separated from the single line of white writing by straight lines strongly marked in black ink. The white writing appears to me to be in Uighur characters; those of the black writing I am unable to identify. On one side (Plate XVIII) there are the distinct impressions of three seals; the two outer ones in black, the middle one in white ink. The latter should be again in Uighur,⁵⁴ to correspond with the white writing. The regularity of the alternation of the white and

⁵⁴ One line has a curious resemblance to Kufic, and reminds one of ; but it is probably an angular form of Uighur.

black writing seems to suggest that one gives the translation of the other, the document being bilingual. The second sheet is, in every respect, similar to the figured one, except that it bears only two seals, and that the writing which corresponds to the white one is in black lead or what looks very much like it; it is clearly distinguishable from the black-ink writing.

Set II *b*. Plate XIX shows a single leaf of this portion of the second part of Set II. There are also three double-leaves in this subordinate set, the total being seven leaves. These appear to me to be written in Chinese or in something greatly resembling Chinese characters. The number of letters in the perpendicular lines vary from 9 to 12; and the number of lines itself varies from 8 to 11. One half of one of the double-leaves (two pages), even, numbers 13 lines to the page, and (apparently) 18 or 20 letters to the line, the letters being only about one-half as large as those on the rest of this manuscript. Each page of writing is enclosed in a double-lined quadrangle. Each side of a double-leaf, of course, has two such inscribed quadrangles (or pages) side by side, the fold of the paper running between the quadrangles.

Set II *c*. Plate XX shows a double-leaf of this subordinate set. It will also best explain what is meant by a double-leaf. There are two of these double-leaves; and there is also one single leaf; so that the total number of leaves is five. Every page (except the two pages of the single leaf) is enclosed within a double-lined quadrangle. There are from 9 to 11 lines of writing on a page: the usual number is 10. The writing is unknown to me: there is a faint suggestion about it of a very cursive form of the Indian Brāhmī characters; but this appearance is probably deceptive.

Set II *d*. Plate XXI shows a double-leaf of this portion of the set. There are two more such double-leaves, the total number of leaves being six. Every page is enclosed within a double-lined quadrangle, and the quadrangles themselves are divided, by double lines, into six compartments each. Each compartment contains two lines of writing, the whole page, thus, having 12 lines. The lines of writing stand closer to the double lines of division than to one another. I do not know the writing; it appears, however, to be similar to that of Set II *c*.

Set II *e*. Plate XXII shows a leaf of this subordinate set. There is another leaf of this set which is inscribed only on one side. This side has eight lines, while the two pages of the figured leaf have ten lines each. The writing is in white ink,⁵⁵ and appears to be in Uighur characters.

⁵⁵ It is not chalk; at least it is tolerant of washing. I may here add that the black ink, too, in all these manuscripts, tolerates the application of a wet sponge.

The following is a summary of Set II:—

Set II a,	sheets	2,			total	2
b,	single leaf	1,	double-leaves	3,	„	7
c,	„	„	1,	„	„	2,
d,	„	„	0,	„	„	3,
e,	„	„	2,	„	„	0,

Total 22

SET III. Plate XXIII shows two leaves of this set. There are altogether 12 such single leaves. They measure about $6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and have 6 or 7 lines to the page. The writing on them is much interspersed with what look like Brāhmī ligatures, in the Tibetan type of characters. This seems to render it probable that the rest is also written in Brāhmī characters of a very cursive type; but I have had no time to study it more closely. The leaves show no holes, and they do not appear to have ever been fastened together, though it can hardly be doubted that they form a connected series.

SET IV. Plates XXIV and XXV show two double-leaves of this set. It consists of a thick manuscript of small sized double-leaves, of which some 3 or 4 have split into single leaves. Accordingly there should be 112 leaves, but actually there are only 111 leaves, and these measure about $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches each. The lower corners of the leaves are damaged. Each double-leaf, when folded up into two single leaves, makes up a so-called 'form,' and these 'forms' are bound together into a 'book' by means of a metal nail which is passed through the whole of the 'forms' of leaves near their left-hand margin. The 'forms' are secured from falling off the nail, by a metal disk screwed into one of its ends and a metal knob, into the other. The 'book' begins and ends with a couple of blank 'forms,' but whether this indicates that the manuscript is complete, I cannot say, though it seems probable. There are six or seven lines on each page, and these lines are distinctly partitioned off into four columns. The number of letters in a columnar line varies; it is usually six; but I have noticed them from four to seven. In this manuscript, too, ligatures of the Tibetan type occur on nearly every page, which would suggest a Brāhmī cursive character for the rest of the writing. Whether the latter is the same as, or similar to, that occurring in Set III needs investigation. I have had no time for closer examination.

SET V. Plate XXVI shows three leaves of this set. It is a manuscript, very similar in every respect to the preceding one. All its leaves are single, about 100; their exact number is uncertain, as a few of

the leaves are broken in fragments, the paper being very brittle. They measure about $5\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They are also made up into a 'book,' by a metal nail passed through the left-hand side of the leaves. There are two blank leaves at the end of the book, and the leaf preceding them is inscribed on one side only. There appears to have been also a blank leaf at the beginning of the book, but it is now broken into fragments. All this would seem to indicate that the manuscript is complete; but not being able to read it, I cannot say so for certain. There are five lines on each page, and these are partitioned off into four columns. The letters in each columnar line number eight.⁵⁶ Ligatures of the Tibetan type occur much less frequently than in the preceding manuscript (see obverse of leaf I, line 3); nevertheless the writing may turn out to be a species of very cursive Brāhmī. I have had no time for any closer examination.

SET VI. This is a small manuscript of 8 leaves, measuring $5 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It is in a very bad state of preservation: nearly the whole of its writing has become obliterated, and the leaves are very baked and brittle. From the little that is legible, it is certain that this manuscript was written in exactly the same characters as the preceding one (Set V), with the same sporadic interspersions of Tibetan-like ligatures. As the leaves show no hole, they do not appear to have ever been strung together. In this respect this manuscript is like that of Set III.

In conclusion I would add a few remarks concerning the probable age of these manuscripts. They are not offered as embodying final results; they are only thoughts which have forced themselves on my mind in the course of my investigations, and they are intended as suggestions to stimulate further researches by others. For my part, I am disposed to believe that they will eventually be found to err on the side of moderation rather than excess.

For the purpose of an enquiry into their age, these manuscripts must clearly be divided into two distinct classes. First, there are those found near Kuchar, and dug out from the ruins of the ancient vihāra. These are written in Brāhmī characters, either of the Northern Indian or the Central Asian type, and are composed either in Sanskrit or in Turkī. They are also written on palm-leaf, or birch-bark, or paper. To the second class belong those found in the sands, in the neighbourhood of Khotan. These are written in Chinese or Uighur or some other unknown alphabet and language; they are also inscribed on paper of (apparently) a quite different kind. I omit for the present the Godfrey MSS., because it is not certain, whether they were also found in that

⁵⁶ This, if the language were Sanskrit, would point to a work in *çlōkas*.

ancient ruined vihāra, or in some other old ruined building near Kuchar. But provisionally, they must be placed with the first class, with which they agree in every other respect.

I will dispose of the second class first. For the present, there is too little information available to form any decided opinion. But the following points may be noticed. First: Sets 4, 5 and 6 of the Macartney MSS. were found in practically the same locality, *i.e.*, 50 or 60 miles (5 days' march) East of Guma. The latter town lies about 100 miles W. N. W. of Khotan. The find-place of those three sets, therefore, must be somewhere about 60 miles North-West of Khotan. The Sets 2 and 3 were found in a different direction, *viz.*, North-East of Khotan, in the Takla Makan desert: Set 2 at three marches (say, 35 miles) and Set 3 at 50 or 60 miles from Khotan. The direct route from Khotan to China, by way of Lob Nor, skirts the Takla Makan desert. About 69 miles East of Khotan lies the town of Kiria, where that route turns North-East. Within the elbow thus made, and at a distance of about 3 or 4 miles to the left, lies the Takla Makan desert, stretching westward to the North of Khotan. The town of Pima (or Pein) lay a little to the North or North-West of Kiria, about 60 miles East of Khotan, and the China route ran originally by way of it (being thus a little shorter than the present loop-line by way of Kiria). The Chinese Buddhist Hiuen Tsiang, in 644 A.D., passed by this route through Pima on his return to China; so did Marco Polo on his way to China in 1274 A.D.⁵⁷ In their time the Takla Makan desert already existed; it lay a little to the North of Pima, and was advancing southward. In Hiuen Tsiang's time, Pima was a comparatively recent settlement, its inhabitants having migrated south-eastward to it from another town (called Ho-lo-lo-kia) on the destruction of the latter by the advancing sands. In Marco Polo's time, Pima still existed. At the present day, it has disappeared in the sands, and Kiria, still farther South, has taken its place. Beyond Pima and Charchan the sand had already encroached on the route, in Marco Polo's time. Not long after his time, about 1330 A.D., the town of Lob-Katak, lying North-East of Charchan, about 3 marches (say 40 miles) from Lob Nor, was overwhelmed by the sands.⁵⁸ It seems probable that the locality in which the manuscript Sets 2 and 3 were found, belonged to the original site of Pima, or was not far from it, perhaps at that of Ho-lo-lo-kia. The manuscripts might be, therefore, of the 13th century A.D., though they might also be much older. The

⁵⁷ See Yule's edition of Marco Polo, Vol. I, pp. 196-203. Also Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 309 ff.

⁵⁸ See N. Elias' *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 10.

find-place of Sets 4-6 would seem to belong to the western extremity of the Takla Makan desert. The locality of Set 4 is described as "an immense graveyard in ruins." This part of the country and farther North-West was the scene of the fierce struggles between the Muhammadans of Kashgar and the Buddhists of Khotan in the early part of the 12th century. A large cemetery at Ordam Padshah, near Yangi Hisar, marks the site of a great Muhammadan defeat in 1095 A.D. That site is now nearly buried in the sands. It was about that time, in the 11th century, that Sultān Satuk Bughra Khān succeeded in bringing together all the Uighur people into one nation.⁵⁹ All this would point to a similar conclusion, the 12th century, for the Macartney MSS. As to the chances of conservation of manuscripts under the condition in which they were found, I may quote the following remarks from Sir T. D. Forsyth's Report⁶⁰ with reference to the castellated city, Shahri Nukta Rashid, now more or less completely buried under sand:—

"As an instance illustrative of the dry character of the climate here, I may mention that we found sheets of matting, such as are used at the present day, in the foundations of walls, still in excellent preservation under the layers of raw bricks composing the structure of the battlements, although, as we are assured and as history tends to prove, the place has been in ruins for eight hundred years."

It not unfrequently happens, as Sir T. D. Forsyth remarks, that when the fierce wind sweeps over these sand-buried places, objects are disclosed to view temporarily and again buried under the sands. In this way, if not as the result of actual digging after treasure, the Macartney MSS. appear to have been obtained by their finder.

I will now turn to the other class: those found in Kuchar and written in the Brāhmī characters. These must be divided into two sections: (1) those written in the Northern Indian Gupta, and (2) those written in the Central Asian characters. Buddhism was very early introduced into Kuchar, probably as early as the 1st century B.C., and probably through Khotan, where it was introduced in the 2nd century B.C.⁶¹ In the early centuries A.D. it was a stronghold of Buddhism; later on that religion retrograded under the spreading rivalry of Nestorian Christianity, and still more so under that of Muhammadanism. It never quite

⁵⁹ See Sir T. D. Forsyth's *Report of a Mission to Yarkand*, pp. 122-127 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁶¹ See Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lxxviii, Vol. II, p. 313, 314. *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LV, p. 197.

succumbed, and later, under the early Mongol conquerors, in the 13th century, it partially revived in the Lamaitic form of Buddhism introduced from Tibet. This conservation of Buddhism, however, is not of any particular importance with regard to the question of the age of the Kuchar manuscripts. The early missionaries of the Buddhist faith were natives of Northern India, taking "India" in the wider usage of those times. They brought with them their Buddhist scriptures written in the Northern Indian characters, and when settled in Kuchar, naturally used those characters in their own compositions. Their converts, the natives of Kuchar, learned the use of those characters from their religious teachers. But in their hands they soon began to undergo a process of modification, which resulted in what I have called the Central Asian Brāhmī, but which, perhaps, it may be better now to call the Kucharī, as I have not met with this alphabet in any manuscripts except those which came from Kuchar.

The initial epoch of that process of modification it seems possible to fix with some probability, with the help of the evolution of the various forms of *ya*. I have already (*ante*, pages 216 and 217) explained the two divergent lines of this evolution in Northern India and Central Asia. The Northern Indian evolution commenced in the extreme portion of North-Western India (Panjāb, Kaçmīr, Gandhāra, *i.e.*, the country of the Kushāns), (say) about 350 A.D., by the introduction of the intermediate *ya*, and completed its course in the modern square *ya* throughout Northern India within little more than two centuries, *i.e.*, about 600 A.D. From the same extreme portion of North-Western India the Brāhmī alphabet, together with Buddhism, had been carried into Kuchar. With it naturally went the changes which from time to time took place in that alphabet. This is shown by the case of the Bower MS., and by Nos. III *ab* of the Fragments, all coming from Kuchar and thus showing that the fashion of writing the intermediate *ya* had been carried to Kuchar. Now it seems to me evident, that if the process of evolution of the Central Asian or Kucharī alphabet had not already fully set in before that period of the introduction of the intermediate *ya*, the influence of that intermediate *ya* and its resultant square *ya* would have shown itself in the formation of the Central Asian *ya*. But there is not the smallest trace of it. The evolution of the Central Asian *ya* has taken a different course, which proves that it must have begun at a time when the fashion of writing the intermediate *ya* had not yet begun, or at least had not yet become a settled fact in North-Western India. That means that the initial epoch of the evolution of the Central Asian cannot be well placed later than the fourth or fifth century A.D. Further, when once a native Kucharī style of writing

had been formed, it follows that by the side of it the Northern Indian style of writing can only have maintained an artificial existence, that is to say, it can only have existed either in manuscripts imported from India, or in the usage of Native Indians who had immigrated into Central Asia (Kuchar). It follows further, first, that the maintenance of the Northern Indian style in Kuchar (or Central Asia) ceased from the time the importation of Indian manuscripts or the immigration of Indian Buddhist teachers came to an end; and secondly (which is the main point in the present argument), that all manuscripts written in the Northern Indian style and discovered in Kuchar must, as regards their age, be judged solely by the rules that apply to Northern Indian palæography. This postulate applies to the Bower MS., to Parts I, II and III of the Weber MSS., to Sets I *a* and I *b* of the Macartney MSS., and to Fragments Nos. I, II, III (exc. III *d*), V–VIII, XI. It applies also to Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of the Godfrey MSS. As to the final epoch of the use of the Northern Indian alphabet in Central Asia (Kuchar), it may be noted that no manuscript has yet come to light, which shows the employment of the final square form of the Northern Indian *ya*. Hence it may fairly be concluded that after the sixth century, no more manuscripts were exported or Buddhist teachers emigrated from India to Central Asia. This practically coincides with the great Muhammadan invasions, and is probably to a great extent accounted for by the troubles attendant on them.

I may add that those manuscripts which are found written on palm-leaf or birch-bark are evidently importations from India, and it may be noted, as a confirmatory circumstance, that neither the palm-leaf fragment No. I, nor the birch-bark fragment No. II, nor the birch-bark Bower MS. shows any trace of the Central Asian style of writing. As neither the Tār-palm nor the birch exists in Central Asia (Kuchar), the facts could not well be otherwise. On the other hand, those manuscripts in Northern Indian Brāhmī, which are found written on paper, I am inclined to believe, must have been written in Central Asia by Indian Buddhists who had migrated there from India.

There remain the manuscripts written in the Central Asian Brāhmī. How long the use of this peculiar modification of the Brāhmī remained current in Central Asia (Kuchar), it is for me impossible at present to say. I know of no direct evidence. The ruling race in Central Asia, up to the time of the Mongols, were the Uighur tribes of Turks. It is well-known that they were a literate people, and that they adopted a modification of the Syriac characters from the Nestorian missionaries who came among them from the 6th century A.D., if not earlier. This modified Syriac became their national characters, and is known as the

Uighur. This adoption by them of a species of Syriac characters is significant, in view of the fact that there was at the time already in use among them a Sanskritic alphabet, the Central Asian Brāhmī (not to mention at all the artificial Northern Indian). Probably that circumstance shows (1) that the Central Asian Brāhmī was the peculiar property of the Buddhists among them, and (2) that Buddhism was limited among them to a minority, consisting of monks, but that the bulk of the nation had adopted Christianity, which accounts for their being so frequently designated as *Tarsi* (or Christian).⁶² Later on, the bulk of them adopted Muhammadanism, and with it the alphabet peculiar to it. From this it would follow that as Buddhism gradually dwindled among them, the knowledge and use of the Central Asian Brāhmī died out. How soon this was the case, I do not know; but it seems certain that the knowledge of that alphabet had entirely died out by the time of the rise of the Mongol power in the 12th century A.D.; otherwise it is difficult to account for the fact of the Uighur characters being selected by a Tibetan Buddhist for the purpose of forming a Mongol alphabet.⁶³ If the Central Asian Brāhmī had still survived at that time, one would have expected a Buddhist to choose that peculiarly Buddhist alphabet in preference to the Uighur. I am disposed to believe that it had already died out some centuries previous to the elaboration of the Mongol characters.

Arranged chronologically, the manuscripts in the Central Asian Brāhmī may be placed thus: Fragments III*d*, IV and IX are the earliest and may belong to the 5th century A.D. Next come Parts IV, V, VI, VII of the Weber MSS.; which may belong to the 6th century. Then follow Part VI of the Weber MSS. and Fragment X, which may be assigned to the 6th or 7th centuries. Lastly come Part IX of the Weber MSS. and Fragment XII, which may be as late as the 8th century. The Godfrey MSS., Nos. 6–15, which are written in the cursive Central Asian, are difficult to adjudge, and I will not attempt to estimate their exact age.

With regard to the language in which the Central Asian manuscripts are written, it may be noted that the following are written in Turkī (Uighur?). First: the Godfrey MSS. Nos. 4 and 5 (Plate IV), which are written in Northern Indian Brāhmī; and secondly, Part IX of the Weber MSS. and the Kashgar MS., which are written in Central Asian Brāhmī. To the latter may be added the Godfrey MSS. Nos. 6–15, which are in an unknown (Turkī or Chinese) language, and in cursive

⁶² See N. Elias' *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 96.

⁶³ See Koeppen's *Religion des Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 99, 100.

Central Asian. It will be seen, that only a small number of manuscripts are written in a language which is not Sanskrit; the majority are written in Sanskrit. This goes to confirm the fact, also otherwise known, that, as a rule, the Turkī-Uighur used their own Uighur characters for their native literature, and the Brāhmī, whether of the Northern Indian or of the Central Asian type, was practically limited to the Buddhists and to Sanskrit literature imported by them from India. And this further tends to show that the employment of the Central Asian type of Brāhmī is not likely to have survived for very long the cessation of the use of the Northern Indian type of Brāhmī. The latter, as I have shown, must have ceased to be in use with the cessation of importations from India, in the 7th century A. D.

P. S. I have just noticed that the ancient name of Kashgar and of the country round about was *Suli*. See Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 306, note; also N. Elias' *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 8, note. It is curious that the documents, Nos. 8 and others among the Godfrey MSS., (see *ante*, p. 240) begin with *Suli*, followed by a numeral. Could it be a date?



Notes on Coins of Native States.—By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D., C.I.E.
(With Plates XXXI-XXXIV.)

[Read May, 1897.]

This paper is based almost entirely on materials supplied to me by Mr. C. Maries, the Curator of the Museum and Superintendent of the Horticultural Garden in Gvāliyār. The description of the coins is derived from manuscript notes of Mr. Maries, put together by him, I understand, at the suggestion of His Highness the Mahārāja of Gwalior. The facsimiles of the coins were prepared by the artist of the Calcutta Museum, mostly from the originals, kindly lent to me by Mr. Maries for the purpose; a very few of the originals are in the possession of Mr. Bushford.

The notes, here put together, are necessarily of a very desultory character. Some of the information is uncertain, and must be taken with some reservation. Very little is known as yet of the coinages of the numerous Native States. Their coins are of the crudest make, with no pretence whatever to art and very little to legibility, and are hardly ever complete. It is no wonder, therefore, that hitherto they have not been thought worth the attention of the numismatist. They seem to be of no historic interest: though, perhaps, when more is known of them, they may be found not devoid of historical value.

A small, but useful contribution on the coins of Native States (with two plates) is the well-known one of J. Prinsep in his "Useful Tables," pp. 64-68. But the most useful existing work on the subject is Mr. Webb's *Currencies of Rājputānā*.¹ It is limited, however, in its scope, and not exhaustive even with regard to the States it notices. Much information may also be obtained from the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum* in Calcutta, which was prepared by Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers. A considerable portion of its Part II (pp. 140-219) describes the large collection of coins of Native States, which

¹ The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputānā, by William Wilfrid Webb, M.B., of the Indian Medical Service; illustrated by a Map and twelve Plates of Coins. Westminster, 1893.

(1) A rupee of Mādhō Rāo I., struck at Bāpgāū on his way to Gvāliyār. Mark on obverse: circle of 5 dots with a sixth in centre, over ۛ of شاه: on reverse, small trident over the و of جلوس.

(2) The first rupee of Mādhō Rāo I. minted at Gvāliyār. No date. Mark on obverse: as on No. 1; on reverse: a trident, attached to the head of و of جلوس, resembling the *fleur de lys*; also within its س, a cross surmounted by a circle of 5 dots, with a sixth in the centre.

(3) A rupee of Daulat Rāo. Date (regnal of Akbar II of Delhi who reigned from 1806–1837 A.D.) 17 (=1822 A.D.) under the larger trident. Marks: obv., as on Nos. 1 and 2; rev., trident and cross with circle of dots, as on No. 2; also a minute trident, or *fleur de lys*, in ج of جلوس.

(4) A rupee of Baijā Bāi Ṣaḥibah, wife of Daulat Rāo, who coined money as regent after her husband's death. Mint: Gvāliyār. Date (regnal) 23: this is the 23rd year of Akbar II, i.e., 1243/44 H. or 1827 A.D. Accordingly this rupee was struck in the first year of her regency. Marks: obv., as on Nos. 1–3; rev., plain trident, surmounting the ل of جلوس, and श्री *grī* to the left of it; also cross with circle of dots, as on Nos. 2 and 3.

(5) A rupee of Jaṅkū Rāo. Mint: Gvāliyār. Date 23, the same as on No. 4, in the first year of the regency of the Queen-Mother. Marks: obv., same as on Nos. 1–4; rev., trident as on No. 4, and to its left the Mahārāja's initials जं *jam*, with anuswāra attached to left end of top-stroke of ज *ja*. This represents the popular pronunciation of the name as *Jaṅkū* (जंक्कु) for *Janakū* (जनक्कु), see *infra* No. 60. To left of initials, bow-and-arrow.

There also exist silver two-annā and copper paisā pieces of Jaṅkū Rāo.

(6–11) Silver coins of Jiyāji Rāo, distinguished by the Mahārāja's initials on the reverse: जी *jī* (of जीया). No. 6 is a rupee of the Gvāliyār mint. No date. Marks: similar to those on No. 5, but the bow-and-arrow is turned in the opposite direction. Also, there are five dots above the س of شاه, while the usual number (see Nos. 1–5, 7, 14) is four. Nos. 7–9, are silver eight, four, and two anna pieces respectively. Nos. 7 and 9 show an additional mark (a three-leaved sprig) between ۛ and شا (of شاه) on the obverse. It can be seen more clearly on No. 14. No. 8 also has a small cross or star under जी within the curve of و of جلوس. All these additional marks are also seen sometimes on the rupees. Nos. 10 and 11 are two varieties of the same coin, a copper half-paisā. The obverse shows a large trident with four dots, placed within the ن of قران ثانی. This was a title of Akbar II of Delhi. The regnal date 23 (=1827 A.D.) is clearly wrong, and a mere survival from Jaṅkū

Rāo's coinage. On the other hand, the silver coins, Nos. 6–9, show the usual imperial obverse legend بادشاه غازي. The reverse marks are, from right to left: a spear-head, a snake with जी *jī* above and 23 below, and an angular trident. Nos. 10a and 10b, 11a and 11b, supplement one another.

(12) This is a copper paisā of Jiyājī Rāo. The date 1926 (Samvat)=1869 A.D. is on both sides. The legends are abbreviated: obv., जी *jī* for Jiyājī Rāo; rev. अ बा *a. bā.* for *Alījā Bāhādur*. Mr. Rodgers reverses the position of the obverse and reverse, and in his Lahore Museum Catalogue, Part IV, p. 66 (No. 4), where he gives it among Miscellaneous Indian Copper Coins, he ascribes it to “Ambājī of Gwāliār.” On the other hand, in his Indian Museum Catalogue, Part II, p. 184 (No. 12277), he describes it as an Ujain coin. Ambājī, as Mr. Maries informs me, was a great chief in Gvāliyār during the time of Mādhō Rāo I. The coin, therefore, clearly cannot be ascribed to him. Marks: obv., a cobra between a trident (to left) and spear (to right): rev., a trident between two sprigs. Each side has two concentric marginal circles with dots between.

(13a, 13b and 14) A rupee, a four-annā and a two-annā piece of Mādhō Rāo II. Mint: Gvāliyār. No date. Marks: very similar to those of Nos. 6–9, but Mahārāja's initials मा *mā* instead of जी *jī*.

(15) This copper piece is said to be a coin of Gvāliyār. It shows the characteristic trident on the obverse; but the flag on the reverse is, I believe, not otherwise known as a Gvāliyār mark.

For another coin, which may be one of Gvāliyār, see below, Plate XXXIV, No. 73.

With regard to Gvāliyār I may mention here an interesting fact, with which Mr. Maries has acquainted me. He writes that “a gold coin, called a *putalī*, is given as a *nazr* on darbār days to the Mahārāja in darbār, and it is rather curious, as it is evidently an imitation of an old Venetian coin. Why and when it was first used for this purpose, I cannot make out. This coin is also used both in Gvāliyār and Barōdā, for decorations for horses and elephants. One horse I saw with five strings of them round his shoulders and neck. There must have been some hundreds of coins. These trappings are used on procession days, particularly at Dasahrā.” A specimen of this *putalī* has been shown to me. It is the well-known Venetian ducate, showing on the obverse the standing figure of Christ, enclosed within an almond-shaped arrangement of stars. On the reverse is seen the Doge kneeling in front of the standing figure of St. Mark, with the staff between them. The marginal legends on both sides are barely legible. The obverse has (right-side, top) SIT . T . XPE . DAT . V . TV (left) REGISISTE .

DVCA. The reverse has (right) PAVLRAINER. (left) S and along top of staff, on the Doge's side D M
V V
X E
N
E
T

The figures, as well as some of the letters are rather crudely formed.

SEŌRHĀ. (Plate XXXI, 16.)

(16) This is a rupee said to be of the Sarōrā or Seōrhā mint (now closed), a town in the Datiyā State, Bandēlkhaṇḍ, adjoining the Gvāliyār State; about 36 miles east of Morār, on the Sindh river. This ascription, however, is not certain. The coin bears the usual legends of Akbar II, and has the regnal date 23 on the reverse, which would represent 1242/43 H., but is clearly a stereotyped date, as the obverse shows traces of a hijrah date, of which only the unit figure 8 is distinguishable, which might be 1228 or 1238 or 1248. Marks: obv., cannon and spear-head; rev., snake (?), axe and fly-flapper (*cāūrī*).

ÇIOPUR. (Plate XXXI, 17, 18).

(17) This is a Rupee in the name of Akbar II, of the Çiopur (Çiyapur, *vulgo* Sheopur) mint, now closed. It is known as the *tōp-shāhī*. The town is in the Gvāliyār State, and is celebrated for its inlaid gold and silver work. Marks: on reverse, a cannon mounted on gun-carriage, with stacked balls. It is dated 1228 H. (1813 A.D.) and 8 regnal. There are said to be several varieties of this rupee. It is believed to have been first coined at Çiopur by Baptiste, who commanded the artillery of Mādhō Rāo I. See the following article, *infra*, p. 277.

(18) This is said to be a copper coin (*paisā*) of the same mint, Çiopur.

SĪPRĪ. (Plate XXXI, 19).

(19) This is said to be a rupee of Sīprī, a town in the Gvāliyār State, which possessed a mint years ago. These coins are rare, and the ascription of them is doubtful. Legends mutilated: obv. [باد] شاه غ [از] ←, rev. سنه جلوس ضرب || Sīprī, until lately, was used as a health-resort by the British.

SHĀHPUR. (Plate XXXI, 20).

(20) This is said to be a rupee of Shāhpur in Bhīlvārā; but the ascription is doubtful. It appears, however, to be the same as the

‘Ālam’s couplet); rev., جلاوس. Marks: obv., scroll over ح *hā*, arrow-head between ح *hā* and می *mi*; rev., large vowel sign *pēsh* attached to the J of *julūs*; also various clusters of dots on both, obv. and rev., faces. Date (regnal) 5, *i.e.*, 1177 H.=1763 A.D., of *Shāh* ‘Ālam.

ṬEHARĪ or ŌRCHĀ. (Plate I, 27–31).

(27–31) Coins of the Ṭikamgarh, *alias* Ōrchā, *alias* Ṭeharī Rāj, a small native state in Bandēlkhaṇḍ, adjoining the British district of Lalitpur. No. 27 is a rupee: this was called “Gāja Shāhī,” and was coined till 1893. No. 29 is an eight-annā. No. 30 is a four-annā, and No. 28 a two-annā; all silver. No. 31 is a copper one-half-annā (or two-paisā). The legends and marks are the same on the silver and copper coins. Legends: obv., fragments of *Shāh* ‘Ālam’s couplet; rev., ضرب اورچہ. Date: on the rupee, 1211 H., 39 regnal (1796 A.D.); on the other silver and copper coins 1211 H., and 40 regnal (1797 A.D.). Marks: obv., in top-line a six-rayed star; below it, in middle line, an ankus and three-leaved sprig. Rev., in middle line, a mace (*gadā*), and below it, in bottom line, another unknown symbol. The reverse of the copper coin (No. 31) has, in addition, a *fleur de lys* over the ju of *julūs*.

NARAVAR. (Plate XXXII, 32–34).

(Nos. 32–34). Two rupees and one two-annā of Naravar, an ancient town in the Gvāliyār State, 44 miles south of Gvāliyār. It belonged at one time to a branch of the Jaipur family, from whom it was taken by Mādhō Rāo I. This mint is now closed. Legends: obv., fragments of *Shāh* ‘Ālam’s usual couplet; rev., mint illegible, but the marks show it to be a Naravar coin. Date: of No. 32, 1202 H. (=1787 A.D.), 30 regnal; of No. 34, 12 regnal, which would be 1184 H. (or 1770 A.D.). Marks: rev., lotus-bud with stalk turned up to left and attached to top of J of *julūs*; also a star near right margin. On Nos. 33 and 34, there is, in addition (or perhaps in place of star), a snake, head downwards.

BŪNDĪ or KŌTAH. (Plate XXXII, 35, 36).

(Nos. 35 and 36.) Two rupees of Būndī or Kōtah. On these two States and their coinage, see Webb’s *Currencies of Rājputāna*, pp. 85, 91. The earlier coins of the two States can hardly be distinguished. No. 35 seems to read Bahādur, in the obverse top-line, and to be struck in Bahādur *Shāh*’s name (1837–1857 A.D.); while No. 36 seems to a rupee in Akbar II’s name (1806–1837 A.D.). Dates: of No. 35, regnal 17; of No. 36, regnal 3. Mint: hardly legible, but apparently بوندی *būndī*. Marks: on reverse of both, a lotus-bud with

stalk turned down, pointed in No. 35, but rounded in No. 36. The reverse of No. 36 has, in addition, a flower (?) over the *j* of *julūs*. The obverse of No. 35, has also the lotus-bud, but in a different form, over the *sh* of *Shāh*.

MANDŌSAR. (Plate XXXII, 37, 38).

(Nos. 37 and 38). These, according to native shroffs and bankers, are a rupee and a paisā of Mandōsar, in the Mālvā district of the Gvāliyār State. The mint is now closed. Legends: fragments of *Shāh* 'Alam's. Date: 1203 H., regnal 3 (1788 A.D.). Marks: on reverse, a lotus-bud and yōnī-linga.

GŌHAD. (Plate XXXII, 39).

(No. 39). A copper paisā of the Gōhad mint. It is 20 miles north of Gvāliyār. It belonged to the Dhōlpur Chief, up to 1806, when it was given to the Sindhias of Gvāliyār. See Webb's *Currencies of Rājputāna*, p. 133, where on Plate XII, Nos. 10, 12, rupees of Gōhad will be found figured. The principal marks on these are: obv., an umbrella, and rev., a pistol, whence they are known as *tamanchā* or 'pistol.' On No. 39 the pistol is seen on the reverse, but the umbrella on the obverse is wanting; instead there is a small cross or star over the *s* of *شاه*. The date is incomplete 12** H.

JĀORĀ. (Plate XXXII, 40-44).

(40-44). Said to be coins of Jāorā, a native state and town in Western Mālvā, Central Indian Agency, about 40 miles S. E. of Pratāpgarh, on the Railway line. They were all procured from Jāorā. In Webb's *Currencies of Rājputāna*, p. 23, however, coins of this kind are ascribed to the Pratāpgarh State. No. 43 is a rupee, No. 40^a and 40^b are eight annās, No. 41 is a four-annā, No. 44 is a two-annā, and Nos. 42^a and 42^b are paisās. The dates of the coins are inconsistent; the rupee (No. 45) has 1199 H. and 29 *julūs* of *Shāh* 'Ālam, while the *julūs* should be 26. The *julūs* year varies on different specimens: the Lahore Museum has one with 22. The smaller denominations have 1236 H. and 45 *julūs*; but the latter *julūs* of *Shāh* 'Ālam corresponds to 1218 H.=1803 A.D. In the latter year the East India Company commenced to issue its "45-san" Rupees from its Farrukhābād mint, and continued the "Farrukhābād" rupees up to 1835 (see Brit. Mus. Cat., Moghul Emperors, Introduction, pp. cii, ciii). Perhaps the "45-san" coins of Jāorā or Pratāpgarh may be made in imitation of the Company's. The mint on the reverse of No. 43 seems to read clearly enough *ديواره* *dēvarah* or *dēorā*, which has

also been noticed on other specimens. The only Dēorā I know of is a small town on the Sōn river, in Baghēlkaṇḍ, in the Rēvā State, a few miles beyond the borders of the British District of Mīrzāpur. It certainly cannot be read جاوره *jāvarah* or *jāorā*. On No. 40a there are distinct traces, reading یرگ *ēvaga*, which would make *Dēvagarh* or *Dēogārḥ*. This is a small town in Gvāliyār, and is probably the name really intended on all these coins. Marks: obv., a sort of *w* suspended from a vertical stroke, and on its left a circle (or star) of seven dots; rev., a dagger, under it is what has been taken by Mr. Maries to be the figure of a "powder-pricker," but it is simply the syllable *zar*. of ضرب *ṣarb*. One of the paisās, No. 42^a, shows the date [11] 95 H. = 1780 A.D. The real ascription of Nos. 42a and 42b, however, is very doubtful. I find that Bābū Kishan Lal says that "the two coins are Aḥmad's Rohtak coins (near Amballa)." The date 1195 H., however, agrees with the reign neither of Aḥmad Shāh of Delhi nor of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī.

JAIPUR. (Plate XXXIII, 45–47).



(45–47) Coins of Jaipur; *viz.*, No. 45 a rupee, No. 46 an eight-annā, No. 47 a two-annā, No. 48 a paisā. See also Webb's *Currencies of Rājputāna*, p. 71, and Plate VII. The coins now given are not figured on Webb's Plate; but a very good specimen of a similar gold coin is figured in the Indian Museum Catalogue, Part II, Plate 8, No. 10942. The obverse legend of the latter is borne on the present Nos. 45–47, and gives the name and titles of the Empress Victoria (mutilated):—

انگلستان وکٹوریا
سلطنت ۱۸۸*
سنہ بعہد ملکہ معظمہ
ضرب سوای جیپور

The date on No. 56 is 188* A.D., and regnal 8 of the Mahārāja Mādhō Singh who ascended the gaddī in 1880 A.D. Nos. 45, 47 are of the regnal year 6 of the same Mahārāja. Mark: on reverse, a large, seven-leaved sprig (*jhār*).

BHARTPUR. (Plate XXXIII, 49–51).


(49–51.) One rupee and two paisās of Bhartpur. See also Webb's *Currencies of Rājputāna*, p. 123 and Plate XII, 1–10. No. 49 is a type of rupee, not figured in Webb. It bears Shāh 'Alam's couplet, but is dated in 1271 H. = 1854–55 A.D. in the reign of Bahādur Shāh II (1253–1275 H.) The regnal year 4 on the reverse is that of Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, who succeeded to the gaddī in 1852 A. D.

No. 51 has the date 1215 H. = 1800 A.D., which would be the regnal year 43 of Shāh 'Ālam, but the reverse only shows 4; that of No. 50 shows *julūs* 9. The mint on the reverse of No. 49 seems to be *Bar[tpur]*. The principal mark of the Bhartpur coins is the *kaṭār*, a peculiar kind of dagger. Marks: on the reverse of No. 50, besides the usual *kaṭār*, over its shoulders two stars, and to its right, in the curl of  of  a *lāṭh* or staff.

KARAUĪ. (Plate XXXIII, 52).

(52.) This is a rupee of Karaulī, similar to the steel die, figured on Plate XI, No. 3 in Webb's *Currencies of Rājputānā*, p. 119. The obverse bears the titles of the Empress of India and reads as follows:

ملکہ معظمہ
ہند
قیصر
۱۸۸۲
سنہ

It is dated 1882 A.D., and (on rev.) regnal year 7 of Mahārāja Arjan Pāl, who succeeded to the gaddi in 1875 A.D. The reverse shows the mint  *karaulī*, and as marks, the *kaṭār* or dagger, and below it a seven-leaved *jhār* or sprig.

BHŌPĀL. (Plate XXXIII, 53–59).

(53–59.) Coins of Bhōpāl. Nos. 55, 58, 59 are rupees, No. 53 is a four-annā, and Nos. 54*a*, *b* are two-annās; Nos. 56, 57 are copper one-annā and two-paisās. Nos. 58 and 59 represent the older style, in the name of Akbar II (*Ṣāhib Qirān Ṣānī*), dated regnal 13 and 18 respectively. Another variety is figured in the Indian Mus. Cat., Part II, Pl. IV, No. 10927. The others show the newer style. The legends, of all, except No. 56, will be found read *ibidem*, pp. 146–148. No. 56 reads as follows:

Obv.	Rev.
فی	بیگم
بھوپال	شاہجہان
ضرب	[نوا]ب
	نیم آنہ

No. 53 is dated 1293 H. (1876 A.D.), reg. 8; No. 54*a*, 1294 H. (1877); No. 54*b*, 1306 H. (1888), reg. 15; No. 55, 1295 H. (1878); Nos. 57, 1307 H. (1889). All these, Nos. 53–57, are coins of the reigning sovereign Nawāb Shāh Jahān Bēgam, who ascended the throne in 1868 (1285 H.). Marks on the older coins: rev., large trident on shaft;

obv., arrow-head; on newer coins: trident, shaped like *fleur de lys* on obv.; also six-rayed star and other small ornaments on obv. and rev. Nos. 56 and 57 have their values inscribed on their reverses, *i. e.*, **یک آنة** 'one-annā' and **نیم آنة** 'half-annā.'

BĀSŌDĀ. (Plate XXXIII, 60).

(60.) This is a rupee of Bāsōdā, a small portion of the Gvāliyār State, bordering on Bhōpāl. These rupees are rare. They were coined by Mahārāja Janḡ Rāo of Gvāliyār, and show on the reverse the mark of Bhōpāl, a trident on shaft, together with a *caurī* or fly-flapper also a small arrow-head on the obverse. The legends are those of Akbar II (*Ṣāhib Qirān Ṣānī*). The reverse shows the Mahārāja's name, thus: **जन jana-**
कूजी kū-jī., and the regnal year 3 which would be 1836 A. D.

BHARTPUR. (Plate XXXIII, 61).

(61.) This is said to be an old Bhartpur rupee. It has on the reverse the usual Bhartpur marks, a *kaṭār* or dagger, a four-rayed star, and the two-leaved *jhār* or sprig in the **ی** of *julūs* (see Webb's *Currencies of Rājputāna*, p. 129, and pl. XII, 9, 10). The umbrella, on the obverse, is the imperial mark of Shāh 'Ālam, whose couplet (mutilated) it the obverse bears. The date is incomplete 12 **.

RATLĀM. (Plate XXXIII, 62a, b).

(62.) These are two paisās of the old Ratlām coinage. The obverse is within two concentric circles with dots between; the reverse is similar, but with small quadrangles within. Legends: obv., **रतलाम ratalām**; rev., **१९२८**, *i. e.*, Samvat 1928 (=1871 A.D.); all in crude characters. Marks: obv., large *kaṭār* or dagger, pointed left, and dot; rev., six-rayed star and two dots.

KŌc. (Plate XXXIII, 63, 64).

(63 and 64.) A rupee and a paisā of KŌc, called by different bankers Balāshāhī or ascribed to Kalpī, Bilsā, Jhansī and Jalaun in the North Western Provinces. The legends are those of Shāh 'Ālam, whose regnal year 44 (*i. e.*, 1216 H=1801 A.D.) is on the reverse. Mint on reverse illegible. Marks: obv., trident within **ی** of **حامي** (also on No. 63), and flag pointed to right; also several crosses or arrow-heads of various sizes; rev., a many-rayed star, and below it another indistinct object.

SALŪMBA. (Plate XXXIV, 65).

(65.) This a paisā of Salūmba, a feudatory state of Mēwār. The legends are most barbarous; that on the obverse appears to be intended for Shāh 'Ālam's *hāmī dīn*. Mark: on reverse, a sword. Another variety of paisā is figured in Webb's *Currencies of Rājputāna*, Pl. III, No. 1.

NĀNAKSHĀHĪ. (Plate XXXIV, 66).

(66.) Coins of this kind are said to be "Nānakshāhī" money. They are obtained in Jhansī, Datiyā, and Central India. No. 66 undoubtedly reads نانک شاه *Nānak Shāh* on the obverse, and may be compared with similar coins published by Rodgers in this *Journal*, Vol. L, Plates VIII and IX.

JŌDHPUR. (Plate XXXIV, 67, 68).

(67 and 68.) Two paisās. No. 68 is said to be a coin of Jōdhpur, while No. 67 is said to be a Nānakshāhī coin. But both coins show the identical characteristic wheel on the obverse, and therefore are likely to be coins of the same place, whatever that may be. Marks: obverse, a wheel; rev., a cup on No. 68, some unknown object on No. 67. Legends: a few unintelligible scrawls.

INDŌR. (Plate XXXIV, 69).

(69.) A two-paisā piece, said to be of Indōr, of which the bull is characteristic. Legends: a few barbarous letters; on obv. غازی *Ghāzī* recognizable. Date: ١٢٤٣ which may be intended for 1243 H. (=1827 A.D.) or 1234 H. (=1818 A.D.). Marks: obv., circle of seven dots; below, lotus-bud, pointing to right; rev., brahmanī bull seated to left, facing a yōni-linga; also two clusters of seven and three dots.

LAKHNAU. (Plate XXXIV, 70, 71).

(70 and 71.) Two paisās, said to be coins of Lakhnau, though I do not know on what ground. The mint on the obv. is not legible, perhaps سرنگر *Srīnagar*. No. 70 has the date 128* H. (=186* A.D.), and *julūs* 3 (?). No. 71 has the *julūs* 2, and date ** 72 H. Marks: rev. a trident (on No. 70) and a begging-bowl (?).

PAṬIĀLĀ. (Plate XXXIV, 72).

(72.) Said to be an old paisā of Paṭiālā; but I can see nothing distinctive of that state about it. Legends: obv. شاه; rev. جلوس [س] and under it apparently a (illegible) date. Mark: obv., a bud (?).

MISCELLANEOUS, SUPPLEMENTARY. (Plate XXXIV, 73-76).

(73.) A paisā of Daulat Rāo of Gvāliyār. The date on the obverse is 1215 H. (=1800 A.D.). Marks: on rev., a spear-head, and probably a trident (mutilated).

(74.) A paisā, said to be Naravar in the Gvāliyār State. The obverse shows Shāh 'Ālam's usual legend in a barbarous form. Mark: on reverse a leaf or bud (?).

(75.) An old paisā of Mēwār. Both sides appear to bear the same mark, four tridents (two angular and two rounded) arranged crosswise. See, however, for a somewhat similar Sikh coin, this *Journal*, Vol. L for 1881, plate IX, fig. 68.

(76.) This is a very curious rupee, which is said to belong to the "Peshwās." Legends: barbarous fragments of Shāh 'Ālam's; obv. [باد] شاه [عالم] and [د] حامی; reverse جلوس and fragments of the rest. Date 1243 H. (=1827 A.D.), the figure 2 is turned the wrong way. Mark: a pair of scissors (?).

SUPPLEMENT.

Since the above notes have been in type, Mr. Maries has supplied me with the following additional coins of Ujain, minted during Gvāliyār supremacy.

(77.) This is a copper double-paisā or half-anna. It is dated 1266 H. or 1849 A.D., and therefore belongs to the reign of Jiyājī Rāo. It bears fragments of the legends of Bahādur Shāh II (who reigned 1253-1275 H. = 1837-1857 A.D.), as follows:

Obverse :

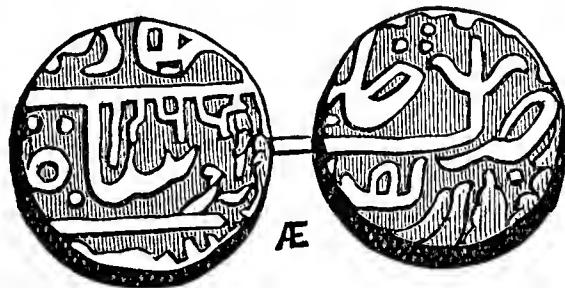
بهادر شاه

—

۱۲۶۶

بادشاه غاز

[م]—[د]



Reverse :

ضرب جلوس

دارالفدح

[اوچين]

It has the usual Gvāliyār mark of the trident on the reverse, mounted on the initial stroke of ب b of the word *zarb*. This coin is said to have been minted, while Viṣṇu Apte was the *Ṣūbah* or governor of Mālṡā.

(78.) This is also a copper double-paisā, dated 1278 H. = 1861 A.D., and belongs, therefore, also to the reign of Jiyājī Rāo. It also bears fragments of the anachronistic legends of Bahādur Shāh II.

Obverse :

Reverse :

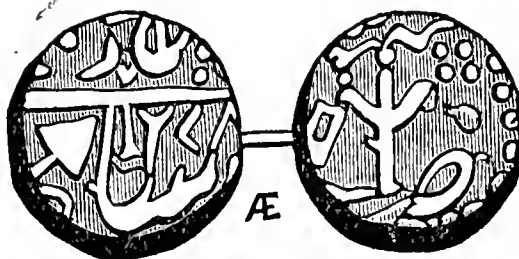
بہاد[ر شاہ]



۱۲۷۸

[باد]شاہ [غاز]

[سکہ]



میمنت

ضرب ج[لموس]

It has also the usual Gvāliyār marks : on obv., an arrowhead ; on rev., a trident, mounted as in No. 76.

(79.) This is a square copper double-paisā. It is dated 129* H., therefore in some year between 1873 and 1881 A.D., during the reign of Jiyāji Rāo. It is said to have been minted for the last time in Samvat 1941, or 1885 A.D. It bears fragments of the anachronistic legends of Shāh 'Ālam.

Obverse :

Reverse :

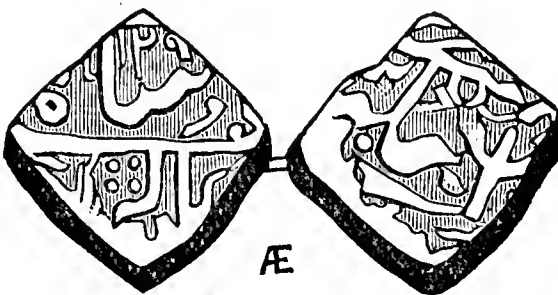


۱۲۹

[با]دشاہ [غاز]

شہ — [ا]

عالم سک[ہ]



میمنت

[ضرب] ب جلوس

Mark, as on Nos. 76 and 77, trident mounted on ب b, on reverse.

The Bajranggarh Mint and Coins.—By RICHARD BURN, I.C.S.

(With Plate XXXIV.)

[Read May, 1897.]

The coins of this Mint are all struck in the name of Jai Singh at Jainagar, the year (regnal) varying from 15 to 24 on specimens I have seen.

Jainagar is the name of a town, otherwise called Bajranggarh, about 5 miles from the cantonment of Gūna in Central India. Locally, the former name is always, or generally, used for the town. It is the headquarters of a Śūbah of the Gvālīār State, which is known as Bajranggarh and never of course as Jainagar. The Khicī branch of the Cauhān Thākurs to which Jai Singh belonged has always been renowned for its valour, and is one of the chief of the twenty-four Sachae given by Tod,¹ into which the Cauhāns were divided, and their territory was called the Khicivārā.² This particular family, which claims descent from Pirthī Rāj of Delhi, was at first settled at Gāgrūn or Gagrār in Mālvā, and first came into prominence in the reign of Akbar,³ when one of the family was made governor of Multān and received a jāgīr at Sirōñj. The son of this chief, Lālji, founded Raghugarh, the present capital of the state of that name, and when the Mahrāthas invaded Mālvā first, a grandson of the latter, Balbhadar Singh was Rājā. Balbhadar Singh and his father Dhuruji Singh had made themselves respected by force of arms amongst their turbulent neighbours, and were connected by marriage with the Rājās of Jaipur and Udaipur.⁴ The Peshwā Bāji Rāo while at Sāgar had a difference with Balbhadar Singh, who was considered then one of the most powerful of the Rājput princes, but this was subsequently composed, and Balbhadar Singh actively aided the Mahrāthas till his death about 1780 A.D. His son Balvant Singh, who

¹ Rajasthān I, 91.

² See map in Malcolm's *Memoirs of Central India*, Vol. I.

³ Malcolm, *op. cit.* I, pp. 45, 46.

⁴ Malcolm, *op. cit.* I, pp. 463 *et seq.*, from which this account is condensed.

succeeded him, appears to have been of a decidedly weaker nature, and Mādhōjī Sindia at once attempted to force him to cede certain districts in lieu of tribute, and a few years later, asserting that the Rājā was negotiating with the British Government, then at war with Sindia, he took the fort of Raghugarh and made Balvant Singh and his son Jai Singh prisoners, and confiscated the Rāj. One Shēr Singh, of the same caste, then commenced a predatory warfare against Sindia, and by threats induced the villagers inhabiting the state to leave the land, most of them going to Bhōpāl, with the Diwān of which state, Chūṭṭā Khān, he had made friends. Shēr Singh's warfare only extended against the Mahrathas, and he took particular delight in mutilating Brāhmans and killing their children, and had established such a reputation that, through fear of his few hundred men, a convoy of 4,000 or 5,000 men, bringing Sindia's wife and the families of his officers, hesitated before him. By the mediation of Chūṭṭā Khān however, Shēr Singh was induced to let them pass. After many attempts, Shēr Singh, with the help of a tribe of thieves, managed to effect the escape of Jai Singh from the fort at Bhilsā where he was imprisoned, and sent him to Jaipur to enlist the help of the Rājās of that state and Jōdhpur. Their representations induced Sindia to release Balvant Singh and restore him on condition of the payment of a large sum, which naturally turned out impossible, and Balvant Singh retired to Jaipur where he died in three years.

He had left an agent named Durjan Lāl at the court of Sindia, whom he advised to leave when he himself retired to Jaipur. Durjan Lāl at once followed the example of Shēr Singh, but was crushed, though not without difficulty by Sindia's forces, and fled to Sāgar, where he remained till the death of Mādhōjī in 1798 A.D. Jai Singh then joined him in an attempt to aid Mādhōjī's widow, but Daulat Rāo's forces under General Perron utterly defeated them, and they fell back into the position of guerillas. Durjan Lāl however, separating from Jai Singh, seized the estate of Dhulip Singh of Ahirvārā, and changed the name of the capital from Undī to Bahādurganj, while Jai Singh retired to Raghugarh. Durjan Lāl then extended his conquests over twenty-two districts, but was overthrown by General Jean Baptiste in 1803, and after remaining head of a body of Khicī Rājputs, who perpetually harried Sindia's country, died in 1810. Jai Singh had assumed the title in 1798, and appears to have been of an extremely cruel nature, though capable, and admired by his followers for his bravery. He put to death several of his own wives, two of his kinsmen and their whole families for various reasons, and it is said he was temporarily insane, consequent on the excessive use of opium and hemp drugs, coupled with an

excess of religious zeal in the worship of Hanumān. The last-mentioned point is confirmed by the coins, on which he calls himself Pavan-putra, a well-known epithet of Hanumān.¹ After Sindia had made peace with the English, he proceeded to annihilate those of the Rājput chiefs whose territory he wished to seize. General Baptiste took Bajranggarh and, after a siege, Raghugarh, but Jai Singh managed to retake the fort of Āiopur in 1816, which had been previously subdued by General Baptiste, and he actually made the family of the latter prisoners, besides obtaining much booty. Jai Singh, when expelled from his state, became “a prince of camel-riding caterans,” but he did not degenerate into the highway robber, levying contributions as a rule from officers of Sindia only, and several times he pressed Baptiste very hard, and for five years a considerable portion of Sindia’s forces were wholly occupied against him. He had great hopes from the British, and wrote to Colonel MacMoline who commanded a corps on the frontier a most remarkable letter,² offering to pay six to eight annas in the rupee on collections, if Sindia’s country were made over to him, and saying that if five lakhs, or enough to raise fifteen thousand horsemen, were advanced to him, he would crush the Pindārīs with their 30,000. The letter concludes with a request for an immediate advance of a quarter of a lakh. It was of course impossible to accede to this, and Jai Singh was preparing to renew the attack alone, when he died in 1818 of cholera.

From the coins we get the regnal year 19 which would correspond with A.D. 1816, and the superior execution of the coin dated that year would support the idea that it was struck in a town, before Jai Singh, was driven to live where he could, the later coins being much cruder in design and finish. There is no symbol on the earlier coin, and that of the lotus on the second specimen seems to indicate a connection with Kōtā and Būndī.³ After the death of Jai Singh the succession was disputed. One of the chief Rānīs adopted a boy named Bakhtāvar Singh, who was raised to the gaddī under the name of Ajīt Singh, but the aunt of Jai Singh supported one Dhoṅkal Singh, who claimed to have been appointed successor by Jai Singh, in the usual way, by receiving his horse and spear. He belonged however to the Bijavat branch of the family (descended from Bijai Singh, younger son of Gharīb Dās the founder of the principality), which is reckoned inferior to the Lālavat branch (descended from Lāl Singh the eldest son), and Dhoṅkal Singh was finally imprisoned at Gvāliyār, after defeat by Sindia’s troops

¹ Crooke, *Introduction to Folklore of Upper India*, p. 52.

² Malcolm, *op. cit.*, pp. 482, 483.

³ Prinsep’s *Antiquities*, pl. XLVI, Nos. 55, 56 and 59; p. 67. In the plate the stalk of the lotus turns to the left, while on the coins it is to the right.

under British Officers. In 1819, through the mediation of the British, Sindia granted a fief to Ajit Singh of the yearly value of Rs. 1,42,848-8, of which Rs. 55,000 were to be kept by the Rājā and the balance paid to Sindia who guaranteed that amount however.⁴ In 1843 owing to family quarrels a division was made, and new *Sanads* granted to Bijai Singh, and Chatar Lāl.⁵

For much of the information given above, and for valuable references I am obliged to Colonel Barr, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

The Bajranggarh coins have hitherto been very imperfectly described. They were first read by Prinsep who appears to have only possessed a very poor specimen of one of the varieties. He says of them (*Useful Tables*, pp. 64, 65).

“3. THE BAJRANGGARH RUPEE.

(Near Kotā Bundī) known by the Lotus symbol; coined by a petty zamindār; much debased. In the Bhākhā dialect.

Obverse:

श्री रामचपरासी पवनपुत्र बलपायन

Srī rāma chaprāsī pavanputra balapāyan.

‘All-powerful son of the air (Hanumān) servant of Rāma.’

Reverse:

यसपर बापा में राजा जयसिंह के २१ जयनगर

Is par chhāpā mē rājā Jai Singh kē 21 Jainagar.

‘On this coin is imprinted the 21st (year) of Rājā Jai Singh at Jaynagar.’

The initial and final letters are imperfectly visible on the coin; the purport shows it to be struck at Jaynagar, a village near Bajranggarh.”

The latest authority on coins of Rājputānā, Surgeon Major Webb briefly dismisses them with the remark that they have been fully described by Prinsep. His figure (Pl. VIII, fig. 17) appears to be merely a copy of that given by Prinsep (Vol. II, pl. XLV, fig. 3). Mr. C. J. Rodgers, in the Catalogue of coins in the Calcutta Museum (pp. 156-157, Vol. II) gives a reading from eight coins, but his reading does not give any clear meaning of either the obverse or reverse inscriptions.

My attention was first drawn to the coins when looking over Dr. Hoey’s collection, and from the ten specimens in it I made out a read-

⁴ Aitchison’s *Treaties*, Ed. 1876, Vol. III, p. 409.

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 409-411, Hunter (*Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 471) says a portion of the Jāgīr was given to one Ajit Singh also.

ing for the obverse, which, though it differed from both Prinsep's and Rodgers' versions, gave an intelligible inscription and one in accordance with the letters. The reverse presented more difficulty, and my first reading sent to Dr. Hoernle was not satisfactory, but through the kindness of Major Masters of the Central India Horse some more specimens were sent to me with a note from an official of the Raghugarh State which solved the difficulty.

There appear to be five varieties amongst these coins, with identical inscriptions, but distinguished by mint marks, and with several subvarieties distinguished only by different spacing of the inscriptions.

VARIETY I. (Plate XXXIV, fig. 1).

Letters fairly well executed. Distinguishing mark, a club on the right of the reverse.

OBVERSE. Surrounded by a double circle with dots between, and also outside the outer circle.

Subvariety (a). Dates observed 15, 18.

यह सिक
पर काप माह
राज जय सिंह
की १५ जय
नगर

Subvariety (b). Date observed 16.

यह सिक
पर काप माह
राज जय सिंह
घ की १६ जय
नगर

Subvariety (c). Date observed 17.

यह सिक
पर काप माह
रज जय सिंह
की १७ जय
नगर

Subvariety (d). Dates observed 19, 20.

यह सिक
पर काप मा
हरज जय सिंह
घ की १९ ज
य नगर

Subvariety (e). Date observed 20.

यह सिक
पर काप मह
राज जय सिं
घ की २० जय
नगर

The two coins dated 20, subvarieties (d) and (e) are narrower and thicker than the others, but weigh the same amount. Major Masters' informant said they were struck by the Rājā of Candērī, an ally of Jai Singh.

REVERSE. Surrounded by a double circle with dots between, and also outside the outer circle. To right an upright club.

Subvariety (a). Dates observed 15, 17, 19, 20.

श्री राघव
परताप पव
न पुत्र वल^{club}
पये के

Subvariety (b). Date observed 16.

श्री राघव
परताप प
वन पुत्र व^{club}
ल पय के

Subvariety (c). Date observed 18.

श्री राघव
परताप पव^{club}
न पुत्र वल
पय के

I have one coin, dated 18, which has several mis-spellings and may be a forgery.

Obverse.

यह सिक
रप काव माह
रज जय सिंह
की १८ जय
नगर

Reverse.

श्री राघव
परताप पव^{club}
न पत्र पज
पय के

The spacing of the letters corresponds with that of subvarieties (c) of both obverse and reverse.

Another mis-spelled coin of this variety is in the Calcutta Museum (Catalogue, Part II, p. 156, No. 11971).

VARIETY II. (Plate XXXIV, fig. 2.)

This differs from the last variety in having the club on the left of the reverse, and also a sprig or star on the right at the end of the last line of the legend. It has also the double circle with dots. Its date is 16.

Only one specimen of this variety is known; it belongs to the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Catalogue, Part II, p. 157, No. 11968).

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
यद्द सिक	श्री राघव
पर क्वाप मद्द	club परताप पव
रज जय सि	न पुत्र वल
घ कौ १६ [ज]	पय कै star
[यनगर]	

VARIETY III. (Plate IV, fig. 3.)

Much cruder in execution. It is distinguished by having a lotus in the middle of the second line on the reverse, and no club. It has no mark on the obverse.

I have only seen two specimens, one of which belongs to Dr. Hoey and one to myself, but Dr. Hoernle informs me he has a specimen, and Nos. 11937 and 11938 in the Calcutta Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 157, appear to belong to this variety.

The subvarieties differ only in the presence or absence of some dots and a cross, and the shape of the lotus.

Subvariety (a). Date observed 21. (Dr. Hoey).

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
(यद्द सिक)	श्री राघ
पर क्वाप मद्द	वप lotus रता
रज ज य स	प पवन पुत्र व
घ क २१ ज	ल पय के
य नगर	

Margins are cut, but there is a trace of a circle.

Subvariety (b). Date observed 21. (Dr. Hoernle). The third and fourth lines of the obverse have dots and a cross, thus :

रज जय
 ∴ †
 घ क २१
 ∴

The coin also has the double circle and dots noticed on Variety I.

Subvariety (c). (My collection). It is exactly similar to (a), but the lotus is a little different.⁶ It shows also a portion of the double circle and dots.

No specimen of Variety III was received by me from Major Masters, but it resembles very much the next variety which is assigned by his informant to Ajit Singh, son and successor of Jai Singh.

VARIETY IV. (Plate XXXIV, figs. 4, 5.)

This differs from the last variety in having a drawn bow-and-arrow on the obverse as well as the lotus on the reverse.

The coins are very crude, and the full inscription is hardly ever to be found on any one.

I find two subvarieties, differing in the spelling of the word Partāp (*viz.*, परताप *Partāp* and पराताप *Parātāp*), the absence or presence of three dots at the end of the top-line of the obverse and at the end of the bottom line of the reverse, and the spacing of the letters.

Subvariety (a). Dates observed 22, 23, 24. (Fig. 4.)

Obverse.

यह सिक्का

पर छाप महु

रज ज bow and arrow य सिं (घ)

के २२ [जय]

[नगर]

Reverse.

श्री राघ

व प lotus रताप

पवन पुत्र व

ल पय के

Subvariety (b). With three dots in bottom line of reverse (Fig. 5.)

Obverse.

As in (a).

Reverse.

श्री राघव

परा lotus ताप प

वन पुत्र वल

∴ पय के

⁶ [This lotus is shown in fig. 3 of Plate XXXIV; the form of the lotus on subvarieties (a) and (b) is the ordinary one, as shown in figs. 4, 5, 8, 9. Moreover, along the upper part of the right-hand margin of the reverse there are some indistinct traces; they might be those of a club. If so, this coin would not be a subvariety of Variety III, but would form a new variety by itself, with club and lotus on the reverse. I may note, that neither subvarieties (a) and (b) show any trace of a club. R. H. H.]

VARIETY V. (Plate XXXIV, figs. 6, 7.)

Distinguishing marks: a symbol, resembling the sign of “paragraph,” placed lengthwise over the top-line of the Reverse; and two circles made of 6 dots with one in the centre (total 7) placed over the top-line of the Obverse. Similar circles, also, are placed at the beginning and end of each line of both, the obverse and reverse sides. There are also traces of the double circle with dots between, as on Variety I.

Only two specimens are known to me: one belongs to Dr. Hoey, and the other to Dr. Hoernle.

No subvarieties have been observed.

The legend on the obverse exhibits a curious variant, *Rāghāvar* instead of *Rāghav* and *pāy* for *pay*. Date on both specimens 18.

Obverse.

∴ ∴
 ∴ यद्द सिक ∴
 ∴ पर ऋष मद्द ∴
 ∴ राज जय सिंघ ∴
 ∴ की १८ जय ∴
 ∴ नगर ∴

Reverse.

∴ श्री राघाव ∴
 ∴ र परताप प ∴
 ∴ वन पुत्र वल ∴
 ∴ पाय क ∴

Major Masters tells me there is a sixth variety octagonal in shape, but he has not been able to procure a specimen.

Dr. Hoernle has brought to my notice the fact that eight-annā and four-annā pieces as well as rupees were struck from this mint. They belong to Variety IV, subvariety (a).

Eight-annā. (Plate XXXIV, fig. 8.) With three dots in top-line of reverse.

Obverse.

As in IV (a).

Reverse.

[श्री] राघ ∴
 [व प] ^{lotus} रताप
 [पव]न पुत्र व
 [ल पय के]

Four-annā. (Plate XXXIV, fig. 9.) Obverse and reverse as in IV (a).

These smaller denominations were struck from the same dies as the rupees. Hence they never show more than a fragment of the legends.

The meaning of the obverse inscription is plain :—

Yih sik(ka) par chāp māharāj Jay Singh ke (date) Jayanagar.

i.e., On this coin is the stamp of Jay Singh (date) Jayanagar.

I think that the reverse is now clear, taking the last word to be the same as पा-के or पा-कर :—

Çrī Rāghav Partāp Pavan-putra bal pay-ke (i.e., pā-ke.)

i.e., Obtaining strength from the powerful and magnificent son of the air (i.e., Hanumān).

As I have shown above in my remarks on the mint, Jai Singh considered himself under the special protection of Hanumān, and “son of the air” is a common title of the God.

I have received from the state a curious legend regarding the two mint marks on the later coins. The club of course is well-known as the weapon of Hanumān. As regards the lotus which is also found on the coins of Kōtah and Būndī, it is said that a Major Fielding raised a troop of Khīcī horse, and that the Rājā said he would perpetuate his name by placing a mark on his coins. Major Fielding according to the writer was always called “Phulṭnī Śāhib” by the natives (which I take to be Pulteney), and hence a flower (=phūl) was placed on the coins. A powerful chief named Ūdājī, who was stationed at Gūnā by the Gvāliyār Darbār in command of 11,000 troops, heard of this and insisted on his mark, *viz.*, the drawn bow-and-arrow, being also placed on the coins, which Major Fielding persuaded the Rājā to do.

*The Nowgong Copper-plate Grant of Balavarman of Prāgjyōtiṣa in Āsām.—**By* DR. A. F. R. HOERNLE, C. I. E.

(With Plates XXXV–XXXVII.)

[Read November, 1897.]

This grant was also sent to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S., in May, 1895.¹ It is said to have been found, some years ago, by a cultivator of Sūtargāō, a village in Mauza Khātoālgāō, on the right bank of the Kalang, opposite Purānigudām in the Nowgong district in Āsām.

In appearance the grant is very similar to the Gauhaṭī one.¹ It consists of three copper-plates, each measuring $11\frac{5}{8}$ by 7 inches. At the corners they are slightly rounded off; and their rims are slightly turned up. The first plate is somewhat damaged at the corners, and here a very small portion of the inscription is lost. The obverse of the first and the reverse of the third plates are blank, the inscription covering the remaining four sides of the three plates. There are 12 lines on each side, except on the last which has 13 lines. The letters are, as a rule, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. They are clearly, but rather superficially cut, and, in some places, so much worn as to be only legible with great difficulty and some uncertainty: the first four letters of the obverse of the second plate, indeed, are entirely worn away.

The three plates are held together by a massive pear-shaped ring, which passes through large circular holes, near the middle of the margin of the left side of the plates. Round the holes large spaces are left blank, nearly 2 inches square, or the width of four lines of writing. Attached to the ring is a massive seal, looking like a heart-shaped box, measuring 5 by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, without a lid. It is exactly like the seal of the Gauhaṭī grant, and need not be further described. The figure on it is the same, an elephant *en face*.

The grant bears a date, at the end of its last line; but unfortunately it is illegible. It reads *samva* × × *vai* ×. After *samva* there were either one or two signs, possibly numerical ones; *vai* may stand for *vaiçākhē* 'in the month of Vaiçākha'; after it there must have

¹ See my paper on the Gauhaṭī grant, *ante*, p. 113.

been one sign, probably numerical, giving the day of the month. It is possible, however, that the reading was *samvatsarē*, in which case the sign which I have read *vai* would stand for a numeral.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. The specifications of the grant, describing the locality, its perquisites and boundaries, is in prose, beginning in the fourth line of the reverse of the second plate, and extending to the second line on the obverse of the third plate, and again the three last lines of the latter plate. The remainder is in verse, detailing the genealogy of the donor (25 verses from the beginning down to the fourth line on the reverse of the second plate) and of the donee (7 verses, lines 3–11 on the obverse of the third plate).

The execution of the inscription is, on the whole, very carefully done. There are none of the slovenly blunders which are so numerous in the Gauhaṭi plates. Occasionally, when by an oversight, one or more aksharas were omitted, they have been added between the lines; thus the syllables *rajā* in IIa¹², *va* in IIb⁵, *pa* in II b¹⁰ and IIIa³. Very rarely a blunder has remained uncorrected; thus we have *amalan* for *amalam* in Ib² and *yauvanan* for *yauvanam* in II a⁷.

The usual provincialisms occur. Thus instances of the confusion of sibilants are *ayaṣaṣi* for *ayaṣasi* in II b⁶; of the ligature of *m* with *v*, instead of anusvāra with *v*, *duritam=vaḥ* in I b³, *karmmanām=vipāka* in II a¹² and elsewhere; of the ligature of the guttural nasal *ṇ*, instead of the anusvāra, with an *s* or *h*, *yaṣāṇsi* for *yaṣāmsi* in II a⁶, *puṣsām* for *puṁsām* in II b¹, *hēṇsivā* in II b⁹, and *siṇhāsana* for *siṁhāsana* in II b²; of spelling, *pushkirinī* for *pushkarinī* in III a¹³, *dōlāitam* for *dōlāyitam* in I b⁵, *āmvra* for *āmra* in III a¹², *cchattram* for *chattram* in II a⁷; of sandhi, *vayasā ambānām* for *vayas=āmbānām* in II a⁹.

Palæographically it may be noted that the guttural nasal is made throughout without a ringlet; see, e.g., I b⁹, I b¹¹, II a⁶, II a¹², *et passim*; and that the initial short *i* is made by two ringlets placed side by side with a circumflex or rather a hook below them (°ṇ°), see I b³, I b⁵, I b¹⁰, II b¹², III a⁹; once the hook is nearly closed, forming almost a third ringlet, in II a¹. Also *kh* and *r* are made after the earlier fashion.

An *r* preceding a consonant is always formed above the line; e.g., *karnṇa* I b⁷, *sarvvān* II b¹¹, *et passim*.

A separate sign for *b* is never used, it being always expressed by the same sign as *v*; thus Ib⁹ *labdha*, IIa⁵ *ambu*, IIa⁶ *babhuva*. This is also the case in the Gauhaṭi plate, and my readings in that plate, accordingly, should be modified. The same practice still prevails in modern Bangālī.

In the case of a final *t*, *n* or *m*, special modified forms are used. For final *m*, the ordinary form of *m* is used, but much smaller and open

at the top; and under it, and detached from it, a sign of *virāma* is placed, made exactly like the modern Nāgarī sign of the medial long *ū*. This final *m* occurs in *tailam* Ib⁵, *puṇṣām* IIb¹, *ṣeṣam* IIb¹, *kaṭakam* IIb⁴. For the final *n* the ordinary *n* is used, with the *virāma* on its right side, made in the form of a long serpentine stroke, slanting from above it to below its foot. It occurs in *amalan* Ib², *tasmin* Ib⁷, *yaurvanan* IIa⁷, *jānapadān* IIb¹⁰, *sarvān* IIb¹¹. The final *t* is made by a minute truncated ordinary *t* (or rather double *t*), to which is attached the *virāma* in the form of a circular line, which, commencing at its foot, runs up on its left side, over its top, and down again along its right side. This curious form occurs regularly in *nayat* Ib¹, *'bhūt* IIa², *nīcāt* IIa³, *abhūt* IIa⁴, *vaṣāt* IIa¹², *vidhivat* IIb², *ētat* IIIa³, *'bhūt* IIIa⁴; *bhūyāt* IIIa¹¹. In a slightly modified form it occurs in *anayat* IIb². Precisely, or very nearly, the same forms occur in the Dharmapāla copper-plate grant, published by Mr. Batavyal in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII, pp. 39 ff. The occurrence of these special forms has been pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 244, footnote 1. The Dharmapāla grant belongs to the 9th century A.D., while the Nowgong grant, probably, belongs to the 10th century. In the later Gauhaṭi grants these final letters occur in a still further conventionally modified form; see *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 115.

The sign of avagraha occurs twice: in *puṇyē 'hani*, at the end of IIb¹, and in *prathitō'tha* IIIa⁹.

Regarding the date of the Nowgong grant, I have already fully explained my reasons for referring it to not later than the latter part of the 10th century, *i.e.*, about 975 A.D. See *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 120.

In the same place, pp. 117–119, will be found a statement of the genealogy of Balavarman, the grantor of the Nowgong plate, together with some remarks on the probable relation of his dynasty to others that preceded and followed it.

There is, however, one point which I must particularly notice. At the time when I wrote my paper on the Gauhaṭi plate, I had, by an oversight, now inexplicable to me, read *tanuja* for *anuja* in the 8th verse of the Nowgong plate. This made Vajradatta to be the son of Bhagadatta, instead of his younger brother. On this point, therefore, all my remarks in that paper on the relation of Vajradatta to Bhagadatta must be revised. In fact, on this point the Nowgong plate agrees with the general tradition that Vajradatta was the younger brother of Bhagadatta; and the only plate which states the case differently, and makes Vajradatta to be a son of Bhagadatta, is the Gauhaṭi one. This being so, and the tradition on the subject being so uniform and explicit, I am now disposed to believe, that there is a clerical error in the

Gauhaṭī plate at this point. I suggest that the conclusion of the 8th verse in that plate should read *jaṣās=tv=anujaḥ* instead of *jaṣās=tanujaḥ*, though even then the metrical difficulty remains, as the metre would require *anūjaḥ*. It will be noticed, that the text of the two initial lines of the obverse of the second plate, in which the word *tanujaḥ* occurs, is also in other respects defective or incorrect. It is clear, therefore, that the reading *tanujaḥ* is untrustworthy, whatever its true emendation may be.

One more point requires a word of explanation. The word *kūla* I now take to have its ordinary meaning of 'bank' or 'coast.' Accordingly I take *dakṣina-kūlē* in IIb⁹ to mean 'on the southern bank' of some river. The only river, of course, which can be thus referred to is the Brahmaputra, the valley of which mainly constitutes Āsām. Similarly, in the Gauhaṭī plate, IIb⁶, *uttara-kūlē* must mean 'on the northern side of the Brahmaputra'; and I suppose, the word *kūlam*, used there in IIIa¹ and IIIa⁹, in the description of the granted land, must refer to the (northern) bank of that river, which, accordingly, must have touched the boundary of that land at a point on its East-North-East. As the land is said to have had the river Digumma on its South-West, West, and North-West, it must have lain between the Digumma and the Brahmaputra, near the confluence of those two rivers, in one of those numerous spots where the Brahmaputra takes a small north-southerly turn from its generally east-westerly direction. The point might be settled, if it were possible to identify the Digumma river; but that name appears to have disappeared.²

A curiosity of the Nowgong plate is that it contains numerous plagiarised passages from Kālidāsa's well-known *Raghuvaṃśa*. These plagiarisms were discovered and published by an anonymous writer in the *Āsām*, an Assamese vernacular paper, which has taken a good deal of interest in the enquiries Mr. Gait is making in regard to the ancient history of the province. They were brought to my notice by Mr. Gait. They are the following passages or clauses, taken verbally from the *Raghuvaṃśa* :—

- (1) Nowgong Plate, verse 5 (Ib⁵), from *Raghuvaṃśa*, sarga 6, ṣlōka 64: *tambūla-valli-pariṇaddha-pūga*.
- (2) N. Pl., verse 7 (Ib⁹), from R. V., sarga 6, ṣlōka 21: *prajā-rañjana-labdha-varṇa*.
- (3) N. Pl., verse 7 (Ib⁹) from R. V., sarga 5, ṣlōka 19: *varṇāṣramāṇāṃ guru*.
- (4) N. Pl., verse 9 (Ib¹⁰); from R. V., sarga 1, ṣlōka 30: *parikhīkṛta-sāgarām*.

² See *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 122.

- (5) N. Pl., verse 12 (IIa²) from R. V., sarga 6, çlōka 32: *viçāla-vakṣās=tanu-vṛtta-madhyah.*
 (6) N. Pl., verse 18 (IIa⁹), from R. V., sarga 6, çlōka 79: *kulēna kāntyā vayasā.*
 (7) N. Pl., verse 4 (IIIa⁷), from R. V., sarga 5, çlōka 35: *lēbhē sutam and ālōkam=arkād=iva.*

TEXT. ³*First Plate: Reverse.*

- 1, Svasti |⁴Bhavatu bhava-timira-bhiduran=tējō raudram praçāntayē jagataḥ | parivarṭtatē samagram [— — — — ∪ — ∪]⁵
 2, nayat || [1 ||] Sura-kari-mada-candrakitam salilam Lauhitya-vāri-dhēr=amalan⁶ | kailāsa-kaṭaka-mṛga-mada-vāsitam=a[pa]-⁷
 3, haratu duritam=vah⁸ || [2 ||] Pralaya-payō-dhau magnām=uddhara-tō Vasumatim=**Upēndrasya** | **Naraka** iti sūnur=āsīd=asura-su-
 4, hr̥t=krōḍa-rūpa-bhṛtaḥ || [3 ||] Trailōkya-vijaya-tuṅgam yēn=āpahṛtam yaçō Mahēndrasya | Aditēḥ kuṇḍala-yugalam kapōla-dō-
 5, lāitam⁹ haratā || [4 ||] ¹⁰Tāmbūla-vallī-pariṇaddha-pūgam kṛṣṇ-āguru-skandha-nivēçi-tailam || sa
 6, Kāmarūpē jita-kāma-rūpaḥ Prāgjyōtiṣ-ākhyam puram=adhyuvāsa || [5 ||] Mad-āndha-gandha-dvipa-
 7, karṇa-tāla-nṛtyan-mayūr-ōpavanē sa tasmin | vasan=samāsādyā Murāri-cakram raṇē
 8, raṇ-aiṣi divam=ārurōha || [6 ||] ¹¹Bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-cumbita-pāda-pīṭhas=tasy=ātmajō 'bhūd=**Bha-**
 9, **gadatta**-nāmā | rājā prajā-rañjana-labdha-varṇṇō varṇṇ-āçramāṇṇ=gurur=ēka-vīraḥ || [7 ||] ¹²Upagatavati sura-lōkam tasmi-
 10, n=tasy=ānujō 'bhavad=bhūmēḥ | patir=amala-bhaktir=Īçē 'yam prāhur=v=**Vajradatta** iti kavayaḥ || [8 ||] Tad-vamçē vana-vaprām=parikhī-
 11, kṛta-sāgarām=māhim bhuktvā | astaṇ-gatēṣu rājasu **Sālastambhō** 'bhavan=nṛpatiḥ || [9 ||] **Pālaka-Vijaya**-prabhṛtiṣu sama-

³ From the Original. Unfortunately the photo-etching in many places is not as clear as one would wish.

⁴ Metre of verses 1-4: *Āryā*.

⁵ Here a small piece of the right-hand top-corner is broken off, rendering seven akṣaras illegible.

⁶ Read *amalam* and below, in 2a⁷, *yauvanam*.

⁷ The akṣara *pa* of *apaharatu* is broken away.

⁸ Read *duritam vah*.

⁹ Read *dōlāyitam*.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 5-7: *Triṣṭubh*, i.e., *Indravajrā* or *Upēndravajrā*.

¹¹ The first pāda of this verse has one foot (or three akṣaras) in excess.

¹² Metre of verses 8-10: *Āryā*.

- 12, [— — —]ṣu¹³ tasya vaṁṣyēṣu | abhavad=bhuvī nr̥pa-candrō dviṣa-
jvarō **Harjjarō** nāma || [10 ||] ¹⁴ Aham-ahamikayā vivandiṣūṇām

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 1, [◡ ◡ ◡ ◡]¹⁵ yasya laghu-prabhā-pratānaiḥ | na mukūṭa-manayō
vibhānti rājñām ravi-kara-sambalitā iva pradīpāḥ
2, || [11 ||] ¹⁶ Tasy=ātmajaḥ ṣrī-**Vanamāla-dēvō** rājā cīram=bhakti-parō
Bhavē 'bhūt | viçāla-vakṣās=tanu-vṛtta-madhyah pi-
3, naddha-kaṇṭhaḥ parigh-ābha-bāhuḥ || [12 ||] ¹⁷ Na kruddham vikṛt-
āsyam na ca hasitam na ca vacaḥ=ṣrutān=nicāt | na ca kiñcid=
uktam=ahitam=mahi-
4, tam çilam sad=aiva yasy=ābhūt || [13 ||] Yēn=ātul=āpi sa-tulā jagatī
viçāl=āpi bhūri-kṛta-çālā | paṁktiḥ prāsādānām=a-
5, kṛta vicitr=āpi sac-citrā || [14 ||] ¹⁶ Tasy=ātmajaḥ ṣrī-**Jayamāla-dēvaḥ**
kṣīr-āmbu-rāçēr=iva çita-raçmiḥ
6, | babhūva yasy=āskhalitam=bhramanti yaçāṁsi ¹⁸ kund-ēndu-sama-
prabhāni || [15 ||] ¹⁹ Sa çrīmān=vanamālō'pi
7, rājā rājiva-lōcanaḥ | avēkṣya vinay-ōpētām tanūjam=prāpta-yau-
vanan⁶ || [16 ||] ²⁰ C=chattraṁ ça-
8, çadhara-dhavalam cāmara-yugal-ānvitam=pradāy=āsmāi | an-açana-
vidhinā vīras=tējasi māhēçvarē
9, linaḥ || [17 ||] ¹⁹ Prāpta-rājyēna tēn=ōḍhā rājñā ṣrī-**Vīrabāhunā** |
kulēna kāntyā vayasā ambā nām=ātmanas=samā || [18 ||] ²¹ Tēn=
ōdapādi
10, tasyām=araṇāv=iva pāvakaḥ prayōga-vidā | **Balavarm**=ēti prathi-
taḥ ṣrī-mat-tanayas=samagra-guṇa-yuktaḥ || [19 ||] Asita-sarō-
11, ruha-cala-dala-nibha-nayanaḥ pīna-kandharas=su-bhujah | abhina-
va-divakara-kara-hata-vidalita-nava-nalina-kānti-
12, sac-chāyah || [20 ||] Gacchati tithimati kālē sa kadācit=karmmaṇām=
vipāka²²-vaçāt | rājā ruj-ābhībhūtō²³ langhita-bhiṣajā raṇa-
stambhaḥ || [21 ||].

¹³ Here the left-hand lower corner is broken off, rendering three akṣaras illegible. Perhaps read *samatikrāntēṣu* or *samanukrāntēṣu*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Puṣpitāgrā*.

¹⁵ Here four (short) akṣaras are entirely worn and illegible. The following four akṣaras are just faintly distinguishable.

¹⁶ Metre : *Triṣṭubh*.

¹⁷ Metre of verses 13 and 14 : *Āryā*.

¹⁸ Read *yaçāṁsi*.

¹⁹ Metre : *Çlōka*.

²⁰ Metre : *Āryā*.

²¹ Metre of verses 19–25 : *Āryā*.

²² Read *karmmaṇām vipāka*.

²³ The two akṣaras *rujā* are written below the line, having originally been omitted by inadvertence of the engraver.

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 1, Nissāram samsāram jala-lava-lōlañ=ca jīvitam=punṣām²⁴ | vigaṇayya
Virabāhuh²⁵ karttavyam=acintayac=chēṣam || [22 ||] Atha
punyē'
- 2, hani nṛpatis=tanayan=tam=udagra-vigraham=vidhi²⁶-vat | kēsari-ki-
çōra-sadrçam सिंहāsana²⁷-maulitām=anayat || [23 ||] Tad-ananta-
- 3, ram=adhigamya prājyam tad-rājyam=ājyam=iva vahnih | Bala-
varmm=āpi didipē prōtsārita-sakala-ripu-timiraḥ || [24 ||] Abha-
- 4, vaj=jaya-kari-kumbha-skhalit-ōrmmer=amala-vāridhēs=tasya | Lau-
hityasya samīpē tad=ēva paitāmahaṁ kaṭakam || [25 ||] ²⁸ Tattrā
çrī-
- 5, mati Hārūppēçvara²⁹-nāmani kaṭakē kṛta-vasatir³⁰=utkhāt-āsi-latā-
marīci-nicaya-mēcakitēna
- 6, bāhunā | vijita-sakala-dik-cakravālō dhīra-pradhanē bhīrur=ayaça-
çi³¹ tikṣṇō ripuṣu mṛduta-
- 7, rō guruṣu | satya-vāg=avisamvādī³²-kṛtv=āvikathanah sthūla-lakṣō
mātā-pitr-pād-ānu-
- 8, dhyāna-dhauta-kalmaṣah param-ēçvaraḥ parama-bhaṭṭarakō mahārāj-
ādhirājaḥ çrī-Balavarmma-
- 9, dēvaḥ kuçalī || ❖ || Dakṣiṇa-kūlē Dijjinnā-viṣay-āntaḥ-pātinī dhānya-
catus-sahasr-ōtpatti-matī Hēṇsiv-ābhidhā-
- 10, nā bhūmiḥ | asyās=sannikṛṣṭa-varttinō yathā-yatham samupasthita-
brāhmaṇ-ādi-viṣaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapa-
dān³³
- 11, rāja-rājñī-rāṇak-ādhikṛtān=anyām ç=ca yathā-kāla-bhāvinō'pi sarv-
vān sammānanā-pūrvvam=mānayati bōdhayati samādi-
- 12, çati ca | iti viditam=astu bhavatām=bhūmir=iyam vāstu-kēdāra-
sthala-jala-gōpracār-āvakar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sī-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 1, m-ōddēça-paryantā | rājñī-rājaputra-rāṇaka-rājavallabha-mahallaka-
prōḍhikā-hāstibandhika-naukabandhika-caurō-

²⁴ Read *punṣām*.²⁵ The position of the visarga shows that it had originally been omitted.²⁶ Read *vigraham vidhivat*.²⁷ Read *siṁhāsana*.²⁸ From here prose.²⁹ The first two akṣaras of the name are not quite distinct; possibly *sarū*.³⁰ The akṣara *va* was originally omitted and has been inserted below the line.³¹ Read *ayaçasi*.³² Read *avisamvādī*.³³ The akṣara *pa* is added below the line.

- 2, ddharanika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāçika-auparikarika-autkhētika-c-chattra³⁴
vās-ādy-upadrava-kāriṇām=apравēçā || ³⁵ Kā-
- 3, ũvaḥ kṛtī kāpila-gōtra-dipō Mālādhārō nāma babhūva bhātṭaḥ | vid-
yā-tapas³³-sampad-upātta-samyag-vivēka-vidhvasta-sama-
- 4, sta-dōṣaḥ || [1 ||] Dēva-priyō Dēvadharas=su-janmā tasy=āpi sūnuḥ
su-kṛt-ātmanō 'bhūt | adhvaryuṇā yēna kṛtaṁ vibhajya
- 5, vaitānikam karmma nirākulēna || [2 ||] Grhīta-vidyas=su-grhīta-
nāmā grh-āçram-āvāpti-pa-
- 6, rō grhiṇyā | ayujyat=āsau prabhay=ēva bhānur=uṣassu çāmāyika-
yā manasvī || [3 ||] Ahas-tr³⁶
- 7, sōma-pratimam prasaktam=anyōnya-sāpēkṣam=idam hi yugmam³⁷ |
lēbhē sutam nāçita-dōṣam=ēnam=ā-
- 8, lōkam=arkkād=iva viçvam=ētat || [4 ||] ³⁸ Ayam=iha viniyamānaḥ
çrutayas=samyag=dharsiçyatō sarvvāḥ | Çru-
- 9, tidhara iti nāmn=āsau pitrā prathitō 'tha lōkēṣu || [5 ||] Sa samā-
vṛttō gurutō grha-dharma-vidhitsur=āgatas=sādhuh | kālē vi-
- 10, ſuvaty=arthī dharmma-parah paṇḍitaḥ kathā-niṣṭhaḥ || [6 ||] Tasmai
viprāya mayā snātvā samyak-samādhinā dattā | yad=iha pha-
lam tat=pi-
- 11, trōr=m=mam=āpi lōk-ōttaram=bhūyāt [7 ||] ³⁹ Asyās=simā pūrvvē-
ṇa kōppaḥ | gō-santāraç=ca | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna jambū-çriphala-
vrkṣaḥ
- 12, | dakṣiṇēna vrhad-āliḥ suvarṇa-vaṭa-vrkṣaç=ca | dakṣiṇa-paçcimēn=
āmra⁴⁰-vrkṣaḥ | paçcimēna vrhad-āliḥ çālmali-vrkṣaç=ca | paç-
cim-ōtta-
- 13, rēṇa vrhad-vaṭa-vrkṣaḥ Diddēsa⁴¹-vāpī ca | uttarēṇa Sēva⁴¹-vāpy-
arddham⁴² | uttara-pūrvvēṇa puṣkiriṇī⁴³ jaṭī-vrkṣaç=c=ēti || sam-
va × vai ×

The Seal.

- 1, Svasti çri-çri-Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhip-ānva-
- 2, yō mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-Ba-
- 3, lavarma-dēvaḥ ||

³⁴ Read *chattra*.

³⁵ Metre of verses 1-4: *Triṣṭubh*, or *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā* mixed.

³⁶ This akṣara is uncertain.

³⁷ Read *yugmam*.

³⁸ Metre of verses 5-7: *Āryā*.

³⁹ From here prose.

⁴⁰ Read *āmra*.

⁴¹ The names Diddēsa (lord of Diddā) and Sēva (Çaiva) are not quite certain.

⁴² Read *arddham*.

⁴³ Read *puṣkariṇī*.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the splendour of Rudra (*i.e.*, *Çiva*), which cleaves the darkness of (this) mundane existence, conduce to the peace of the world : it becomes the whole

(2.) May the pure water of the river Lauhitya, beautifully spotted (like the moon) by the ichor (dropping) from the (ruttish) elephants of the gods, and perfumed with the musk of the deer (living) on the ridges of the Kailāsa mountain, remove (all) your sins.

(3.) Of Upēndra (*i.e.*, *Viṣṇu*), who, assuming the form of a boar, rescued the earth when she had sunk in the great flood at the time of the universal dissolution, Naraka was the son, the friend of the Asuras,

(4.) who deprived Mahēndra of his glory gained by his victory over the three worlds, and stole the pair of earrings of Aditi which dangled on her cheeks.

(5.) He, having conquered (the country of) Kāmarūpa⁴⁴ took up his residence in that country in the town of Prāgjyōtiṣa, which offered him areca-nut wrapped in (leaves of) the betel plant, and oil of black aloe-wood (as a symbol of his coronation as king).

(6.) While living there in his park in which peacocks danced to the flapping of the ears of his state-elephants blind with rut, and having, in battle, obtained the discus of Murāri (*i.e.*, *Viṣṇu*) he ascended to heaven, eager for battle (with the gods.)

(7.) His son was king Bhagadatta, a hero of a unique kind, whose footstool was touched by the crown-jewels of (many) princes, who was renowned for pleasing his subjects, and who was a leader of all castes and stages of life.⁴⁵

(8.) When he had gone up to the abode of the gods, his younger brother Vajradatta became the lord of the land, of whom the poets have declared that he was a sovereign of unblemished faith in Īṣa (*i.e.*, *Çiva*).

(9.) After the kings of his line had enjoyed the earth, moated round by the sea and (covered) with fields and forests, and had passed away, there arose king Sālastambha.

⁴⁴ There is here a play on the word *kāma-rūpa* which is not expressible in translation. Naraka, who is described as *jita-kāma-rūpa*, is said to take up his abode in *kāmarūpa*. The phrase may also be translated : "having conquered *kāmarūpa*, or 'the form of desires,' he took up his abode in that (country) which has the form (*rūpa*) of *kāma*, or '(the god of) desires.'" The common tradition, as Mr. Gait informs me, with regard to Kāmarūpa is that it is the place where Kāmadēva, the god of love, recovered his form after being turned into ashes by *Çiva*. There is a similar play on Kāmarūpa in the Ratnapāla grant, see Vol. LXVII.

⁴⁵ Here is again a verbal conceit, untranslatable, in *varṇa*, which means both 'distinction' and 'caste.' *Āçrama* refers to the four brāhmanic stages of life of the student, householder, anchorite, and mendicant.

(10.) Again after Pālaka, Vijaya and other kings of his line had followed in succession, there arose in the land a great king (*lit.* moon of kings), Harjjara by name, who was an affliction to his enemies.

(11.) Though, in their military vaunting, (other) kings tried to exalt themselves by lengthy detraction of his splendour, their crown-jewels gained no brilliance, as little as lamp-lights set in the midst of the rays of the sun.

(12.) His son was the excellent Vanamala Dēva, who for a long time was king in the land, devoted in faith to Bhava (*i.e.*, Īiva). He was broad in his chest, slender and round in his waist, with a thick-set (*lit.* concealed) neck and club-like arms.

(13.) His face was never disfigured by anger; he never laughed, nor was any low word ever heard from him; he never spoke anything improper, and his disposition was always noble.

(14.) By him a row of palaces was erected which, though having no equal in the world, stood equal (*i.e.*, level) on its ground, though not limited in room possessed many rooms, and though gay with general ornamentation, was also furnished with true pictures.⁴⁶

(15.) His son was the excellent Jayamala Dēva, just as the cool-rayed one (*i.e.*, the moon) is (the son) of the great ocean of milk: and his glories undeviatingly revolve with a splendour equal to that of the radiant (*lit.*, jasmin-like) moon.

(16.) That excellent king, being also a Vanamāla⁴⁷ (like his father) with lotus-eyes, having observed that his son had finished his education and attained adolescence,

(17.) made over to him the (royal) umbrella, of moon-like whiteness, together with the two (royal) cañūrī (or fly-flaps), and then, bravely enduring the rite of (religious suicide through) starvation, became absorbed into the light of the Divine Being.

(18.) Having received the kingdom, that king, the excellent Vīrabāhu, married (a lady) called Ambā, who was equal to himself in point of family, beauty and age.

⁴⁶ The translation is rather free, as the verse is full of verbal conceits which are hardly translateable. *Jagat* means both 'world' and 'ground;' and there are three contrasts in *a-tula* and *sa-tula*, 'without and with equality,' *viçāla* and *kṛita-çāla*, 'without and with room,' *vicitra* and *saccitra*, 'without and with pictures.' *Vicāla* means both 'without room' and 'roomy;' and *vicitra*, both 'without pictures' and 'gay with color, etc.'

⁴⁷ *Vanamāla* means 'wearing a chaplet of wood flowers' and is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu. There seems to be a verbal conceit intended. Jayamāla seems to be likened to his father Vanamāla, who is also described as a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu. There is moreover another verbal conceit in the juxtaposition of the words *rājā* and *rājīva*, which is untranslateable, the former meaning 'king,' the latter, 'lotus.'

(19.) By him was produced from her, just as fire from a stick of wood by one who understands the process, an excellent son, the celebrated Balavarman, endowed with every virtue,

(20.) with eyes resembling the undulating flowers of the blue lotus, with a thick-set neck and well-formed arms, and with a figure as beautiful as a fresh lotus flower just opened under the touch of the rays of the rising sun.

(21.) Once when the appointed time came, through the power of his maturing *karma* (or actions done in a previous life), that king Vīrabāhu, while distinguishing himself in war, was attacked by a disease (contracted) through neglect of medical advice.

(22.) Considering that the world is vain and human life unstable like a water-drop, he bethought himself of what remained for him to do.

(23.) So, on an auspicious day, the king transferred in the prescribed form, his throne and crown to that son of his, who was tall of body, in appearance like a lion-cub.

(24.) Thereafter taking possession of that great kingdom, as the fire does of clarified butter, Balavarman also shone forth as an extinguisher of all his enemies whom he expelled.

(25.) Near that pure river Lauhitya, the current of which was agitated by the foreheads of his victorious elephants, there stands that ancestral encampment of his.

(Prose.) There, while residing in that excellent camp, Hārūp-pēçvara by name, having conquered all potentates in dire contest by his arm which showed dark against the numerous flashes of his drawn sword-blade, fearful of disgrace, harsh towards enemies, gentle towards religious preceptors, truth-speaking, not contentious nor vaunting, generous, and purified from sin through the reverence shown to his father and mother, the *Paramēçvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Balavarma Dēva, being prosperous (does, as follows) :

On the southern side (of the river Brahmaputra), situated within the district of Dijjinnā, and producing four thousand (measures) of rice, there is the land called Hēṇsivā. To all and several who reside near that (land), (the king) sends his greetings, and enjoins, informs, and commands them, *viz.*, the (common) people of the Brāhman and other castes, headed by the district revenue officials and their clerks, as well as the other (higher-class) people culminating in the Rāṇakas, Rājñīs and Rājas, and in fact all who may reside there in future at any time.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ See *ante*, p. 18, footnote 10. The *Viṣaya* or (in full) *Viṣaya-vyāvahārika* would be the district officer corresponding to the modern 'Collector,' and the *Karaṇa* or *Karaṇa-vyāvahārika* would be the officers of his court or his clerks. The list enumerates the several grades of the nobility, bureaucracy and commonalty.

Be it known to you that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry-land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc.; of whatever kind it may be, as far as any place within its borders: and into which (land) entry is prohibited to (all) *Rājñīs*, *Rājaputras*, *Rāṇakas*, *Rājavallabhas*, eunuchs, grand ladies, and any (other) persons that may cause trouble on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the exercise of authority, the infliction of punishments, the realising of tenants' taxes and imposts, the providing of room for the royal umbrella, etc.⁴⁹

(Verse 1) There was an accomplished *bhaṭṭa*, Mālādhara by name, of the Kaṇva Ṣākhā,⁵⁰ a light of the Kāpila gōtra, who had obliterated all his shortcomings by dint of his perfect discernment acquired through his wealth of knowledge and austerities.

(2) This man also had a son, the god-beloved Dēvadhara, auspiciously born, the soul of good works, by whom, in his capacity of an Adhvaryu priest, the Vaitānika rites were performed in due order without any confusion.

(3) Having finished his studies, and in due course taken a title, and being intent on entering the state of a householder, that learned man (Dēvadhara) mated with his house-wife Ṣāmāyikā,⁵¹ even as the sun does with his lustre at the periods of twilight.

(4) Hence, these twain, like the sun and moon attached to and dependant on one another, received this son of theirs (Ṣrutidhara), free of all faults, just as this world receives its light from the sun.

(5) Now seeing that in the course of his studies he would acquire a thorough mastery of all the Ṣrutis (or revealed Vēdas), he received the name Ṣrutidhara from his father, and he is well-known by it throughout the world.

(7) This good man, returning from his religious preceptor, has, with the intention of taking on himself the condition of a householder, arrived at the time of the equinox, an applicant (for patronage), devoted to duty, a Pandit, skilled in sacred recitation.

(8) To this Brāhman (the abovementioned land) is given by me after bathing and completing all due observances. Whatever recompense there is (of this action), may it accrue to my parents as well as to myself in the world to come.

⁴⁹ The sentence which breaks off here is resumed in verse 8, below.

⁵⁰ The Kaṇva Ṣākhā belongs to the Vājasaneyin division of the Yajur Vēda.

⁵¹ The spelling *Ṣāmāyikayā* represents the popular or vernacular pronunciation of the word, which is evidently retained for the sake of the metre; for the correct Sanskrit spelling *Ṣyāmāyikayā* would have offended the Triṣṭubh metre. The form *Ṣyāmāyikā*, I may add, has not yet been noted in any dictionary; it occurs, however, also in the Rātnapāla grant (see Vol. LXVII), as the name of a woman.

Its boundaries:⁵² on the east, the well and the pathway for the cattle; on the south-east, the Jāmun and Bēl trees; on the south, the great dike and the golden Banyan tree; on the south-west, the Mango tree; on the west, the great dike and the red-silk-cotton tree; on the north-west, the great Banyan tree and the Diddēsa reservoir; on the north, one half of the Sēva reservoir; on the north-west, the small pond and the wave-leaved fig tree. In the year...

THE SEAL.

Hail! The Mahārāj-ādhirāja, of the most illustrious race of the Lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the illustrious Bala-varma-dēva.

⁵² *Koppa* 'well' is a vernacular form of the Sanskrit *kūpa*; the modern Hindī has *kuppā* 'a leather bag for oil,' and (in a different modification) *kūā* 'well.' The Jāmun is the *Eugenia jambolana*, the Bēl is *Aegle Marmelos*, the Banyan is *Ficus bengalensis*, the wave-leaved fig tree is *Ficus Tjakela*; and the red-silk-cotton tree is *Bombax Malabaricum*. I cannot identify, however, the *suvarṇa* or 'golden' Banyan; it is not noticed in any botanical or medical or other vocabulary, available to me. Perhaps it should be *su-parṇa*, the 'beautiful-leaved' Banyan.

Numismatic Notes and Novelties, No. II.¹ *Ancient and Mediæval India*.—

By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S.

(With Plate XXXVIII.)

[Read November, 1897.]

COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA.

I.

PUNCH-MARKED.

The copper punch-marked coins are, as Cunningham correctly observes, (*C. Anc. I.* p. 59) much rarer than the silver coins. He gives figures of four specimens only, (*op. cit.* Pl. I) and notes that the finest specimens he had seen came from Ēraṇ in Central India.

The specimens figured by Cunningham are square or broadly oblong. Those which I now publish come from the eastern parts of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, and are of elongated form. They both have an extremely archaic appearance, and give me the impression of being probably older than the ordinary silver pieces.

From the very ancient town Jāis in the Rāi Barēli District, Oudh. Length .80, breadth .55 inch, wt. 90 gr. Slightly convex, with the four-fingered symbol on the convex side. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 1.) [V. A. SMITH.]

From the Baliā District. Length 1.2, breadth .4 at one end, and .5 at the other wt. 108 gr. Edges rounded. Very obscure, indistinct symbols on both sides, including a dim ? horse. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 2.) [V. A. SMITH.]

II.

COINS OF TAXILA.

(*Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 60-66, Pl. II, III).

Cunningham was unable to explain the legend *Vaṭasvaka* on one of the most remarkable coins of the series (*op. cit.*, Pl. II, 17). The characters belong approximately to the Açōka period. I possess a fine specimen of this rare type, bought from the Stülpnagel cabinet.

Dr. Bühler has ingeniously, and to my mind satisfactorily, interpreted the legend. "*Vaṭasvaka* corresponds to the Sanskrit *Vaṭāçvakāḥ*, and probably means the 'Vaṭa-açvakas,' or 'the Açvakas of the Vaṭa or fig-tree division.' It is well-known that there was an Açvaka tribe

¹ Vide J. A. S. B., this Volume, 1897, page 1 ff.

in North-Western India, whom the Greeks call Assakenoi, and state (Arrian, *Indica*, I, 1) to have inhabited the country west of the Indus as far as the Kophen. It may further be mentioned that some old Indian tribes, like the Yaudhēyas, were actually divided into sections or *gaṇas*, as well as that, as the case of the Audumbaras shows, tribes were occasionally named after trees." ("Origin of Brāhmī alphabet," *Ind. Stud.* No. III, Wien, 1895, p. 46.)

Dr. Bühler has been equally successful in explaining the legends of another class of Taxila coins, concerning which Cunningham indulged in very ill-founded conjectures. I refer to the coins bearing the legend *nēgamā*. This word, which is common enough in Pāli and the epigraphic Prākritis, and occurs in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa* inscriptions, means always 'the traders,' or 'members of a guild' (*nigama*). The use of the word on the Taxila coins shows that they were issued as current tokens by traders. The other words which are found on a few specimens, [*T*]ālimata, A[taka]takā dujaka, or dōjaka, are supposed by Bühler to be the names of guilds. The word *tālimata* (read by Cunningham as *rālimita*), may, like *Vaṭasvaka* have a totemistic reference to a tree, a species of palm (Skr. *tālī*; *Corypha taliera* (Roxb.), or *Flacourtia cataphracta*), (*op. cit.* p. 47).

The copper coin below described seems to belong to the Taxila series, and to be unpublished.

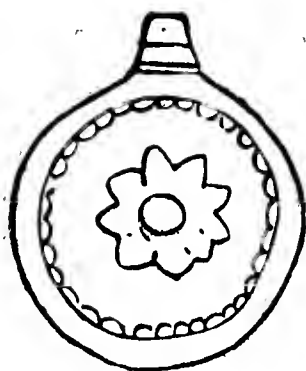
Obv. Sun (cross in circle), and crescent.

Rev. Taurine symbol in small incuse.

A thick dumpy coin, roughly square, with rounded corners, diameter .55 to .60 inch; thickness about 2 *m.m.*, or $\frac{1}{12}$ inch. Wt. 75 gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 3.) [V. A. SMITH.]

Mr. L. White King, I.C.S., possesses three unpublished types of the Taxila series, as described below. The second symbol on B looks like a form of the letter *t*:

No. A. *Obv.*



Rev. Blank.

No. B. *Obv.*



Rev.



No. A. Space between rim and lotus sunk—lotus in relief. [L. WHITE KING.]

No. B. Rim on Obv., no rim on Rev. [L. WHITE KING.]

No. C. Rude thick piece, convex on both sides. On one side a very rude standing figure, and some unintelligible marks. On other side a very rude horned quadruped (? buffalo) to r.

Brass, cast. Wt. 45 gr. [L. WHITE KING.]

III.

KUṢANA.

KADAPHES.

Buddha Type.

Copper coins, thin; diameter .6. Wt. 26 gr. and 19 gr.

A. *Obv.* Īiva, to r., with both hands raised, standing in front of bull, which is to l. An obscure symbol behind Īiva.

Greek marginal legened Y[Z]Λ XOPA[NCY] The second character is of uncertain meaning.

Rev. Buddha seated cross-legged, with r. arm raised, and l. on hip. Traces of illegible marginal legend. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 4.) [RAWLINS.]

B. *Obv.* Same device as A, but the traces of the bull are very faint. Legend on l. margin OΔ, with traces of other characters.

Rev. Same device as A. Marginal legend seems to be in Brahmi characters, and looks like गतसले *gatasalē*; but perhaps the letters are Kharoṣṭhī. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 5.) [RAWLINS.]

These two little coins deserve to be reckoned among the most remarkable of recent numismatic discoveries. They add two specimens to the short list of Kuṣana coins bearing the image of Buddha, and prove that the introduction of that image in its conventional form does not date from the reign of Kanīṣka, but goes back at least to the reign of Kadaphes, one of his predecessors.

The coins of Kadaphes are scarce, and the exact relation of this king to the two kings who take the name or title of Kadphises is not known. But every one is agreed that Kadaphes is earlier than Kanīṣka.

These Buddha pieces are assigned to Kadaphes on account of the legend XOPA[NCY], *Chora[nsu]*, which is distinct on one of them, and which is peculiar to the coins of Kadaphes. "On the small bronze coins which bear the name of Kujula Kadaphes, the genitive *Khuṣanasa* is regularly represented by the Greek XOPANCY, that is to say, the Greek form is a rough transliteration of the Prākṛit name in the genitive case."¹

The Īiva and Bull device appears for the first time on the coins of Kadphises II., who was either contemporary, or nearly so, with Kadaphes, and was probably his immediate successor.²

¹ Rapson, "Two Notes on Indian Numismatics," (J. R. A. S. for 1897, p. 323).

² B. M. Catal. p. 124.

The rare Buddha coins of Kaniṣka have been fully discussed by Von Sallet, and subsequently by Cunningham, and some of them are noticed by Gardner.¹

"On a single gold coin of Kaniṣka," writes Cunningham, "we have a representation of Buddha, under the name of $\text{BO}\Delta\Delta\text{O}$. The figure is standing with the right hand raised in the act of blessing.

He is also represented in the same attitude on some rare copper coins with the title of $\text{CAKA MANO BOY}\Delta\text{O}$, or *Sakya Muni Buddha*.²

On a few coins Buddha is represented sitting in native fashion on the ground, with his right hand raised in the act of teaching. I have referred to these coin figures because they are the earliest representations of Buddha that have yet been found. The sculptures at Bōdh Gayā (B.C. 250) and at Bharhut (B.C. 150) are remarkable for the absence of any figure of Buddha. His empty throne, his hair (*cūḍā*), his bowl, and his footprints, are frequently shown; but I have not seen any Indian sculptured figure of Buddha himself prior to the time of Kaniṣka. The earliest figures are those found in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus."

During his long career Cunningham succeeded in collecting only three of these coins of Kaniṣka with the seated Buddha, all large pieces, .95 of an inch in diameter. A fourth specimen of the same size is in Berlin.

Small coins with the figure of Buddha, like those now published are quite unknown. Kadaphes lived about a generation earlier than Kaniṣka, and it is important for the history of Buddhist art to learn that the conventional representation of the seated Buddha was well established at a date appreciably earlier than that of Kaniṣka. I am inclined to doubt the theory that images of Buddha were not known until the first century A.D., and I shall not be surprised if some earlier examples come to light when the ruins of Kapilavastu are examined.

IV. KUṢĀNA(?)

Small square copper coin, .4 in diameter, thickish. Wt. 19 gr.

Obv. वस, *Vasa* (or possibly *Vasu*).

? पेच, ? *pēca*.

Rev. Obscure.

I do not see how to read the characters of the second line as *dēva*.

(Plate XXXVIII, fig. 6.) [RAWLINS.]

¹ Von Sallet, "Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen," Berlin, 1879; pp. 189 to 196, Taf. vi, 1. Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* for 1892, pp. 57, 80, Pl. viii (xviii). Gardner, *B. M. Catal.* Pl. xxvi, 8; xxvii, 2; xxxii, 14.

² As read by Mr. Rapson, and probably correct.

V.

ACYUTA.

Type 1.

Obv. अच्यु [त] *Acyu[ta]* in large, bold, raised letters, occupying the field, within a dotted circle.

Rev. 8-rayed sun, or wheel, in relief. Small circular copper coin; diameter .6; weight 15 gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 15.) [V. A. SMITH.]

Type 2.

Obv. Portrait bust of king to r. The features are those of a young man, the head seems to be bare, and the nose is straight. The style suggests a Roman origin.

In l. field, behind the king's head अ, *A*; and in r. field, before the king's face, च्यु, *cyu*. The characters are minute, in low relief.

Rev. 8-rayed sun or wheel.

Small circular copper coin, diameter .48; Wt. 12 gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 16.) [DELMERICK.]

Both coins seem to me to be cast. The margins give clear indications of the use of a mould, and the 8-rayed sun of both types seems also to have been cast. The portrait bust of Type 2, however, may have been struck by a die on the blank face of a cast coin.

So far as is at present known, the coins of both types are found only at Rāmnagar, near Aonlā in the Barēli District, the site of the ancient Ahichatra, or Adhīchatrā, the capital of Northern Pañcāla.

Type 1 has been already published (*J. A. S. B.* Part I, for 1880 Pl. VII, figs. 2A, 2B). The coin shown in figure 2A of the plate referred to is similar to my specimen, which is now figured for facility of reference. The form of the letters of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's figure 2B slightly differs. The characters on both specimens of Type 1 approximate generally to those of the Kuṣaṇa inscriptions of Northern India (See Bühler's *Palæographie* Pl. III). The British Museum possesses several specimens of this type from the Cunningham cabinet. My specimen was presented to me by Mr. C. S. Delmerick, who is the owner of the present unique example of Type No. 2.

In a note to my dissertation on "The Conquests of Samudra Gupta," sent in May 1897 to the Royal Asiatic Society for publication, I have discussed these remarkable coins, and proposed to read the incomplete king's name *Acyu* as *Acyuta*. Mr. Rapson (*J. R. A. S.* April 1897, p. 420) has independently adopted the same reading, and proposes, as I also had proposed, to attribute the coins to the king *Acyuta* of Northern India who was defeated by Samudragupta about A.D. 350.¹

¹ I had sent home my paper on "The Conquests of Samudra Gupta" before Mr. Rapson's note reached me, and he was similarly ignorant of my views when he wrote.

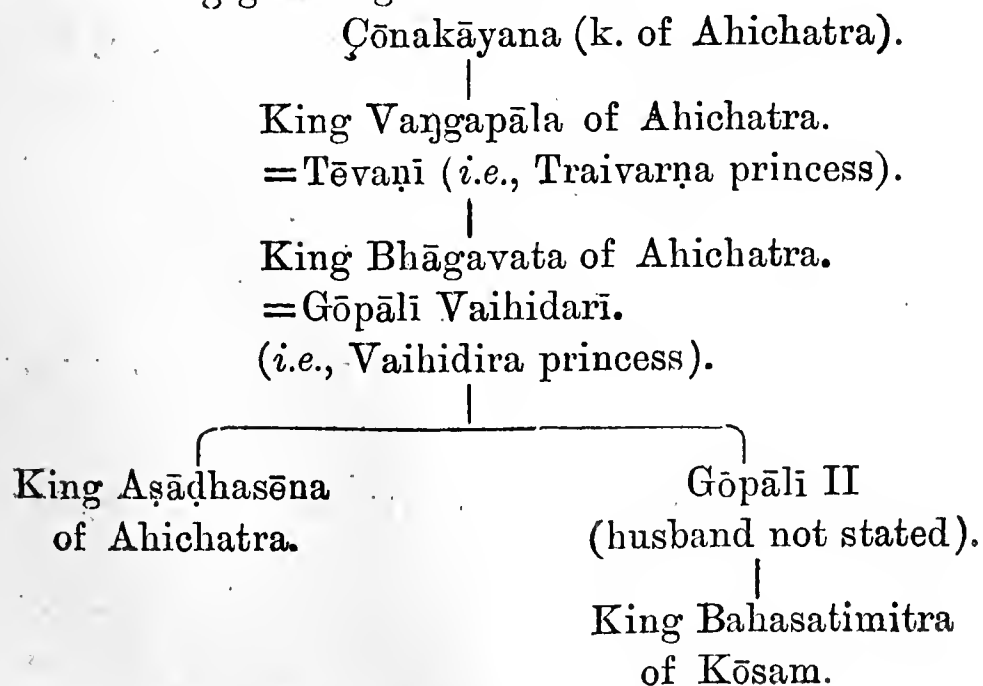
The subjugation of Acyuta is twice mentioned in the great Allāhābād inscription which relates the history of Samudragupta. The mutilated passage (line 13) in the metrical introduction to the record couples Acyuta with Nāgasēna, and affirms that both were “uprooted” by the conqueror. The prose passage (line 21) mentions both these princes in a list of nine kings of Āryāvarta, or Northern India, who were “violently exterminated” by the emperor.

I think there is a strong probability that the coins bearing the legend *Acyu* are properly referred to the king whose independence was destroyed by Samudragupta. Nothing in the fabric of the pieces or the characters of the legend forbids this ascription.

The fact that, so far as is at present known, the coins are found only at the site of Ahichatra plainly indicates that Acyuta was king of that place. Mr. Rapson points out that the reverse of the Acyuta coins is similar to that of some of the Nāga coins of Samudragupta's period. The Acyuta coinage has no connection with the much earlier Mitra series (Bhūmimitra, etc.), which is treated by Cunningham (*Coins of Anc. I.* Pl. VII) as the special coinage of Pañcāla. That Mitra coinage, though found in large quantities at Rāmnagar (Ahichatra) is also fairly abundant in Oudh and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces.

I take the opportunity given by these references to Ahichatra of directing attention to the close connection which existed between the early dynasties of Ahichatra and Kauçāmbī (Kōsam). The fact of the connection was published by Dr. Führer some years ago, but has not attracted the notice which it deserves.

The Pabhōsā inscriptions (32 miles south-west of Allāhābād) yield the following geneological table:—¹



¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 243.

Pabhōsā, where the inscriptions are found, is near Kōsam, the reputed site of the ancient Kauçāmbī. Kōsam, no doubt, is recognized by the Jains as the site of the royal city of Kauçāmbī, but it certainly does not represent the Kauçāmbī visited by Hiuen Tsiang. I cannot stop now to prove the correctness of this last proposition, and only mention it here in order to explain that I regard Bahasatimitra as having been king of Kauçāmbī only on the assumption that Kauçāmbī is to be identified with Kōsam. Cunningham, in one visit to Kōsam, obtained 16 coins of Bahasatimitra, (*Reports* x, 4). Out of 15 coins of this king in the Lucknow Museum, 9 were excavated at Kōsam, and 6 at Rāmnagar (Ahichatra). The coins thus agree with the inscription in affirming the close relation between Kauçāmbī (in the sense of Kōsam) and Ahichatra. I call Bahasatimitra king of Kōsam because the majority of his coins is found at that place, and the inscription No. I was recorded by king Aṣāḍhasēna, maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra. The omission to mention the kingdom of Bahasatimitra would be natural on the assumption that he was the local ruler of the territory where the inscription was incised. Inscription No. II shows that Bahasatimitra was son of the sister of the king of Ahichatra. The latter chief, when he dedicated the cave to which inscription No. I refers, was evidently on a visit to his nephew.

King Acyuta was, of course, much later in date, and nothing is known about his lineage.

VI.

NĀGA.

GAṆAPATI.

Obv. [Ma]hārāja Grī Ga.

Rev. Bull to l. in dotted circle.

Oblong, .40 × .32. Wt. 20 gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 10.) [V. A. SMITH.]

Remarkable for its shape. The coins of Gaṇapati are ordinarily circular. This specimen, which came from Narwar, has been struck, like some of the Ujjain coins, with a circular die.

VII.

UJJAIN.

Obv. Quadrupe without horns, standing to r. Marginal legend, in characters of about 4th century A.D., seems to include the word *Parama*.

Rev. Ujjain cross and balls symbol.

Copper, circular; diameter .7. Wt. 38gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 11.) [V. A. SMITH.]

The coin No. 8295 of the Indian Museum (*Catal.* III, 28), which is oblong, has on obverse "a deer," without horns, and on the reverse the usual symbol. Other pieces in the same collection substitute a bull or

elephant for the "deer." Cunningham does not give any example of this class.

VIII.

UNCERTAIN.

Small square copper coin. Diameter .45, apparently cast. Wt. 12 gr.

Obv. Legend in two lines, with a symbol between the characters of the lower line. I at first read the legend as *ṣāhi*

Dē va ,

but this reading does not seem tenable.

The second word is probably *dēva*, but the first seems to be *षिडि*, *ṣiḍi*. The coin reminds me of some I have seen with the legend *Khiṇṇila*, and perhaps *ṣ* is to be taken as equivalent to *kh*.

Rev. Elephant running to r. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 7.) [RAWLINS.]

IX.

LEAD COINS.

UNCERTAIN.

A. *Obv.* Standing male figure, r. arm raised. Perhaps traces of legend.

Rev. Lion (?) to r.; traces of legend. Diameter .6. Wt. 56 gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 8.) [RAWLINS.]

Rather resembles some Andhra coins.

B. *Obv.* Standing male figure to l.; r. arm raised. Marginal legend, including *ṣrī*, in characters of (?) about A.D., 400.

Rev. Obscure. Marginal legend. Diameter .5. Wt. 35 gr. (Plate XXXVIII fig. 9.) [RAWLINS.]

MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

X. GĀṄGĒYADĒVA OF ḌĀHALA OR CĒDI
(CIRCA A.D. 1010-1040).

The genealogical table of the Kalacuri princes of Ḍāhala given by Cunningham in "Coins of Mediæval India," p. 71, has been superseded by the fuller and more accurate list printed by Professor Kielhorn in his paper on "The Benares Copper-plate Inscription of Kaṇḍadēva" in "Epigraphia Indica," II, 304.

The frequency with which coins of Gāṅgēyadēva are met with in the eastern and southern districts of the North-Western Provinces suggests the inference that the conquests of this undoubtedly powerful sovereign extended north of the Jumna. His well known coins exist in three metals, gold, silver, and copper, and in four denominations, namely, the *dramma* (drachma), half-*dramma*, quarter-*dramma*, and one-eighth-*dramma*. The gold *dramma*, weighing about 62 grains, is by far the commonest. My specimen was found at Kachwā in Pargana Rāṭh of the Hamirpur District.

Cunningham considered his specimen of the gold half-*dramma* to be unique. I have not yet met with another.

The gold quarter-*dramma* (14 grains), which also Cunningham believed to be unique, can no longer claim that distinction. Dr. Hoey, I.C.S., had two specimens, of which one has passed into the hands of Mr. L. White King, and I have lately bought a fourth example, found at Bhitari in the Ghāzipur District.

Cunningham possessed 9 specimens of the silver-*dramma* (61 grains). I have bought an example in Gōrakhpur.

Cunningham's specimens of the one-eighth-*dramma* (7 grains) in silver still remains unique.

The same collection had 6 specimens of the copper-*dramma* (61 grains). I have bought one in Gōrakhpur.

The above particulars show that all four denominations of Gāṅgēyadēva's coinage are known, though the set is not complete for any metal.

The denominations still wanting are—

Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
$\frac{1}{8}$ th <i>dramma</i> .	$\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ th <i>dramma</i> .	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ th, $\frac{1}{8}$ th <i>dramma</i> .

XI. GŌVINDACANDRA, RĀTHŌR OF KANAUI.

The coins of this king (A.D. 1115–1165) are copies of those of Gāṅgēyadēva. The gold *drammas* are common. My specimen, which is composed of gold largely alloyed with silver, is from a hoard of 800 coins found near Nānpāra in the Bahraich District of Oudh during the construction of the Bengal and North-Western Railway in 1887. A *triṇūla* ornament at the end of the legend is probably a mintmark.

The copper coinage of this king is not noticed by either Cunningham (*Coins Mediæval India*, p. 87), or Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 19). I possess a good specimen of a copper *dramma*.

Probably the *dramma* and its sub-divisions were struck in all three metals by Gōvindacandra as well as by Gāṅgēyadēva.

XII. CANDĒLLA COINAGE.

The coinage of the Candēlla dynasty of Bundēlkhand is, like that of Gōvindacandra, a copy of the coinage of Gāṅgēyadēva. The gold coins are exactly the same as Gāṅgēya's except for the names. The copper coins substitute Hanuman for Lakṣmī.

Both copper and gold pieces follow the same scale of weights, and are *drammas*, or sub-divisions of *drammas*.

The whole series is so rare that the following observations will be interesting to collectors.

KĪRTTIVARMAN.

The coinage of Kirttivarman is at present known in gold only, unless Mr. Rodgers (*Catal.* III, 99) is right in calling the metal of the

half-*dramma* coin, No. 8483, in the Indian Museum, "brass." No other brass example of the Candēlla coinage is recorded.

Five specimens of the gold *dramma* are known (Cunningham, 1; Hoey, 2; Freeling, 2); and 2 specimens of the gold half-*dramma* (Hoey, 1, Cunningham, 1).

Total of reign, 6 coins.

SALLAKṢANAVARMAN.

This king is wrongly called Hallakṣana by Cunningham.

Cunningham's specimen of the gold *dramma* is at present unique.

I knew of 5 specimens of the gold $\frac{1}{4}$ -*dramma* (Cunningham, 1; V. A. Smith, 1, collected in Hamirpur District; Freeling, 2; Crooke, 1).

Cunningham's copper *dramma* is unique. Total of reign, 7 coins.

JAYAVARMAN.

No gold specimen of this king's coinage has yet been found. My enquiries at the British Museum have failed to trace the silver coin mentioned by Cunningham (Reports, II, 459.)

I know of 11 specimens of the copper *dramma*, (Cunningham, 6; V. A. Smith, 1, given by Cunningham; Freeling, 3; Hoey, 1). Total of reign, 11 coins.

PRTHIVĪVARMAN.

Cunningham had formerly two copper coins of this king (*Reports*, II, 459.) In *Coins Med. India* he mentions only one, a badly preserved *dramma* weighing 41 grains.

No other example of the coinage of this reign has been discovered. Total of reign, 2 coins.

MADANAVARMAN.

The coins of this king occur in all three metals.

Cunningham and Freeling had each one gold *dramma*.

Cunningham originally had 3 quarter-*drammas* in gold, one of which he gave to the writer. Dr. Hoey had two specimens, and one is in the Lahore collection. In all, therefore, 6 specimens of the gold quarter-*dramma* are known.

Dr. Hoey has a silver quarter-*dramma* which is unique.

Cunningham's copper quarter-*dramma* is also unique. Total of reign, 10 coins.

PARAMARDIDĒVA.

A gold *dramma*, now No. 8490, in Indian Museum, (*Catal.* III, 99), which was described by Dr. Hoernle in the *Journal, Asiatic Society*

Bengal, Part I for 1889, Plate IV, 11 is, I believe, the only known specimen of the coinage of this reign.

TRAILŌKYAVARMAN.

The coinage of this prince is represented by two gold *drammas* in the Indian Museum (Nos. 8487, 8488—*Catal.* p. 99) and by a unique copper *dramma* in Dr. Hoey's cabinet (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 12). This coin was found by its present owner in a small mound at Karthal in the south-western corner of the Bāndā District. Wt. 59 gr. Total of reign, 3 coins.

VĪRAVARMAN.

The only specimen known is the gold *dramma* in the Indian Museum, No. 8486. (*Query*—is the word *Candra* rightly inserted in this legend by Mr. Rodgers, a word certainly intervenes between *Varma* and *dēva*; *J. A. S. B.* for 1889, Pl. IV, 12.)

The abstract of the above details is:—

Kirttivarman	coins known	...	...	6
Sallakṣanavarman	" "	...	...	7
Jayavarman	" "	...	...	11
Pr̥thivivarman	" "	...	...	2
Madanavarman	" "	...	...	10
Paramardidēva	" "	...	...	1
Trailōkyavarman	" "	...	...	3
Viravarman	" "	...	...	1

Total for dynasty ... 41

No coins are known which can be ascribed to the predecessors of Kirttivarman or the successors of Viravarman. A total of 41 known coins for 8 reigns is extraordinarily small. The Freeling collection is, I believe, in the hands of Mrs. Freeling in England. A few more specimens of the coinage of the dynasty were lost in the mutiny.

XIII.

VĪRASIMHARĀMA.

Obv. *Gr̥i mad Vira*

Simha Rāma

Reverse. *Lakṣmī* seated.

A gold *dramma*, weight 54 gr. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 13.) [HOEY.]

This coin, which obviously belongs to the same type as the coinages of Gāṅgēyadēva and his imitators, is a puzzle. No Rāja with the name Virasimharāma is to be found in the lists of the Kalacuri, Candēlla, Rāthōr, Tōmar, or Cauhān dynasties. The coin was obtained in the Gōrakhpur District.

UNKNOWN.

Obv. In dotted circle

Grī Rāya

Marā dē[va] ?

Rev. In dotted circle, elephant with rider running to r.

This curious piece is copper; diameter .8; weight 55 gr. I cannot even guess to whom it should be assigned. The characters of the legend are late mediæval. I cannot make sense of them. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 14.) [V. A. SMITH.]

A small copper piece, about .6 inch in diameter, and weighing (in three specimens) from 58 to 70.5 grains, is commonly met with both in the Panjab and the North-Western Provinces. One specimen was found in an old mound close to Gōrakhpur city a year or two ago.

The legend on these coins, though plainly legible, has not yet been correctly read or understood. Mr. Rodgers (*Catal. I. M. III*, 99, 125) came near the correct reading, but just missed it by misreading two letters.

The legend is continuous and reads on one side

Gōvinda

carāṇa

praṇaya madana;

and on the other, *Grī Campakārāṇye*; that is to say, "Joy in affection for the feet of Gōvinda in Campāran," or "in the Campaka forest."

The perfectly plain letters have hitherto been misread because people tried to read personal names. I am indebted to Dr. Hoey for pointing out that *Campakārāṇye* must be read as one word. *Campakārāṇya* is the Pandit's name for Campāran, but the name on the coin does not necessarily refer to the modern Campāran District.

Several of these puzzling little pieces are in the Indian Museum, and the Lahore cabinet contains 20.

The characters of the legend are late mediæval, A.D., 1200 or even later.

Although the reading of the legend has been cleared up beyond all doubt, the attribution of the piece remains as unknown as ever. I conjecture that it is not a true coin, but was struck to be used by pilgrims as an offering at some shrine of Gōvinda, or Kṛṣṇa. It would thus belong to the same class of issues as the gold and silver "Rāmtinkis."

Notes on Palm-leaf MSS. in the Library of His Excellency the Mahārāja of Nepāl.—By PANDIT HARA PRASAD SHASTRI, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College.

[Read November, 1897.]

I passed the greater portion of the last summer vacation in the valley of Nepal, and took this opportunity of examining the antiquarian treasures of that famous valley. It is an excellent place for inscriptions, every temple and every work of public utility having some. The foundation of the temple, its repairs, every addition and every gift made to it, are recorded in stone. Some of these inscriptions are very old. The late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī and Mr. Bendall examined a very large number of inscriptions in Gupta characters and there are still many inscriptions in that ancient character to be found in the valley. Two days' search brought four new inscriptions to my notice.

The coins to be found in the valley mostly belong to the Malla Kings of Nepal. Unlike Bengal and Behar, where the initial coinage was introduced by the Muhammadans in the 13th century, Nepal had its ancient coinage. But I could find none of these ancient coins.

It is the only part of ancient Bhāratavarṣa and ancient Āryāvartta where Buddhism is still a living religion, though not in vigour. But Buddhism here is so different from what we know to prevail in Tibet, in Ceylon and other parts of Asia. There are Vihāras, but those are inhabited by married priests. There are Arhats or Vajrācāryas, and Bhikṣus. But the greater portion of their time is spent in handicrafts to support their children.

There are MSS. in Nepal both ancient and modern. The Bāḍās possess many ancient palm-leaf MSS. of very ancient date and the present Mahārāja, with a zeal which cannot be too highly praised, is endeavouring to add to the already excellent collection in his possession. The MS. Library is now kept in a room in the College building, but the Mahārāja has built a beautiful and commodious palace with a clock tower in it for the accommodation of the Library. In the Library are to be found Tibetan Lamas, Pārvatīya Paṇḍits, Nēwār Paṇḍits both Hindu

and Buddhist. Five or six men are engaged in copying MSS. borrowed from the Bāḍās and Paṇḍits. A Lama is dictating from Tibetan which a Paṇḍit is taking down in the Nēwārī character, while an interpreter is engaged to see if the transcription is correct.

I will confine myself to-day to the few palm-leaf MSS. that I had the good fortune of examining in that Library. There are altogether 83 bundles of palm-leaf MSS. There are some bundles which contain more than ten different works. Paṇḍit Viṣṇuprasād Rāj-bhāṇḍārī, the officer in charge of the Library, estimated the number of Manuscript works on palm-leaf to be 200. All of these MSS. are ancient and written in various characters, Nēwārī, Kuṭila, Nāgarī and Bengali. The first MSS. that I examined was a very remarkable one. It is a complete copy of the Yavana-jātaka. Portions of the last leaf have been worn off. Dr. R. Mitra noticed two mutilated copies of this work, one, in Mithilā, with 24 leaves; and the other, in our own collection, only 8 leaves. The Benares College copy is only one leaf.

The Copy in the Mahārāja's Library contains the following entry at the end :—

तपोभिरुग्रेभिरश्विनौ तु
 प्रकाशतः शास्त्रमिदं यतोऽङ्कात् ।
 अतोश्चयुग्माक् विदधौ विधाता
 शीर्षादिकालक्षणीरचक्रं ॥
 इति स्वभाषावरणाभिगुप्तां
 विष्णुग्रह + + + + ।
 + + रत्नाकरवाक्समुद्रात्
 सुधा प्रसा + न्विततत्वदृष्टिः ॥
 इदं बभाषे निरवद्यवक्त्रो
 होरार्क्षशास्त्रं यवनेश्वरः प्राक् ।
 स्फूर्जिध्वजो नाम बभूव राजा
 य इन्द्रवज्राभिरिदं चकार ॥
 नारायणाङ्गेन्दुमयादि दृष्ट्वा
 कृत्वा चतुर्भिर्मतिमान् सहस्रैः ।
 यवनजतकदे + + + परिसमाप्तः । उपेन्द्रवच्चा वृत्तं ।

There are evidently two names and two dates. The first is Yavanēṣvara, in the year Viṣṇugraha, i.e., 91 of some era not mentioned who translated into Sanskrit a work from his own language. The

second is Sphūrjjidhvaja in 191 of the same era who rendered the translation into 4,000 Indravajrā verses. The work so rendered first into Sanskrit and then into verse is Yavanajātaka or the Greek system of casting Horoscope. Dr. Kern in a note to the preface to his edition of the Brhatsamhitā says that Utpala calls Sphūrjjidhvaja, Yavanēçvara; but this is not tenable as our MS. uses the word प्राक् 'formerly,' i.e. Sphūrjjidhvaja rendered into verse what was formerly translated by Yavanēçvara.

Yavanēçvara is mentioned in the Catalogus Catalogorum as the author of many works on Astrology and as being quoted by Bhaṭṭōt-pala, Kēçavārka and Viçvanātha.

This MS. requires a close examination. The time at my disposal being very short, I was satisfied with a rough notice.

The most ancient MS. in the Library, as far as I examined it, appears to be Viṣṇudharma No. 1002. It was written in सम्वत् अज ९ आश्वनि कृष्णपक्ष्यां बुधदिने. The character is that of the Inscription No. 14 of Bhagvānlāl Indrajī's Inscriptions from Nepal which is dated in letter numerals commencing with अ and has been referred to 145 of the Çriharṣa era. This MSS. may be referred to the same century. अज ९ is 167, adding 606 to it we get 773 A.D. It is Viṣṇudharma, as it ends with the çlōka—

न हि तत् सर्व्वतीर्थेषु सरित्सु च निमज्जनात् ।
फलं भवत्यनन्तस्य यादृक् पादाम्बुधारणात् ॥

as in our No. 1670 noticed by Dr. Mitra L 2293.

After the Colophon we have the following :—

परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्भास्करदेवस्य राज्ये दक्षिण-
पुद्गिंसङ्के वास्तव्य-भट्ट-श्रीलक्ष्मीधरदर्शनस्य देवधर्मोऽयं तस्य भार्या तिलक-
लाञ्छना सार्द्धं लिखितं विष्णुधर्मपुस्तकं ।

In the same number there is another copy of Viṣṇudharma in old Dēvanāgarī which has the following verse at the end :—

वर्षाणां दशसंयुते शतयुगे ज्येष्ठस्य मासः सिते
पक्षे शुक्रदिने तिथौ च नवमे श्रीहर्षदेवे नृपे ।
एतत् पुस्तकमात्मनः सजगतः सौख्याय मोक्षाय च
श्रीविनूलक्ष्म्याख्याया कुलजया सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितं ॥

In the year 210 of Çriharṣa era (?).

No. 1003. Bhōjadēva-saṁgraha is a work on Astrology at the end of which occurs the following :—

शाके सम्वत् १२६७ फाल्गुन-शुक्लद्वितीयायां-रेवतीनक्षत्रे शुक्लदिने शुभलग्ने
लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं राज्ये श्रीश्रीजयार्जुनदेवस्य । यथा दृष्टं तथा लिखितं उदका-
नलमित्यादि रक्षितयं ।

प्रागल्भ्यद्दीनस्य नरस्य विद्याः
शस्त्रा गता कापुरुषस्य हस्ते ।
अन्धस्य किं हस्तगते (?) स्थितोऽपि
निर्वृत्तयन्ते त्वमिह प्रदीपः ॥

Written in the year 1241 A.D.

No. 1113. Amarakōṣa has the following at the end :—

इत्यमरसिंहद्वतौ नामलिङ्गानुशासने लिङ्गसंग्रहवर्गः समाप्तः । शुभमस्तु लसं
२१७ आषाढ सुदि ११ सोमवारानुगतं ललितपत्तने श्रीप्रभाकरस्य पाठनार्थं
लिखितमिदं यथा फलं भ्रमप्रमादाभाव वा + + क्षन्तयेति सर्वदा

The copy of Amarakōṣa purchased by me from Nepal is much older.

In the same bundle there is a MS. marked एक लो भ न टी. It has neither beginning nor end. I give the Colophon of the third chapter :—

इति महामहोपाध्याय-मिश्र-श्रीवाचस्पतिविरचिते नयतत्वालोके तृतीयो
ऽध्यायः समाप्तः । लसं ४४६ आश्विने + + + + + + + +

This is in the Maithili character.

In the same bundle there is another MS. in the Maithili character entitled Yōgaratna-saṁgraha. It ends—

इति सद्द्वैद्य-श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदत्तविरचितो योगरत्नसंग्रहः समाप्तः ।

रसवसुखगचन्द्रैरङ्किते श्रीशकाब्दे
तपसि विमलपक्षे भूमिजे पूर्णिमायां ।
यलिखदिह समस्तं पुस्तमेतत् प्रयत्नात्
लिखितगुणकदम्बं विष्णुकामः प्रहृष्टः ॥

This is perhaps 1186 ; but it is doubtful what figure the word खग represents.

At the end of this in a different hand has been written the following in Nēwārī :—

श्रीश्रीसुमति जयजितामित्र-मल्लदेवसेन श्रव्या पुस्तकदयका भागिराम परम-
नद्यावेल स सम्वत् ८१० कार्तिक सुदि ६ .

No. 1311. Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā in Bengali character. The Colophon runs thus :—

कविपण्डित-श्रीहर्षस्वभावनिर्व्वचनीयसर्व्वस्वे खण्डनखण्डखाद्ये तुरीयः सङ्कीर्णः
परिच्छेदः समाप्तः । श्रीश्रीश्रीशुभमस्तु नमः शिवाय । विजलपुरे पण्डित-श्रीवासुदेवेन
लिखितं पुस्तकमिदं । गते लक्ष्मणसेनदेवीयघोड़शोत्तरशततमाब्दे माघशुक्ल-
त्रयोदश्यां ।

श्रीरस्तु शेषे मम पद्महस्ता
प्रिया हरेः पद्मनिभेक्षणस्य
प्रसादयामास भवन्ति यस्याः
सुरेन्द्रतुल्या गुणिनः सुपुण्याः ।

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमश्चण्डिकायै । लसं ११६ माघ सुदि ७ (sic!)

In the bundle No. 92 there is another MS. in a Bengali hand entitled Vaiṣṇavāmṛtasārōddhāra taken from various Purāṇas of which the chief is Skandapurāṇa. The MS. ends with Kārttika Māhātmya. Copied in—

लसं ४१२ श्रावण सुदि ७ शुक्ले । परिहारग्रामे माण्डवीयधीमण्डलशर्मणा
लिखितमिदम् । ॐ नमो नारायणाय ।

Number 813 contains a copy of the Skandapurāṇa which has neither beginning nor end.

No. 461 is in Nēwārī character. It contains a large number of works by the King Jagajjyōti Malla, namely a collection of songs in various languages, Gītapāñcāṇikā, Kuñjavihāra-nāṭaka, Mudita-kuvalayāṇva-nāṭaka. The whole MS. was transcribed in 748 of the Nepal era. The last verse of Gītapāñcāṇikā runs thus :—

शाकेऽतीते खण्डरतिथिभिः १५५० लक्षिते ह्ययनौघे
शुक्ले पक्षे सुरगुरुदिने माघवे पौर्णमास्यां ।
विघ्नप्रीत्या व्यरचि रुचिरा श्रीजगज्ज्योतिराशेः
नानाभावाद्गुणगणमयी गीतिपञ्चाशिकेयं ॥
न यन्त्रस्य गुणा दोषा यन्त्रिणो गुणदोषणे ।
यन्त्रोऽहं भगवान् यन्त्री न मे दोषा न मे गुणाः ॥
विद्वानेव हि जानाति विद्वज्जनपरिश्रमम् ।
न हि बन्धा विजानाति गुर्वीं प्रसववेदनाम् ॥

त्वत्तो न चान्यं कलयामि देवं किञ्चित्ततो विज्ञपयामि देवि ।
तौर्यत्रिकार्था मम कीर्त्तिरेषा मातः कृपाभिः परिपालनीया ॥

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीमत्श्रीजगज्ज्योतिमल्लविरचिता नानाभावभाषा-
रसरगतानसमन्विता गीतपञ्चाशिका समाप्ता ।

One of the most important MSS. examined is the Laghukāla-
cakratikā No. 85. The Colophon runs thus :—

इति श्रीअमृततन्त्रानुसारिण्यां लघुकालचक्रतन्त्रराजटीकायां द्वादशसाह-
स्रिकायां विमलप्रभायां नानोपायवैनेयमहोद्देशश्चतुर्थः समाप्तः । समाप्तेयं टीका
ज्ञानपटलस्य ।

सम्बुद्धयाकृतेन प्रवरमुनिगणं स्थापितं बुद्धमार्गे
दत्त्वा प्रज्ञाभिषेकं परमकरुणया देशितं कालचक्रम् ।
येनोद्भूत्यादिबुद्धादिदमिह पटलं मञ्जुवज्रेण तन्त्रं
राज्ञा श्रीकल्किनाहं स्वत इह यशसः श्रीकलापे नृपोऽस्य ॥
सम्बुद्धयाकृतेन प्रमुदितमनसा श्रीयशश्चोदितेन
टीकां श्रीमूलतन्त्रस्फुटकुशलिपदान्वेषिकां तन्त्रराजः ।
कृत्वा पुण्यं यदामं विपुलमतिसितं पुण्डरीकेण दानात्
सम्बुद्धस्तेन लोकः प्रभवतु सकलो वज्रिणो लब्धमार्गः ॥
ये धर्मा इत्यादि

त्रिभवपरमनाथात् निर्वृतात् शाक्यसिंहात्
वसुशशिवसुचन्द्रे चैत्रशुक्लाष्टमीके ।
कमलवरकृता श्रीकालचक्रस्य टीका
विविधकुमतिहन्त्री सर्वलोकैकधात्री ॥
बुद्धश्रिया बुद्धगुणप्रियेण
लिखापिता श्रीविमलप्रभेयं ।
तज्जातपुण्येन जनाः समस्ताः
सम्बोधिलक्ष्म्या विलसन्तु नित्यं ॥

नेपाले श्रीधर्मधातुविहारे गौड़देशीयोपासक-श्रीतथागतवरश्रीपुण्ड्राभ्यां इति ।

The MS. is in Bengali character. It was copied by two Bengalis
Tathāgatavara and Puṇḍra under the orders of Buddhaçri, fond of
Buddha's merits in Nepal. The date of composition is the year 1818
of the era of Nirvāṇa, that is, about 622 years before this time, if we
take the initial date of that era from the Singhalese. But probably it is

much later. The author appears from his name to be a Bengali bhikṣu. His name is given as Puṇḍarīka or Kamalavara which resembles in form the name of another Bengali bhikṣu, namely, Tathāgatavara given above. This proves that even by the end of the thirteenth century, or later, Buddhist works used to be composed in Bengal and the era of Nirvāṇa was current in that country. This is perhaps the first MS., yet found, the composition of which is dated in the Nirvāṇa era. There are numerous illustrations in this work representing Buddha as Upāya, as male, and Dharma, otherwise *প্রজ্ঞা*, as female. The Kāmakaḷā is represented as producing the Saṃgha represented by the Bōdhisattvas. The MS. and the illustrations are in excellent preservation.

I examined a few more MSS., but I could not for want of time take full notes. For instance, I examined a copy of Br̥han-nāradya-purāṇa, an incomplete copy of Suçruta ending at the 447th leaf, a few leaves of Rāmāyaṇa and so on.

I saw a delapidated copy of a work in one of the Southern characters, on the wooden cover of which is written in Nēwārī, *thing sa phul*, that is, a dirty MS.



*Notes on the language and literature of Orissa, Parts I. and II.—By BABU
M. M. CHAKRAVARTI, Deputy Magistrate, Jajpur, District Cuttack.*

[Read December, 1897.]

PART I. LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET.

The modern language of Orissa is generally believed to be a descendant of the Māgadhi Prākṛt. The principal reasons on which this supposition rests, are the following:—

Firstly, Sanskrit nouns ending with a (अ) in nominative singular ended with *ō* (औ) in Çaurasēnī and *ē* (ए) or *ī* (इ) Māgadhi. In Oṛiyā such nouns end with *a* or *ā* vowels which are derivable more easily from Māgadhi *ē* than from Çaurasēnī *ō*. Secondly, the past participle was in Çaurasēnī *da* or *ida*, and in Māgadhi *ḍa* or *iḍa*. The Oṛiyā past participle *lā* (in खाइला, शोइला) is apparently derived from the Māgadhi *ḍa*, *ḍ* being easily interchangeable with *l*. Thirdly, Çaurasēnī used a future *ih* or *iss*, while Māgadhi in addition to *ih* occasionally used such forms like *devva* (Skt. *dātavya*) as future tenses. The Oṛiyā future *ib* (खाइब, शोइब) is clearly connected with the aforesaid Māgadhi *ab*. Fourthly, Māgadhi changes *r* to *l* and *j* to *y*. Dr. Hoernle has ingeniously shown that the Sanskrit *r* was a semi-cerebral while the modern vernacular *r* is a dental, and that Māgadhi supplied the intermediate link by substituting a dental *l* which gradually changed to dental *r* of the current Indian vernaculars. Similarly the Sanskrit *j* was a semi-consonant, which Māgadhi changed into *y*, a semi-vowel still retained in modern vernaculars.¹

Historical reasons strengthen this derivation of the Oṛiyā from the Māgadhi. The Māgadhi dialect prevailed over old Magadha which roughly corresponds to the modern province of Behar and the Benares Division of the N.-W. Provinces. Orissa is contiguous to this tract on the south, being separated only by the jungles of Chhutia Nagpore. Hence in the ordinary course of progress the dialect of the more civilised Magadha would spread downwards to the less civilised Ōdradēṣa.

¹ See Dr. Hoernle's *Introd. Comp. Gramm. of the Gaudian languages* p. XXVII *et esq.*

This supposition is partly borne out by the traditions of the people. The Aryanisation of Orissā is principally due to the higher castes, such as the Brahmins, the Karans and the upper rank of the Khandaits. Now the Sāsani Brahmins trace their descent more or less from Kanauj. This descent receives some support from their generally fairer complexion and from the use of such upcountry surnames as Dobe, Miçra, Tripāthi, &c. Furthermore the Jajpur Brahmins repeat at the time of their marriage ceremony a stanza which declares that these Brahmins were brought down from Kanauj at the instance of the god Brahmā.¹ Similarly *karana* is an old caste name mentioned in the *Manu Samhitā* and its use by the writer-caste of Orissā indicates that they came from the upcountry. This is somewhat corroborated by the name *karana* being applied to a subclass of the writer-caste in the Bhāgalpur and Hazārī-bāgh Districts.² The Khandaits include several families who came from the North-West Provinces,³ though the bulk of course were aboriginal tribes who originally dwelt in the Garjāts. The upper castes would thus appear to be more or less connected with the upcountry, and in their migration must have passed through Magadha and must have more or less adopted the Māgadhi as their spoken dialect.

In addition to original residence, the religious and political influences helped the hold of the Māgadhi. Buddhism and Jainism prevailed over Orissā for a long time and were often state religions of the land. The sacred writings of the Buddhism are mostly in Pāli, and those of the Jainism in Ardha Māgadhi, both of which are supposed to be varieties of the great Māgadhi dialect.⁴ Kings of Magadha such as Açōka and the Pālas, and the kings of Allahabad such as the Guptas and Çilāditya often conquered Orissā. Through their officers and court followers the Māgadhi and its varieties might have exercised considerable influence. So then philologically as well as historically the Oṛiyā language might fairly be considered as an off-shoot of the Māgadhi, and as a sister to the Bengali and the Eastern Hindī.

As in the other modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars the exact date of the beginnings of the Oṛiyā language is not known. But by the

¹ कनौजदेशात् स्वयमाहूता ये दशश्वसेधाय पुरा विधात्रा ।

मर्त्ये क्रतोः स्वर्गगताश्च विप्रास्तेभ्यो दिजेभ्यो विनिवेद्यतेऽर्घ ॥

² Hunter's St. Acc., Bhagalpur, Vol. XIV, p. 64; Hunter's St. Acc., Hazārī-bāgh, Vol. XVI, p. 76.

³ Hunter's St. Acc., District Balasore, Vol. XVIII, p. 273.

[⁴ The Author apparently refers to the supposed Māgadhi original of the Buddhist scriptures. Their later Pāli form, of course, does not share any particulars with Māgadhi. Ed.]

time of Hiuen Thsang the language of Orissa appears to have developed into a separate form of speech. While describing U-cha Hiuen Thsang remarks :—

“The climate is hot; the people are uncivilised, tall of stature and of a yellowish black complexion. *Their words and language (pronunciation) differ from Central India.* They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission.”

Similarly of the next country Kong-u-to he wrote :—

“With respect to their written characters they are the same as those of Mid-India, *but their language and mode of pronunciation are quite different.*”

U-cha is generally identified with northern Orissa, and Kong-u-to with southern Orissa. Hiuen Thsang's visit to Orissa may be approximately put at 640 A.D.¹ By the seventh century A.D. therefore the language of Orissa had grown different from that of the up-country both in pronunciation and vocabulary, and its first origin must be put several centuries back.

The next authentic mention of the Oriyā was to be found in Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍit's Prākṛta-candrikā. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍit's date is uncertain, but he cannot be later than 12th century. He mentions Udra as one of the twenty-seven Apabhraṃśas prevailing over India.² Neither Hiuen Thsang nor Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍit quotes any Oriyā words or sentences. The earliest mention of Oriyā words alone is at present to be found in the copper-plate inscription of King Narasimha Dēva II (1296 A.D.),³ and of Oriyā sentences in the copper-plate inscriptions of King Narasimha Dēva IV, (1395 A.D.).⁴ These words and sentences are given in the grant portions of the inscriptions. They show the Oriyā language fully developed, and little different from the modern language either in spelling or grammar. This fixity of the language five to six hundred years back presupposes a tolerably high antiquity for its origin, and thus corroborates the remarks of the observant and careful Hiuen Thsang. The common opinion that the modern vernaculars have been brought into existence by the 9th or 10th Century does not appear to be correct, at least with regard to the Oriyā; and the 5th or 6th Century would be nearer the truth.

¹ See my article on E. India in the 7th Century, National Magazine, 1895.

² Babu N. N. Vasu's article, on “Nāgaras and the Nāgarī alphabets,” Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LXV, 1896, pt. I, p. 16.

³ Edited by Babu N. N. Vasu, above Vol. LXV, 1896, pp. 254-6 and *vide* Proceedings, November, 1897.

⁴ My article, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Pt. I, No. 3, pp. 136, 149-154.

Language during its development is acted upon and more or less modified by other forces ; and Oṛiyā, in spite of its isolation, is no exception. Though based on the Māgadhi, the Oṛiyā has been more or less modified by—

- (1) Post-Vedic Sanskrit ;
- (2) Aboriginal speeches ;
- (3) Telugu ;
- (4) Urdū and Hindī ;
- (5) English.

(1). The Post-Vedic Sanskrit had the largest influence on the Oṛiyā. It influenced directly through its religious works, and indirectly through its numerous poems, dramas, &c. In all religious and social ceremonies the Brahmin is a *sine qua non* ; and the Brahmins, a Sanskrit speaking caste, constantly quoted and referred to the Ṣrutis and Smṛtis. In this way a large number of social and religious words came to be borrowed from Sanskrit. Then again the reading classes and generally the upper classes studied Sanskrit Purāṇas, epic poems, dramas, grammar, &c.; or read Oṛiyā works translated or adapted from them. In either way their vocabulary got enriched with innumerable Sanskrit words ; and many tatsamas or derivations gradually came into current use. Sometimes the Sanskrit derivatives ran in opposition to the older Prākṛt derivatives ; and in the struggle for existence the older words were either driven out of the field, or had their meaning restricted to a special significance. As examples of the latter, I may mention the following :—

Sanskrit.	Prākṛt.	Oṛiyā.
राजा	राए	{ राए or राय (part of a compound in डोटराय, word meaning and रायगुण king) राजा (king)
नगर	नअर	{ नअर (palace) नगर (town)
उपवास	उववास	{ ओषा (festivals in which fasts are kept). उपास (fasting)
लिखनि	लिइनि	{ लिहाइवा (inscribe) लेखिवा (write)
पत्रम्	पत्त	{ पात (leaf used as plate for food). पतर (any leaf)

(2). The influence of the other languages is connected with the occupation of the soil. First of all come the aboriginal speeches.

The upper classes came in small batches and found the country more or less peopled by the aboriginal tribes. The earliest authentic historical records of Orissa—the Edicts of Aṣōka on the Dhauli and Jaugada rocks—show that the western border was occupied by a group of aboriginal races. The edicts were inscribed about 260 B.C. In Ptolemy's Geography (first century A.D.) and in the epic poems we find the Garjāts occupied by Saureæ or Savars. Many Savars are still to be seen in the western part of the Cuttack District and the North-Western portion of the Vizagapatam District. Though now scattered and in small groups, the Savars appear to have been made up in old days of powerful tribes peopling the hilly tracts from the Gōdāvarī up to the Vindhya hills. With the Savars there must have been other tribes such as Khands and Bhūyās. By contact with the aboriginal speeches the Aryan language would have been to some extent influenced. The modification lay probably in the alteration of the tone, which is sharp among the savages, and in the addition of a few words denoting new trees or animals. The vocabulary of the aboriginal speeches being limited, its influence on the more advanced Oṛiyā must have been however very limited.

(3). Next to Sanskrit, the Telugu exercised the largest influence on the Oṛiyā language. The reason is to be found in the political history of the people. The Kalinga or Tēlingana kings ruled long over Orissa. The edicts of the king Piyadasi declare that he conquered this kingdom from a Kalinga monarch. The Udayagiri cave inscription (miscalled Aira inscription) shows that in the second century B.C. Khāravēla, a Jain King of Kalinga, ruled over Orissa. The Eastern Cālukya Kings now and then conquered Orissa. The Kēsari Kings were more or less rulers of Kalinga which was also the case with their successors the Gaṅgavaṃṇas and the Sūryavaṃṇas. The last independent Oṛiyā King was specifically known as TĒLIṄGA Mukunda Dēva. In fact from at least the eighth century A.D. to the Muhammadan conquest in 1568 A.D., Orissa was continuously subject to the Kings of Kalinga or Tēlingana. Even after the Muhammadan rule the bulk of the Puri trade remained in the hands of the Telugus. Telugu boatmen and fishermen (*nuliyās*) are still to be found as far north as the Devi river in Cuttack District. Telugu had another advantage. It was early cultivated, and in it were composed numerous songs and poems, some of which are considered to be the sweetest in the world of the Indian vernaculars.¹

¹ Nannaya Bhatta who composed a Telugu Grammar and translated the Mahābhārata into Telugu is not later than the tenth century. See Sewell's sketch of S. Indian dynasties, p. 18, note 1.

This predominance for centuries in the political and the trading life combined with the earlier and more refined development of Telugu considerably modified Oṛiyā in spite of the wide gulf between a Dravidian and an Aryan dialect. The greatest change lay in the pronunciation. In Telugu every word must end in a vowel; and if it has not a vowel ending of its own, *u* is to be suffixed to the last consonant.² Similarly in Oṛiyā almost every word ends in a vowel or at least in *a* (अ) thus differing from E. Hindī and Bengali.³ In Oṛiyā the Sanskrit ऋ is pronounced as *ru* and not *ri* as in E. Hindī and Bengali. Presumably this selection of *u* for *i* is due to the domination of Telugu which is very fond of this vowel. Next Oṛiyā is more cerebralised than Bengali and E. Hindī the other two daughters of Māgadhī; and this greater cerebralisation is to be ascribed to Telugu which along with the other Dravidian tongues is full of cerebral sounds.⁴ In Oṛiyā the number of words beginning with a cerebral is comparatively larger than in the other two; next the nasal *ṇ* is uttered with the tongue more thrown back and curved; and lastly a cerebral *ḷ*, as distinct from the dental *ḷ*, is added to the alphabet. Furthermore the sound *h* is less used in Oṛiyā colloquially नाहार being reduced to तार, कुहे to कुय सड्ड to मड, &c. In this avoidance of the aspirate Telugu might have some hand as Telugu is not fond of *h*.⁵

Further changes on account of Telugu are to be found first in the vocabulary and next in the written characters. The vocabulary received several additions, and I think some of these are सान, चिना, माढ़, शिल, कुमडि, तेलङ्गा, गुण्डिचा. In music most of the rāgās and rāginīs were borrowed from Telugu and the Oṛiyā music was up to a late date chiefly based on this Dakṣiṇī music. The roundness of the written characters is partly due to the influence of Telugu; and even now the more south one goes, the rounder becomes the letters, and the resemblance to Telugu characters closer.

(4). The Telugu rule was followed by the Mahomedan (Pathān and Mughal) rule. The latter lasted from 1568 A.D. to 1751 A.D. or for nearly two centuries. With the Pathāns and Mughals came Urdū and Hindī. The influence of Urdū was small. During their rule, the whole of the Gurjāt States and the greater part of the Puri District were practically beyond control, and the Urdū speaking races did not

¹ Caldwell's Grammar of the Dravidian languages, p. 17.

² If, as stated above, the short *a* in the end of Oṛiyā words is a remnant of the Māgadhī nominative *ē*, it seems impossible to connect it with this mode of Telugu pronunciation.—Ed.]

³ See Caldwell's Comp. Gram., p. 32.

⁴ Do. Do. p. 31.

settle in large numbers. Their influence lay chiefly in the few towns, where they introduced a good many Urdū words, and where they affected even the tone. In the mofussil they influenced chiefly through their various land settlements beginning with Todar Mall's. From Urdū was gradually borrowed a number of words relating to courts and land tenures such as **अदालत, कचेरि, जमिंदार, खजणा, पाउति, गरिव, &c.** In several cases the new words superseded the old forms, *e.g.*—

चौकिदार, चौकिचा for **दण्डोच्चासि.**

दस्ति for **नल.**

मौजा, परगणा for **विसि, दण्डपाट.**

जमिंदार for **विसोद.**

‘Ali Vardī Khān, the Mahomedan ruler of Bengal and Orissa, failed to cope with the yearly invasions of the Mārāṭha's. He then bought off peace by ceding them Orissa up to the river Suvarṇarēkhā in the north. The Mārāṭhas ruled for half a century and treated the country more as invaders than real rulers. The Mārāṭha language had hardly any influence on the Oṛiyā. A few words were added among which might be such words as **सरडा, माहारि, चौठ (?)** and the more extended use of the word **खण्डारत** in the place of the old form **पारक.**

(5). In 1803 A.D. the British conquest of Orissa took place. Since then the English language is being used by a gradually increasing number of the reading classes. On account of the wide difference between the English and the Oṛiyā, it has not yet been able to modify grammatical forms. Its influence now lies chiefly in the addition of new ideas and new words. The study of English literature has opened the full vista of European civilisation to the native eye, and thus a world of ideas has come in for which no words previously existed. To express these ideas in writing, either Sanskrit words are being borrowed or coined, or the English words themselves are being adopted, with more or less variations such as **किलटर** (collector), **इस्कूल** (school), **इहाम्प** (stamp), **पुलिस** (police), **रसिद** (receipt), **कुम्पनि** (company), **अङ्गरेजि** (English). Furthermore among the English-knowing classes the custom has grown up of using English words verbatim in the midst of Oṛiyā sentences. This custom chiefly prevails in the spoken language, and is evidently due to want of Oṛiyā words for the new ideas to be expressed. During the Musulmān period, Urdū or Hindī words similarly got mixed in the current speeches.

The above sketch of the past history of the Oṛiyā tongue may be concluded with a brief survey of its present position. It is noticeable that at present Oṛiyā is practically homogeneous and displays no great dialectical varieties. From the river Sālandi on the north (Bhadrak) to the Chilka lake on the south (Puri) practically the same

speech is prevalent. Throughout the whole *Mughalbandi* the *Oṛiyā* of one place is easily understood by another. This homogeneity is probably due to the uniformity of political rules and of customs. Under whatever sway Orissa came, it came generally entire; and the Telugus, the *Mughals*, the *Mārāṭhas* and the English took possession of whole Orissa at the same time, instead of conquering it piecemeal. The *Mughalbandi* people felt no disruption, and thus an uniformity of customs as well as of speech resulted. The tendency to homogeneity was further strengthened by the isolation of Orissa. Shut in between a boisterous sea and a harbourless coast on the east, and hills and almost pathless jungles on the west, little outside trade entered and little intermixture of foreign tongues. Consequently the language in the deltaic portion remained nearly unchanged.

This homogeneity is observable, however, only in the *Mughalbandi* tract, *i.e.*, the regulation districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore (southern half). Beyond this area the *Oṛiyā* is undergoing changes to a smaller or greater extent according to geographical position. The changes are primarily due to the influence of the three great vernaculars by which Orissa is surrounded. In the north-east and north is the Bengali; in the north-west and west is the *Hindī*; in the south-west and south is the Telugu. The changes are perceptible even in the adjoining main tracts; and are most clearly marked in the parts of the *Oṛiyā* speaking area included in each province, *e.g.*, in Bengal, the southern parts of the Midnapore District, and the eastern and southern parts of the Singbhum District¹; in the Central Provinces, the Sambalpur District and the adjoining tributary states of Sonapur, Patna, &c.; in Madras Presidency—the entire north of the Ganjam District down to Ichhapore including the hilly zemindaris of the three Khemdis and the hilly zemindari of Jeypore in the Vizagapatam District. In these areas the current *Oṛiyā* has been much changed especially in the tone and the pronunciation; and a *Katakī Oṛiyā* would not often understand the talk of a *Dāntanī Oṛiyā* (Midnapore), a *Sōnēpurī Oṛiyā* (C. Provinces) or a *Berhampurī Oṛiyā* (Ganjam.)

These dialects of the *Oṛiyā* Language have not yet been studied, and afford a good field for philological researches. From my scanty materials I find that the Bengali has been influencing not only in Bengal Proper

¹ “Singbhum is the most polyglot district in the Lower Provinces, the Ho dialect of Mundari being the parent tongue of 2,23,031 persons, *Uṛiyā* of 1,14,402; Bengali of 1,06,686, Sonthali of 59,212, *Hindī* of 25,867 and Korwa of 15,533 persons.” O’Donnel’s report on the Bengal Census of 1891, p. 236. It would be interesting to watch the further struggle between the various vernaculars in this district.

(Midnapore and Singbhum), but also in Maurbhunj (a Tributary State of Orissa), and in the north of the Balasore District. Since the Muslmān Conquest a brisk trade and a frequent intercourse had been going on between Bengal and Balasore; and many Bengalis settled or came to reside in the District. Under the English rule this intercourse has grown more intimate and the greater facility of communication continues to attract a number of Balasore people to Midnapore and to Calcutta. Furthermore the literary activity of the Bengali race and the gradually increasing number of good Bengali books are doing their effects on a less literary race. In consequence so far down as Bhadrak the influence of the Bengali is traceable.

The change has been first in the *pronunciation*, the tone being distinctly Bengali, and the accent thrown on the first syllable instead of the other syllables as in Oṛiyā proper. This Bengali intonation is very clearly felt in the Thanas of Dāntan, and Jellasore and further upwards. The next change is in the *vocabulary*, many Bengali words being used in preference to the corresponding Oṛiyā words. In the southern parts of Midnapore District the sentence often looks like Bengali until one comes to the verb. Even the grammatical forms are being affected such as—

(a) the accent shortened, hence :—

- (1) टङ्गे for टङ्गाए, गुठे for गुठाए, पदसे for पदसाए, टोपे for टोपाए ;
- (2) केइठिकि for केउँठिकि, एठकि for एठिकि ;
- (3) चुर for चोर, गुड़ for गोड़, युड़ for योड़, नुटा for नोटा.

(b) verbs :—

- (1) खाइते for खाइवाकु, शोइते for शोइवाकु, देखते for देखिवाकु ;
- (2) दिनु for देलु, खाइनु for खाइलु, निनु for नेलु ;
- (3) खाउचु for खाउचि, याउचु for याउचि, शोउचु for शोउचि ;
- (4) खाइमि for खाइवि.

(c). Interrogatives, केने for किम्पा or किम्पाइ, किस¹ for कण.

¹ किस is the older word and is used by the old Oṛiyā poets, e.g., in the Bhāgavata of Jagannātha Dāsa 10th Skandha, 6th Adhyāya, 97th śloka ; 10th sk., 14th Adh. 89th śl. In the current Oṛiyā it has been displaced by कण. Its retention in Balasore is probably due to the influence of the Bengali किसेर.

Not only the speech but the written letters have also changed. A Dāntanī letter in free hand looks on its face like Bengali, the roundness of the Oriyā letters giving way to triangles and straight lines.

Like Bengali on the north, Telugu on the south has affected the Oriyā. Being alien in nature, and being separated by a different administration, the Telugu has not influenced the Oriyā of the adjoining main tract so much as the Bengali. In the main tract one feels its influence first along the borders of the Chilka lake. Its force is however best seen in the Ganjam District, which became a part of the Madras Presidency from 1759 A.D. when the Northern Sirkars came under British rule. Since then the court language has been Telugu, and most of the Government posts are monopolised by the Telugus. The bulk of the trade is also in the hands of the Telugus. No wonder therefore that the spoken Oriyā is more or less different.

The first noticeable change is in the pronunciation. The tone is flowing and tripping without much stoppages. At first sight one would think that the words have no accent, but though there is such, it is light, and is not often on the first syllable. The conjunct consonants are more or less softened or disjointed; the palatals च and छ softened with a touch of the dental (as in the Eastern Bengal); and the cerebrals are more freely used. Following Telugu, the letter *u* is often added at the end of proper or common nouns, such as चत्तपुर, ब्रह्मपुर, इक्ष्वापुर (names of places) साइबु, (Saheb); रोडु (road).

The next change is in addition to the vocabulary either by borrowing from Telugu entire words, or by changing the old signification. The entire words borrowed are, *e.g.*, पोन्दिला (obtained a certificate of leave), तिपु (Judgment), वाङ्मूल (oral evidence), विहुदुला (relinquishment): ओप्पदुला (consent), पाट्टुदुला (to stick with obstinacy), तेलिवार (to escape or get rid of), रेड (bathing ghat or seashore), काइला and याबु (illness), काइवार (diameter), एगुमति and दिगुमति (export and import), पढुड (boat), जामि (guava fruit), दुला (a beam), मेड (upstaired house), अउसर (necessity), सागुवाडि (cultivation), सिरा (ink), जनाभा (census). In the following the Sanskrit meaning has been restricted in imitation of Telugu usage, परामर्श (condolence), तन्द्रा (haste), अनुमान (doubt), विचार (sorrow, anxiety) कटाच (favor), वार (week),¹.

Telugu has influenced the grammar also, but not to a large extent on account of its alien nature. The chief change that I noticed was that the past participle genitive was largely used for present tense, *e.g.*, खाइवार, देखिवार, यिवार for खाइलि, देखिलि, गलि. The written characters have also been affected, the letters in Acchu (अच्छु) or

¹ For most of these words I am indebted to Babu Bipra Charn Chatterjea, the leading pleader of the Berhampur bar.

Sādhubhāṣā writing of Ganjam being rounder and distincter than in the main tract.

While in the border tracts Oṛiyā is being thus powerfully acted upon by the three great vernaculars, within its main area (*viz.*, the regulation districts and the Garjāts) the Oṛiyā has similarly influenced the other languages spoken by foreign residents, such as the aboriginal speeches, the Hindī, the Bengali and the Telugu.

In the Tributary States of Orissa the numerous dialects spoken by the various aboriginal tribes are being gradually supplanted by the Oṛiyā. The chief intercourse of these tribes is with the Oṛiyās who are the ruling race, and who carry on the bulk of the trade and of the manufactures. Consequently Oṛiyā is becoming the prevalent speech; and the aboriginal tribes, no sooner they settle permanently, adopt the Oṛiyā speech mixing a few of their old words. Already in Keunjhar Athigurh, Katakī Athigurh, and round about the chief towns of Garjāts, the speech in use is little different from the ordinary Oṛiyā, only the pronounciation is sharper. In the jungles, the Khands, the Bhūmijas, the Juāngs, &c., though they still retain their vocabulary, are borrowing freely from the Oṛiyā; and as their own vocabulary is limited, their speeches in course of time will become chiefly Oṛiyā. If the present system continues, the Oṛiyā is destined to be the prevalent speech of the Tributary States.

During the Musulmān, the Mārāṭha, and the British rules, a few Muhammadans, Rajputs (upcountrymen), and Bengalis settled in Orissa. Their speeches have been more or less changed by the surrounding Oṛiyā tongue. The Rajputs have lost practically all knowledge of the Hindī, and generally speak in Oṛiyā. The Muhammadans still speak the Urdū; but the tone is Oṛiyāised, and numerous grammatical forms have been dropped.¹ Similarly the speech of the Bengali settlers has altered. From the frequent use of *kare*, an imitation of the Oṛiyā participle *kari*, their speech is vulgarly known as *kerā*. They interloaded the Bengali sentence with Oṛiyā verbs and Urdū words, *e. g.*, one gentleman speaking of a dinner, remarked मायाराण एमन रांधेकिल ये आम्देर खाये करे दिलखोस (the ladies cooked so well, that on taking the food our hearts were delighted). Nowadays that intercourse with Bengal and the Bengalis is increasing, and the settlers are more and more reading the Bengali works, the males are more or less shaking off the patois.

¹ Through the influence of the Mahomedans, the speech of the Cuttack Bazar people has been altered. They speak in an affected tone changing आमे to चाम and न to ल *e.g.*, लश लड़िया लारे लेइ लईरे गलि. Here the initial five लs are changes of न.

But for the women and the children it will take a long time to shake off the influence of the surrounding Oṛiyā speech. The few Telugu settlers are more and more forgetting their mother tongue and in ordinary outside talks are using the Oṛiyā. Those who have settled for more than one generation have generally forgotten Telugu.

I conclude this part of my article with a few remarks on the Oṛiyā written characters and on the Oṛiyā *pōthīs* or written books. Like most of the other Indian vernaculars, the Oṛiyā has got its own characters. These characters are prominent for their invariable roundness. Triangles and straight lines have been religiously avoided. The main reason for this roundness is to be found in the nature of materials on which the Oṛiyā had to be written.¹ The Oṛiyā *pōthīs* (books) are of palm leaves written with an iron stylus. The palm leaves have longitudinal fibres. Straight lines (or triangles) would horizontally cut through the leaf fibres, and vertically would require a much larger physical power. Hence a curved or circular form is the easiest to write on a palm leaf with the sharp point of the stylus. This necessary habit of roundness was further strengthened by the Telugu whose letters are similarly circular. This is borne out by the Ganjam writings which are rounder than those in Cuttack or Balasore.

The earliest specimen of modern Oṛiyā writing is an inscription of the King Kapilēçvara Dēva on the Jayavijaya gateway of the Jagan-nāth temple, Puri. Its date has been calculated by me as 9th December 1436 A.D., or more than 460 years old.² The letters of this valuable inscription do not differ from the present types except in चि, ज and र, and even with respect to them the difference is mostly in the terminal loops. By the fifteenth century the present characters may therefore be considered fully developed. How much earlier they differentiated there are no data to ascertain. My belief is that the letters were evolved out of the so-called Kuṭila characters at different times, and that the whole set had differentiated almost entirely by the 14th century A.D.

The *pōthīs* are composed of the leaves of the palm trees (*Borassus Flabellus*), which serve manifold purposes; when tied together as a broom, when spread out as a fan, when put between bamboos as a *tātti*, when fixed with a handle as an umbrella, and when evenly cut and seasoned as *tālpātra* or the depository in writing of local knowledge. All leaves are not fit for being written. The leaves must be neither too old, nor too young, neither too much torn up nor too much curved.

¹ Beames' Comp. Gramm. of the Mod. Aryan Language of India, Introduction, vol. I, pp. 65-6.

² See my article on the Oṛiyā inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. lxii., Pt. I, No. 1, 1893, pp. 88-104.

Those which are three or four months' old, just when the leaves are spreading, are preferred. They are intact, greenish-looking, longer and broader. According to length and breadth they are sorted, the longest and the broadest of the inner leaves being considered the best.

The leaves are next given what is termed the **बालिकस** (*bālī-kasa*). In sand they are kept buried for a day with some water over the sand. This seasons the leaves; and for ordinary purposes or for the zemindar's accounts such leaves suffice. But for *pōthīs* which are intended to be more permanently kept, a further seasoning is necessary. This goes by the name of **हलदिकस** (*haldī-kasa*). The better sorts of leaves are sorted and then put into a solution of turmeric and sour boiled-rice water (*āmāni*). They are kept immersed for about half an hour, and on being taken out are found to have acquired a darker color and to have become more elastic. They are next dried either by exposure in the sun or to a current of air. When fully dried the leaves are fit for writing.

For books a number of these leaves are taken and are bored in the middle by a pointed instrument named *phuraṇi* and through the holes so made a string is passed. The thread further passes through a wooden cover at each end. The wooden covers serve as a guard to the leaves, and are often carved. The string is sufficiently long (2 to 5 ft.) to be wound round the book over and over. The edges of the leaves are then cut even by some cutting instrument and next rubbed smooth with a stone. The book is then fit for a *pōthī*, and is known as *sāñci*.

Next comes the writing instrument which is an iron stylus locally known as **लेखणि** (*lekhaṇi*). The stylus is usually plain, but is often ornamented. In Orissa three varieties of stylus are used, according to the shape of the upper end, *viz.* (1) either sharp-pointed, (2) or knife-shaped, (3) or ear-shaped. The lower-end of the stylus is sharp as the end of a needle, and is used to cut letters on the palm leaves. The sharp portion of the upper end is employed in cutting the palm leaves. A stylus costs from three annas to a rupee.

The *pōthīs* are written either by the owner himself, or if able to pay, by some hired worker. Round about Puri the charge is about eight to twelve annas for a thousand *ślokas*. In Jajpur the charge is an anna for an *adhyāya* or canto. The charge is very moderate. Extra charges are paid for good and neat hand-writing, or in the case of Sanskrit works for correct copies. The rule for good hand-writing is contained in the following *sloka* :—

समानि समशीर्षाणि घनानि विरलानि च ।

अव्याकुले च मात्राणि यो लिखति सो प्रह्वितः ॥

The letters written with the stylus are themselves legible; but to make them more legible ink is used. The ink is passed over the writing and filling the interstices of letters makes them clearer. The ink is made in several ways. It may be prepared by mashing in water the leaves of the aquatic plant केशदुरा (*kesadurā*), and mixing with it the soot of the rice-boiling earthen pot (*bhāt-hāndi*), or it may be prepared by crumbling in hand the *kesadurā* leaves or the leaves of the creeper बाँटरा (*bāṭarā*), half burning them in burnt straw, and then passing them over the writing to be inked. The ink is fairly permanent.

The palm leaves are fragile and do not last long. In addition no special care is taken to preserve them. As they are mainly damaged in the rains, the only precaution taken is to expose them to the sun in the month of Bhādra when the sun shines very hot. Against white ants so common in Orissa the only precaution taken is to keep them on raised bamboo platforms a man high, or on shelved platforms, when the number is large. The use of camphor, &c., is unknown, and a white insect with two standing hairs on the head commits much depredation. Time also plays great havoc, the old palm leaves crumbling to pieces. Hence after 30 or 40 years the *pōthīs* have to be recopied. I have not seen very old palm leaf *pōthīs*. The oldest *pōthī* which I have come across is a copy of the 4th *skandha* of the Oṛiyā Bhāgavata of Jagannātha Dāsa. It is dated 1143 Oṛiyā Sana, 13th anka of the King Rāmacandra Dēva and is therefore 161 years old. It owes its preservation to its being kept on a seat (*gādi*) for daily worship by the family of the late Babu Bicchanda Patnaik of Kalyāṇpur, Thana Jajpur.¹

The *pōthīs* are brought out and worshipped at the time of the Sṛipaṇcamī festival (January, February), and often also at the time of the Dasaharā (September, October). The stylus, the native reed pens and the ink pots are then worshipped with the *pōthīs*.

¹ Since writing this article I have discovered in the same house another *pōthī* still older. The text is Sanskrit but written in Oṛiyā. The last line runs thus:—

पुण्डरीकरणेपाख्यानं । ए ग्रन्थं होइला सम्पूर्णं । ४०१ । इति श्रीइतिहाससमुच्चये भीष्म-
युधिष्ठिरसम्वादे पुण्डरीकनारदमुपाख्याने नाममेकचालिसो अध्यायः । ४१ ।

समस्त दिव्यसिंह दो महाराजाङ्क ४११६ स ११०२ साले । ०० । MS. Folio 124. The date of writing is 1103 Sana or 1696-97 A. D.; the MS., therefore, is now 201 years old.

PART II. SANSKRIT LITERATURE OF ORISSA.

Little is known outside Orissa of the old writings of the Oṛiyās; and even in Orissa their knowledge is of the vaguest nature. Only two English writers have dealt with the Oṛiyā writers, viz., Mr. Beames¹ and Sir W. Hunter.² Mr. Beames' notices are slight extending over a page and half only, more than one-third of which is taken up with an extract from the Oṛiyā poet Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa and its English translation. Sir W. Hunter's list is fuller and gives a fairly complete list of all kinds of Oṛiyā and Sanskrit works. But the other informations are meagre; the dates generally wrong; the authorities are not quoted, and the reasons not given; while the arrangement, being alphabetical according to the names of the authors, fails to give an idea of the historical development of the literature. This lamentable ignorance is certainly due to want of reliable data. In this article I intend to furnish the readers with some such data tested and compiled to the best of my ability from the original MSS. I only regret that the pressure of official work leaves me little time to give the necessary finishing touches.

An examination of the Orissa literature shows that compositions in Sanskrit preceded those in the vernacular. Even these Sanskrit works so far as available are late products. Excepting a few inscriptions on stones and copper-plates, I am not aware of any Sanskrit compositions which can be reliably considered older than the Gaṅgavaṃṇa rule (1135-1434 A.D.). The older inscriptions show that Sanskrit was studied fairly well, but the poems and treatises then composed appear to have been lost. This limit in time, it is desirable to bear in mind.

During the Gaṅgavaṃṇa rule and downwards numerous Sanskrit works were composed, almost all of which can be broadly divided into two great classes :—

A. Paurāṇic.

B. Smṛtic.

A. The works of both these classes were more or less products of necessity. Various towns of Orissa came to be regarded as *Tīrthas* and thus centres of extensive pilgrimages. These towns were dotted with temples, tanks and sacred places, of whom the pilgrims wanted to know the mythological history. They became crowded with Brahmins and Sēvakas, whose hereditary business came to be to give explanations

¹ Mr. Beames' Comp. Gram. Indo-Aryan Languages, Vol. I, pp. 88-9.

² Sir W. Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, Pt. IX, pp. 199-210.

of all the holy places. To supply these wants both of the pilgrims and of the Sēvakas, various local Māhātmyas were composed in Sanskrit. The best known among them are—

- (a) The Virajā-Māhātmya which deals with the sacred sites of Jajpur.
- (b) Ēkāmra-Purāṇa, Ēkāmra-Candrikā and Svarṇādri-Mahōdadhi which describe Bhuvanēṣvar.
- (c) Puruṣōttama-Māhātmya and Nilādri-Māhātmya about the Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra.
- (d) Arka-Māhātmya about Kōṇārka.
- (e) Kapila-Saṁhitā, describing briefly the best known sacred sites in Orissa.

The precise dates of these works cannot be ascertained. They themselves are silent about the times of their compositions. On the other hand they profess to be parts of Purāṇas, and to have been delivered by gods and Ṛṣis in the olden time. For example, the Puruṣōttama-Māhātmya professes to be a supplement of the Skanda-Purāṇa, the Ēkāmra-Purāṇa and the Ēkāmra-Candrikā to be supplements of Īva-Purāṇa, the Virajā-Māhātmya of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa and the Arka-Māhātmya of the Sāmba-Purāṇa. The Purāṇas of which these works are declared to be the supplement, are all later ones, and have been supposed to belong to the period from the seventh to ninth century A.D.¹ The Māhātmyas must therefore be still later and cannot in any manner be older than the tenth century. By another line of argument their time will be found to be still later. The Māhātmyas must be obviously later than the temples mentioned therein, and in the case of some temples the dates of their construction can be approximately arrived at. For instance the Puruṣōttama Māhātmya is mainly concerned with the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. This great temple, as I have already proved² was built under the orders of Cōḍagaṅga, the founder of the Gaṅgavamṇa dynasty. Its date thus comes to about 1140 A.D. One hundred years may be fairly taken as the period during which the human origin of the temple was forgotten, and a divine origin with

¹ These Purāṇas do not fulfil the five *lakṣanas* required by the Amarakōṣa and must therefore be later than the sixth century A.D.

[The supposition that the Author of the Amarakōṣa lived in the 6th Century A.D., rests merely on the well-known tradition of the nine Jewels at the court of Vikramāditya. On the date of the Amarakōṣa see now: Zachariae, *Die Indischen Wörterbücher (kōṣa) in Bühler's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, I, 3. B. page 18, Ed.]

² *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV., Pt. I, No. 2, pp. 130-1, 135.

extravagant sanctity was attached to the temple as described in the work. The middle of the thirteenth century is thus arrived at as the anterior limit of the work. Its posterior limit is settled by the fact that the *Māhātmya* is referred to with veneration by Raghunandana¹ of the sixteenth century and by Narasimha Ācārya² of the fifteenth century. Probably the close of the thirteenth century is nearer the truth as regards the date of this work.

Similarly *Ēkāmra-Purāṇa* and *Ēkāmra-Candrikā* refer to the temples of Ananta-Vāsudēva and Mēghēṣvara. Ananta-Vāsudēva was built in the eleventh century A.D., its inscription having been composed by Vācaspati-Miṣra.³ Mēghēṣvara was built still later about the end of twelfth century (circa 1200 A.D.)⁴ The period of one hundred years being allowed to account for the sanctity of the temples, the anterior times of these guide-books must be later than the close of the thirteenth century. The *Arka-Māhātmya* must similarly be later than the sun-temple of Kōṇārka it deals with. This great temple was built under orders of Narasimha Dēva I. probably in the 3rd quarter of the thirteenth century.⁵ Hence the *Arka-Māhātmya* cannot be placed earlier than fourteenth century. Lastly the existing *Virajā-Māhātmya* is not very old. In the beginning it refers to the temple of Jagannātha,⁶ and in one passage the pilgrims are advised to pay their respects at the shrine of Gangēṣvara. From the name and description, I take this to be a *Linga* established by Gangēṣvara which was another name of Cōḍaganga. On the whole I would not put the present *Virajā-Māhātmya* earlier than thirteenth century.

¹ “*स्कन्दपुराणीयपुरुषोत्तममाहात्म्येनचिंशध्याये*” Raghunandana’s *Aṣṭāvimṣa tattvāni, तिथितत्त्व, दोलयात्राम्* pp. 67-8. I quote here and elsewhere from Benī-mādhav De & Co.’s Bengali Edition, which in spite of numerous errors, is the only edition known to me giving a complete text of this encyclopædic work.

² *Ācārapradīpa* MS., Fol. 7.

³ “*यस्यैव प्रियसुहृदा द्विजाग्रियेन श्रीवाचस्पतिकविना कृता प्रशस्तिः*” L. 33 of Inscription; Dr. R. L. Mitra’s *Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 84-5.

⁴ See Babu N. N. Vasu’s article, *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXVI., Pt. I, No. I 1897, p. 14 *et seq.*

⁵ *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXV, pp. 232-3.

⁶ My MS. copy, 1st Adhyāya, p. 6.

कुलप्रदेशे रुचिरे दक्षिणस्य महोदधेः ।

नाम्ना नील इति ख्यातो विद्यते धरणीधरः ॥

तत्र स्वयं निवसते भगवान् कमलापतिः ।

भक्तप्रियार्थं विश्वात्मा विश्ववन्द्यपदाम्बुजः ॥

These five appear to be the oldest. The others are more or less compilations from these five. This is particularly the case with *Kapila Samhitā*. So then, looking to the text, none of the existing guidebooks can be taken earlier than the thirteenth century A.D.

These works profess to be divine revelations and thus give no clue to their human authors. From the subject matter I conclude that they were probably composed by the Sāsani Brāhmins or Sebaites of the temples. As literary compositions they show no special merits. The legendary origin of each temple, tank, tree, &c., is narrated, and the innumerable benefits which will accrue by visiting them and by offering gifts therein are dwelt upon with tedious repetitions. The language is easy; the versification bald and unornamented; the narration prolix and wearisome; while the poetry is dull and nowhere rises above ordinary level. Prose would have served as well the purposes of these *Māhātmyas*, but for the fact that the priests and the guide *Pāṇḍas* needed accounts which can be recited from memory. Extracts from most of these guidebooks can be seen *in extenso* in Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II.

B. Besides the worship of gods and the conducting of pilgrims, the Brahmins undertook other functions. They had to conduct the daily or periodical religious or socio-religious ceremonies, and they had to give *vyavasthās* or advices on social or religious questions. For these purposes in towns or Head-Quarters of Chiefs, Court *Paṇḍits* were employed, while in the mofussil the Sāsani Brāhmins were consulted. To discharge these functions with credit, the old *Smṛtis* or lawbooks of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others were carefully studied, and later on local treatises were compiled. Of these treatises the earlier ones appear to be lost, the earliest of those now existing not being older than 14th century A.D.

Probably these later works have survived not simply because they came late, but for another reason. From the 14th century downwards I notice a revival of Sanskrit learning in Orissa. This revival is probably due to the rise of Vidyānagara in the south and the close connexion of Orissa with that kingdom. In the beginning of the 14th century Vidyānagara had come to be the centre of all kinds of Sanskrit studies; and Mādhavācārya¹ and Sāyaṇācārya at the head of numerous *Paṇḍits* were exceedingly active in editing and commenting on the Vedic and Sanskrit classics. This literary activity of the Vidyānagara scholars must have stirred considerably the *Paṇḍits* of Orissa, particularly as in the reigns of the Sūryavaṃṣa Kings (1434–1540 A.D. ?) Orissa came

¹ According to Burnell, Madhāvācārya composed his numerous works between 1331 and 1386 A. D. l. c. Weber's *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 41 note. *

into direct contact with Vidyānagara. In this way several Smṛti works were compiled and a band of scholars grew up whom Raghunanda specifically mentions as *Ōdra-dēṣīyāḥ*.¹

The Ōriyā treatises on Smṛti may be divided into two classes :—

- (a) Paddhatis or Manuals ;
- (b) Commentaries.

(a) Among the Paddhatis the best known are :—

- (1) Vidyākara-Paddhati ;
- (2) Çuddhi-Candrikā ;
- (3) Çambhukara-Paddhati ;
- (4) Karmāṅga-Paddhati.

1. Vidyākara's Paddhati I have not yet come across. But it has been largely quoted or referred to in Raghunandana's work.² From the extracts therein given, the date of his work can be approximately arrived at. The anterior limit is fixed by Mādhavācārya's time, the revived Ōriyā scholarship dating after him. Vidyākara cannot therefore be earlier than the second half of the 14th century. The posterior limit is fixed by his lines being quoted in the Ācārapradīpa,³ and in the Madana-pārijāta,⁴ both of which are mentioned by Raghunandana. These works belong to the 15th century.⁵ Madana-pārijāta is not an Ōriyā work. Hence Vidyākara must be much older, as the fame of any

¹ पूर्ववचने बासर इत्यत्र वत्सर इति ओषदेष्टीयाः पठन्ति व्यवहरन्ति च :” Raghunandan's Aṣṭāviṃṣa-tattvāni, उद्गाहतत्त्व p. 576.

² तिथितत्त्व p. 72 and same again मलमासतत्त्व p. 325 ; अमावास्यतत्त्व p. 79 ; आङ्गिकतत्त्व p. 163, 169, 170 ; Do. p. 179 and same again in एकादशीतत्त्व p. 554 ; आङ्गिकतत्त्व p. 185, and same again in एकादशीतत्त्व p. 557 ; मलमासतत्त्व p. 326, 365 ; संस्कारतत्त्व p. 373 and same again in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 486 ; संस्कारतत्त्व p. 386 ; शुद्धितत्त्व p. 461 ; एकादशीतत्त्व p. 539, 551 ; श्रीपुरुषोत्तमतत्त्व p. 665.

³ Āchnārapradīpa MS. ज्ञानप्रकरणम् Folios 77, 82 ; अग्निहोत्रप्रकरणम् Fol. 120.

⁴ “ इति मदनपारिजाते विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृत-मरीचि-वचनात् ” l. c. Raghunandana आङ्गिकतत्त्व p. 170.

⁵ For the date of Ācārapradīpa, see infra p. 338 Madana-pārijāta being quoted by Raghunandana must be earlier than the sixteenth century ; and as it quotes from Mādhavācārya it must be later than the fourteenth century. Presumably therefore it belongs to the intermediate, i.e., fifteenth century. For reference to Mādhavācārya cf. “ मदनपारिजाते माधवाचार्यधृतशतातपवचनाच्च ” l. c. Raghunandana मलमासतत्त्व, पय्युदासविचार p. 347. For Raghunandana's time see infra p. 339.

work in those days travelled slowly outside its province. I am disposed to put Vidyākara to the first quarter of the 15th century or a little earlier.

In the absence of the full texts it is unsafe to pass any remarks. Vidyākara was a Vājapēyi Brahmin, *i.e.*, one who had performed the expensive vājapēya-yajña. He seems to have been well read in the Smṛtis.

2. The second work Āuddhi-Candrikā is better known and has been printed. It is a small work and has been placed among the Pad-dhatis chiefly on account of its time and absence of a critical spirit. Its author who calls himself Kālidāsa, was a Cayani Paṇḍit and thus speaks of his work in the very first line :—

मन्वादिशास्त्रामृतसञ्चयालयः ।

श्रीकालिदासाभिधधीरचन्द्रमाः ।

तेने सुधीसिन्धुविवर्द्धयशौचक-

ध्वान्तान्धलोकेक्षणशुद्धिचन्द्रिकां ॥ १ ॥

Translation :—The moon among the learned by name Āri-Kālidāsa who is the depositary of nectars in the Āstras of Manu and others, spread out (*i.e.*, composed) the Āuddhi-Candrikā, for removing the darkness in men's eyes in matters of āṇauca (or death and birth impurities), thus swelling (with gladness) the sea of the learned. (The author compares himself with the moon which is the depositary of nectars, which removes darkness, and which swells the sea with tides).

The work ends thus :—

“इति श्रीकालिदासचयनिपण्डितकृता शुद्धिचन्द्रिका समाप्ता ।”

The title Cayani Paṇḍit is curious ; Cayani meaning at Purī, the best, the most learned.

The Āuddhi-Candrikā is pretty old. Its author is referred to in the Ācārapradīpa² and hence it cannot be later than the 2nd half of the 15th century. The compressed nature of the book does not admit of any quotations from other works. I have found only one reference, *viz.*, to Lakṣmīdhara,³ belongs to the tenth century. From general reasons I am inclined to think that the author was contempora-

¹ A variant reading is “मृत-सारसञ्चयः”

² “शुद्धिचन्द्रिकाकारस्य जातदत्तकन्या...” Ācārapradīpa चाशौचप्रकरणे कन्याशौचं MS. Folio 33.

³ Line 17 “स्नात्वेति-लक्ष्मीधरः”

neous with Vidyākara or came a little later. He should be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century.

The text is in 26 stanzas only, but the stanzas are very long. The subject matter of *āṣauca* is dealt with in 25 lines, and as the author has forced a full treatment of the whole subject of *āṣauca* into a few lines, the work is difficult to understand without commentary. The author was probably led to make such compression in order to facilitate the task of committing it to memory. The work has often been referred to as an authority. I find however that its rules are not always observed in Orissa. For instance, it is laid down in line 11 that in the case of Āṣauca dying between the 2nd and 16th year, whether married or unmarried, the *āṣauca* lasts 12 days; and in the case of Āṣauca dying above the 16th year, the full period (*i.e.* 30 days) should be observed.¹ In Orissa the Āṣauca however behave like the Brahmins, and actually observe the *āṣauca* for ten days only.

Besides the printed edition, I have seen three MSS., one of which has the advantage of a *ṭikā*. The *ṭikā* has been named Āṣauca-vidhāna-dīpikā. This MS. occupies 47 folios with six lines on each page and five lines on the last page. The name of the *ṭikā-kāra* is wanting. It closes with the following line:—

स्मृत्यर्णवादुद्धतसारशीकरैः
पूतान्मुधा सज्जनमज्जनोचिता ।
कृतातिसेव्या सुरसा मलापह्वा
विगाह्यतां शुद्धिविधानदीपिका ॥

3. The third Paddhati is of Āmbhukara. I have not seen a complete copy of this book, but I have come across a fragment of it. It is named Āmbhukara-Ārādhapaddhati. It begins abruptly with ॐ नमो विष्णेश्वराय । अथ आर्द्रपद्धतिः । It ends with : इति श्रीवराहपुराणे गौतमप्रोक्तशम्भुकरविरचितआर्द्रपद्धतिः ।

The text takes up 8½ folios with 4 or 5 lines on each page. It gives the usual directions and Mantras to be observed or recited while performing the funeral ceremonies of relatives. Rarely comments are made in prose. Āmbhukara's date is uncertain. Neither he nor his work is referred to either in the Ācārapradīpa or by Raghunandana. But several other commentators have quoted him as an authority,² notably Viṣṇvanātha Miśra in his Smṛti-Sāra-Saṁgraha.

¹ Line 11 “द्वादशाथोदःपूतसूतौ तु षोडशपरं पूर्णं विवाहेष्वर्धः”

² Smṛtisārasaṁgraha MS. “एतदेव स्पष्टीकृतं शम्भुकरपद्धतौ,” again on the next

This commentator is one of the oldest, as will be seen further on,¹ and is at least three hundred years old. As Çambhukara has been quoted by him as an authority, a considerable interval must have elapsed. I shall be far from wrong therefore in putting Çambhukara's date to the close of the 15th century.

4. In his list Hunter mentions another Paddhati,² viz., the Karmāṅga-paddhati of one Rāmacandra Vājapēyī. I have not seen this work. According to Hunter's informant its date is about 400 years old—a not improbable date for it, if it be really a Paddhati. The author was a Vājapēyī, and these Vājapēyīs belonged almost exclusively to the Puri District and were generally well read in Çrutis and Smṛtis.

(b). Having treated all the known Paddhatikāras of Orissa, I now take up the other sub-class of Smṛtic works, the commentaries.

1. Of the existing commentaries the earliest appears to be the Ācārapradīpa of Narasimha Vājapeyī. Of this I have seen two MSS., and the one which I shall refer herein was copied not less than sixty years ago.³ This MS. consists of 197 folios with six lines on each page. It begins in verse describing the genealogy of the author and at the end of each division ends thus or in a nearly similar line “इति श्रीमद्दामहोपाध्यायःसिद्धिदाजपेयि-पौण्डरीकयाजि-नरसिंहविरचिते नित्याचार-प्रदीपे सम्प्रकाशितकर्मनिर्णयः” (MSS. Folio 120).

The introductory verses are in 21 lines and give an interesting account of the author's ancestors and their studies. The lines show that in the mediæval period (13th to 15th century) Smṛti and Darçana were fairly well cultivated by the Oṛiyā Brahmins. The author's ancestors composed several works such as Sat-Samaya, Çuddhi-Muktāvalī and Saṁkṣipta-Çārīrikavārttikā. They appear to be now lost, if not lying scattered in some of the Brahmin villages round about Puri. For these and similar other works, it would be desirable to make a diligent search among the small libraries belonging to the Sāsani Brahmins of that district.

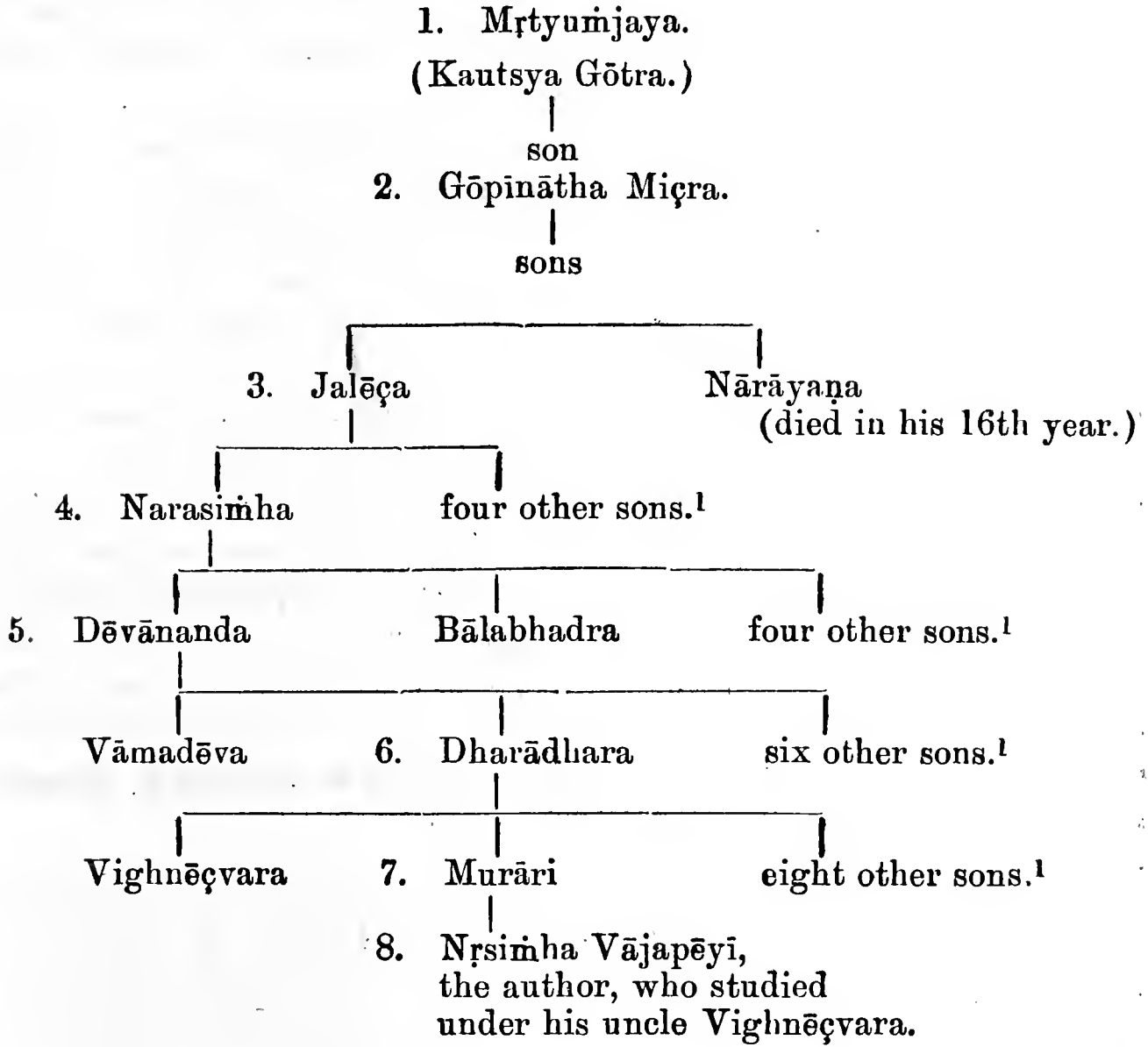
leaf “इति शम्भुकरपद्धतौ,” and again “शम्भुकरपद्धतौ दिनद्वयेऽपि लभ्येत”; also Divyasimha Mahāpātra's Çrāddha-dīpa “प्रामाण्यमिति शम्भुकरवाजपेयौति.”

¹ See infra, p. 341.

² Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, App. IX, pp. 207-8.

³ On the last page there is a note to the effect that the MS. was sold on Sana 1252 Kanya 29th for Company rupee Re. 1-4-0 by one Muktēçvara Dāsa to Kṛṣṇa Agnihōtrī, the grand-father of the present owner. The sale thus took place 52 years ago, and the MS must be still older.

The introductory verses supply the following genealogical chart up to the seventh generation :—



Nṛsiṃha's date is not known. But his reference to Mādhavācārya² brings him down to the fifteenth century. The posterior limit is fixed by his work being quoted by Raghunandana.³ Raghunandana was contemporaneous with Caitanya and read with him under the Paṇḍit Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma.⁴ Raghunandana consequently flourished in the beginning of the 16th century, and Nṛsiṃhācārya must be older. From the scanty quotations by Raghunandana, I infer that he did not precede him by any long interval. Nṛsiṃha may therefore be fairly

¹ The names of these sons are given in the verse, but are not given here. The introductory lines are quoted in original in the Appendix.

² See Ācārapradīpa MS., तिथिनिरूपणप्रस्तावम्.

³ Raghunandana's Aṣṭāviṃṣa-tattvāni तिथितत्त्व शिवरात्रिव्रतं p. 6. “नरसिंहाचार्यहृतेश्वरसंहितायां” and again अमावस्यातत्त्व p. 86 “आचारप्रदीपोपेवमिति”

⁴ Cf. Babu Akshay Kumar Dutt's Introduction to the Hindu Religious sects (Bengali) Vol. I, p. 178 note.*

placed in the latter half of the 15th century. This is corroborated by the fact that Nṛsiṃha quotes from Vidyākara and Īuddhi-Candrikā.

The Ācārapradīpa is a pretty long work and has not yet been printed. It treats of the daily or periodical rites (*ācāra*). The author appears to have been well-read. He quotes freely from the epics, the eighteen Purāṇas, the various Upapurāṇas, the thirty-six Dharmaśāstras, the numerous commentators on them, such as Lakṣmīdhara, Hēmādri, Mādhavācārya, Dēvēndrācrama Svāmī, Puraṇarāṇa-Candrikā, Smṛti-ratnamālā, various Tantras, the Pañcarātras, astrological works, etc. I have already pointed out that he quotes from the Vidyākara-Paddhati and Īuddhi-Candrikā. In fact he brings considerable knowledge to bear upon each subject, and takes considerable pains in elucidating the disputed points by gathering the various authorities and by attempting to reconcile or explain the discrepancies found.

The author was a Vājapēyī Brahmin of Puri and was apparently a Vaiṣṇava by religion. He begins his work with an invocation to the Lord Jagannātha enthroned on the blue hill, and refers with respect to Puruṣōttama-Māhātmya. According to tradition he composed other Smṛti works, to supplement the Ācārapradīpa. These are enumerated by Hunter as: (1) Vyavasthā-pradīpa. (2) Prāyaścitta-pradīpa. (3) Vājapeyi-Smṛti. (4) Dāna-Sāgara. None of these works is available locally.

2. While searching Raghunandana's work I came across two authors named Vardhamāna, one of whom is distinguished from the other by the prefix *Navya*¹ or younger. Is this Navya-Vardhamāna identical with Vardhamāna Mahāpātra, who according to Hunter's list, composed a Smṛti work named Vardhamāna-Kārikā. Not having yet seen the latter work, I am unable to decide; but if true, Vardhamāna Mahāpātra must be older than 16th century.

Raghunandana does not appear to mention any other Smṛti works of Orissa, and the omission by an author of such vast reading as his raises a fair presumption that the works not mentioned were not in use at or before his time. The other works however, which I have seen, are more or less treated as authorities and cannot therefore be recent. Their times should therefore be put between the 16th and 18th centuries. I proceed to discuss them one by one. The following works I have seen in MSS.

(3). Smṛti-Sāra-Saṁgraha of Viçvanātha Miçra.

(4). Āraddha-Dīpa } of Divyasimha Māhāpātra.
Kāla-Dīpa }

¹ “नव्यवर्द्धमानधृतानि.” तिथितत्त्व p. 8, and again “नव्यवर्द्धमानधृतात्” तिथितत्त्व p. 26; cf. also समावास्यतत्त्व pp. 79, 90.

(5). Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana of Vāsudēva Tripāṭhi.

(6). Prāyaścitta-Manōhara of Murāri Miçra.

(7). Ācārasāra of Gayādhara Rāyaguru.

(8). Smṛti-Dīpikā of Viçvambhara Miçra.

3. The MS. of Smṛti-Sāra-Saṁgraha is on 44 folios with six lines on each page and half a line on the last. It begins with

मन्वादिशास्त्राणि गुरोरधीत्य

सम्यक् तथाभ्यस्य चिरं प्रयत्य ।

दृष्ट्वा च शिष्टाचरणं करोमि

श्रीविश्वनाथः स्मृतिसारसंग्रहम् ॥

Translation :—Having read and studied under teachers (Gurus) the Çāstras beginning with that of Manu, having long made efforts and having observed the right conduct, I, Çri Viçvanātha have composed (this) Smṛti-Sāra-Saṁgraha. The MS. ends with

इति श्रीविश्वनाथमिश्रविरचितः स्मृतिसारसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

The MS. has got at the end a table of contents (अनुक्रमणिका).

The work is pretty old, for it is quoted in Çrāddha-Dīpa,¹ which is also old. I think it is about three hundred years old and cannot be later than the beginning of the 17th century and might be even earlier. It quotes from the Vidyākara-Paddhati and Çambhukara-Paddhati. I was unable to find any mention of Nṛsimha Vāṇapēyī's works. As its name implies, it is a compilation from older Smṛtis about the usual rites and festivals. I came across the following curious remark about an Oṛiyā festival :—

“अथ प्रथमाष्टमी । अचोत्कलेषु अधुना पूजावन्दापनादिकं कुर्वन्ति, देशान्तरे नास्ति तथावैवचनमपि नास्ति”²

Translation :—Now the Prathamāṣṭamī. In this Orissa now-a-days pūjās and offerings are given (on this date). In other lands this festival does not exist, and no Rishi's sayings exist.

Evidently the festival of Prathamāṣṭamī which is held on the first Aṣṭamī of the month Agrahāyana and which consists in offering pūjās to the gods and in giving new cloths to the firstborn male, is a strictly local festival.

4. The next author is Divyasimha Mahāpātra. He composed two Smṛti works Çrāddha-Dīpa or lamp for funeral rites, and Kāla-Dīpa or lamp for the periodical rites. I have seen two MSS. of each.

¹ Çrāddha-Dīpa MS. “सपिण्डकरणश्राद्धमिति विश्वनाथमिश्राः”

² Smṛti-Sāra-Saṁgraha MS. पर्व्वर्ण्यप्रकरणं Folio 118.

The MS. of the *Çrāddha-Dīpa* that I am using is composed of 44 folios with 4 or 5 lines on each page; while the MS. of *Kāla-Dīpa* is smaller being on 27 folios with six lines on each page and 4 lines on the last page. The *Çrāddha-Dīpa* text begins with *श्रेष्ठदेवतायै नमः ।*

प्रणम्य देवं श्रीकृष्णं भवानीशङ्करावपि ।

तन्यते आद्ददीपोयं दिव्यसिंहेन धीमता ॥

The text ends with *इति श्रीदिव्यसिंह महापात्र-विरचितः आद्ददीपः समाप्तः । ०*

The text of *Kāla-Dīpa* begins in a similar way¹ but ends differently as below :—

वत्सगोत्रसमुत्पन्नो दिव्यसिंहाभिधः सुधीः ।

कालदीपाभिधं ग्रन्थं कृतवान् कृतिनां मुदे ॥

इति श्रीदिव्यसिंहमहापात्रविरचितः कालदीपः समाप्तः ॥ ० ॥

The author was well learned, and in his *Çrāddha-Dīpa* quotes from *Çuddhi-Candrikā*, *Vidyākara-Paddhati*, *Çambhukara-Paddhati*, *Nṛsimha Vājaṇṇī*'s work, *Viçvanātha Miçra* and *Mukunda Dīkṣita*. Occasionally all the *Vājaṇṇīs* are referred to as *Vājaṇṇīnaḥ*. *Mukunda-Dīkṣita*'s treatise appears to be lost. *Çrāddha-Dīpa* is the earlier work as it is alluded to in *Kāla-Dīpa*.² Like the other authors *Divyasimha*'s date can only be approximately arrived at. He is quoted as a high authority in the *Smṛti-Dīpikā*,³ and might be presumed to be 80 or 100 years older than that work. The date of the *Smṛti-Dīpikā* is unknown, but as it is treated as an authority it cannot be less than 120 or 130 years old. So *Divyasimha*'s time may be taken to the close of the 17th century A.D.

5. The next two works I deal with treat of *Prāyaścittas* or penances for sins and misdeeds, and are considered standard works on the subject. The first, the *Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana* is largely used in the northern part of Orissa. Its date cannot be ascertained, but from its high authority and its treatment of the subject matter I am inclined to place it in the beginning of the 18th century. The author *Vāsudēva Tripāṭhi*, according to tradition, belonged to the Balasore District, which probably explains his popularity on the north side of the *Brāhminī* river. This is also somewhat corroborated by the facts that the MS.

¹ प्रणम्य देवं श्रीकृष्णं भवानीशङ्करावपि ।

तन्यते कालदीपोयं दिव्यसिंहेन धीमता ॥

² “प्रदीपामाबस्याऽस्मत्कृते आद्दप्रदीपेऽनुसन्धेया” *Kāla-Dīpa* MS. Fol. 91.

³ See the first line of *Smṛti-Dīpikā* “श्रीवाजपेयि-कमलाकर-दिव्यसिंह-स्मार्त्तादि तत्त्वमनुसृत्य करोमि किञ्चित्.”

I am using was copied from one found at Nilgiri (a tributary state adjoining Balasore) and that the text now and then quotes from Bengali works, as Bhavadēva-Paddhati, Smṛti-Sāra-Sāgara, Gaṅgā-Vākyaṅgalī, &c.

The text of the Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana occupies 161 folios, of which 34 contain three lines on each page, the rest four lines, and the last page one line. It is, therefore, a work of considerable size and deals with the subject in a learned manner. It begins with

श्रीरघुनाथाय नमः ।

प्रायश्चित्तविशुद्धिसाधनधियो ध्यायन्ति धीरा ध्रुवं
यं निर्व्याजमजं ज्वरादिरहितं बीजं जगत्क्षारुहः ।
श्रीरामं स्मरकोटिसुन्दरतरं कामं नमस्कृत्य तं
प्रायश्चित्तविलोचनं वितनुते श्रीवासुदेवः सुधीः ॥
विद्यन्ते विदुषां निबन्धनिवहा यद्यत्र नानाविधाः
प्रायश्चित्तविवेचने बद्धमतास्तेते प्रपञ्चोत्तराः ।
तानेव प्रविलोक्य सारमखिलं संगृह्य संक्षेपतः
किञ्चित्कौशलेषलस्तदपि सोऽयं प्रबन्धोद्यमः ॥

Translation :—Salutation to Raghunātha! The intelligent Vāsudēva has composed this Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana having paid his obeisance to Śrī-Rāmacandra who is artless, without beginning and without illness, who is the seed of this tree of universe, who is more beautiful than tens of millions of Kandarpas (Eros), and who is meditated upon by the wise, intent on finding out the correct Prāyaścittas. In Prāyaścitta matters numerous works have been composed by the learned, yet different opinions exist in the various works; studying them I have attempted this treatise, having compiled in brief their entire substance with some skill and fineness.

The work end thus :—

विदुषा वासुदेवेन प्रायश्चित्तविलोचने ।
सद्रूपशुद्धिविविधप्रायश्चित्तमितीरितं ॥
नानानिबन्धानालोच्य वासुदेवत्रिपाठिना ।
कृतं मुदेस्तु विदुषां प्रायश्चित्तविलोचनं ॥
अमत्सराः सारविचारश्रूरा
धीरा मयैतं रचितं निबन्धं ।
पवित्रयन्तः करुणार्द्रदृष्ट्या
गृह्णन्तु सन्तः प्रणतोऽर्थये तान् ॥

इति श्रीवासुदेवत्रिपाठिना विरचितं प्रायश्चित्तविलोचनं सम्पूर्णं । ० ।

Translation :—In (this) *Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana* the learned *Vāsudēva* has treated the purification of things and the various kinds of penances. After studying numerous treatises, *Vāsudēva Tripāṭhi* made the *Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana* for the delight of the learned. May the learned who are not envious, who are considerate and who are masters in judging truths, take up this treatise purifying it with their kind looks,—so I pray with due respects to them. Here ends the *Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana* composed by *Ṣrī-Vāsudēva-Tripāṭhi*.

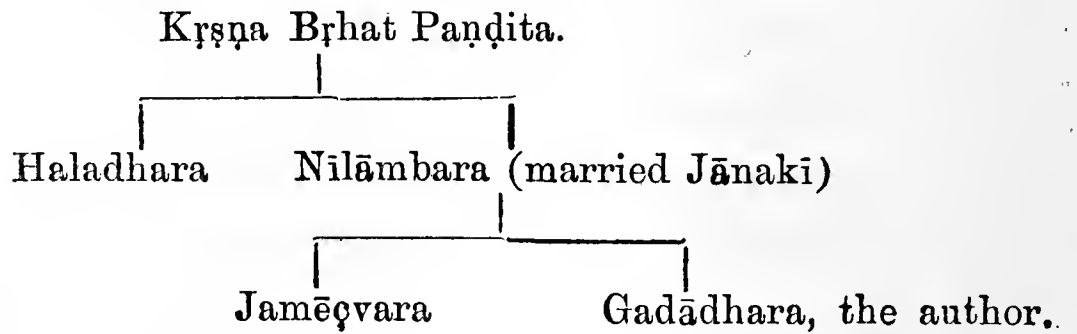
6. The second work on penances is the *Prāyaścitta-Manōhara*. It is less known but is probably as old as *Prāyaścitta-Vilōcana*. Its author is *Murāri Miçra* who begins his work thus—

श्रीमन्नुरारिमिश्रेण काङ्क्षुमित्रस्य सूनुना ।

क्रियते व्यवहारार्थं प्रायश्चित्तमनोहरं ॥

The text of the MS. is incomplete, and hence the closing words cannot be quoted. The MS. as far as it exists, occupies 18 folios with six line on each page.

7. I next come to the *Ācāra-Sāra*. This work enjoys a large popularity in the Puri District. Its author *Gadādhara Rāyaguru* was a court Paṇḍit, which partly accounts, for its popularity. He begins his work with seven stanzas¹ giving therein his genealogy. From this introduction the following chart may be drawn up :—



The author's date can be approximately arrived at from the work. Haladhara, the author's uncle, was Guru of the Queen of King Harēkrṣṇa; while Nīlāmbara, the author's father, was Guru of the King himself. Now Harēkrṣṇa Dēva King of Puri and Khordā, succeeded Divyasimha Dēva and according to the *Madalā Pāñji* ruled from 1715 to 1720 A.D. These years are approximately correct. Therefore Harēkrṣṇa's reign of five years might be put between 1720 and 1726.² Gadādhara's father being his Guru, Gadādhara himself must be later.

¹ The introductory stanzas and the closing stanza are given in the Appendix.

² The times of Divyasimha Dēva and of Harēkrṣṇa Dēva will be discussed in Part IV of this article in connection with the later Oṛiyā poets.

I would therefore place Gadādhara's work in the second quarter of the 18th century.

The Ācāra-Sāra is a learned work, rather large in size. The MS. takes up 163 folios with six lines on each page. The text has got a table of contents (अनुक्रमणिका) of six folios, but its value has been minimised by absence of page references. The author quotes now and then from his grandfather's work Nītiratnākara.¹ The author's grandfather was a Vājapēyī and on account of his learning got the title of Br̥hat-Paṇḍita (बृहत्पण्डित). Gadādhara Rāyaguru composed two other treatises to complete the series. These go by the name of Çuddhi-Sāra or compilation of purificatory rites and Kāla-Sāra or the compilation of periodical rites. These works preceded the Ācāra-Sāra in their times of composition having been referred to in the latter treatise.²

8. The last work on Smṛti that I will notice and apparently the latest authority is Smṛti-Dīpikā. It is a moderate sized volume compiled about 120 or 130 years ago. Its author is Viçvambhara Miçra who begins his work thus—

मन्वादिशास्त्रनिचयं स्वगुरोरधीत्य
हेमाद्रिमाधवमतानि विचार्य यत्नात् ।
श्रीवाजपेयिकमलाकरदिव्यसिंह-
स्मार्तादितत्त्वमनुस्मृत्य करोमि किञ्चित् ॥
सन्ति यद्यपि धीराणां स्मृतिग्रन्थाश्च कोटिशः ।
तथापि सारमाकृत्य क्रियते नूतनोद्यमः ॥
प्रकाशैर्दशभिर्नूनां सर्वदिक् संप्रकाशकैः ।
विश्वम्भरेण सुधिया क्रियते स्मृतिदीपिका ॥

Translation :—Having read under my Guru the Çāstras beginning with Manu, having carefully discussed the opinions of Hēmādri, Mādhava and others, and having remembered the truths enunciated by the Smārtas Vājapēyis, Kamalākara, Divyasimha and others, I shall do something. Though there may be tens of millions of Smṛti works (composed by) the learned, yet abstracting their substances fresh attempt will be made. The intellegent Viçvambhara composed this Smṛti-Dīpikā whose ten prakāṣas (chapters) make visible all the cardinal points.

¹ Ācāra-Sāra MS. fol. 68 एतत्सूर्याधिकारिकं काम्यमपि नृपैरवश्यं कार्यमित्यस-
त्पितामहकृष्णवृहत्पण्डितमहापात्रैर्नितिरत्नाकरैर्लिखितं ; see also folios 69 and 139.

² Ācāra-Sāra fol. 133 “विस्तरस्तु अस्मत्कृते शुद्धिसारे द्रष्टव्यः” again Do.
“तथाचास्मत्कृत शुद्धिसारकारिकाः” ; for Kālasāra, see fol. 159 “सर्वमिदमस्मत्कृते
कालसारे प्रमाणं लिखितं.”

APPENDIX.

(a): The Genealogy of Nṛsimha Vājaṇṇī as given in his Ācāra-pradīpa.

अमत्सरः सत्समयप्रणेता कौत्सस्यवंशो वसुधावतंसः ।

प्रासादमीमांसकयज्ञयूपै र्यनोत्कलोभूषित एष देशः ॥ ५ ॥

प्रासादे स्रष्टते हरं परिचरन्नासीदमुष्मिन् कुले

मीमांसार्यवकर्णधारतरुणो मृत्युञ्जयः पण्डितः ।

विद्याभिः सकलाभिरुज्ज्वलमतिर्यः शुद्धिसुक्तावली

ग्रन्थेनीखिलमेव प्रथमकरोत् स्वीयं कुलं चेज्यया ॥ ६ ॥

अमुष्य पुत्रः किलगोपीनाथमिश्रो गुणैर्यस्य वशे वसन्तौ ।

जलेश्वरनारायणनामयोगापुत्रौनुमित्रावरुणावुपेतौ ॥ ७ ॥

अष्टाब्देषु कविर्गते च नवमे तर्काब्धिपारं गमो

मीमांसाद्वय सत्प्रबन्धरचना संपूर्तिं कृत् द्वादशे ।

जल्पैरल्पदिनैर्विजित्य विदिशो यः षोडशे वत्सरे

योगाभ्यासरतः पुराणपुरुषं नारायणः प्राविशत् ॥ ८ ॥

सिद्धेश्वरीदत्तवरप्रसादात् षडदर्शनी यस्य कुलेऽचलासीत् ।

काशिवने ह्रीनमखेऽभिचेता जलेश्वरः कृष्णपरायणोऽभूत् ॥ ९ ॥

नरसिंहधनञ्जयौवुधावथगङ्गाधर-आद्य(? तोऽन्व)-खण्डलः ।

तनयाः किल वाजपेयिनोऽस्य च मृत्युञ्जयपञ्चमास्त्वमे ॥ १० ॥

अद्वैतागममुत्कलेऽवतरयन् संचोपशारीरिके

कृत्वा वार्त्तिकमध्वरेषु निरतः षण्मासदीक्षाव्रती ।

मीमांसा यत एव वृद्धिमगमत् काश्यां नृसिंहः सुर-

स्रोतस्वत्युदकैकजीवनविधिर्योगेन सिद्धिं गतः ॥ ११ ॥

देवानन्दः सुतोऽस्याजनि कृतचयनो यज्ञविद्याधुरिणो

वेदाभ्यासप्रयासी परिषदिविजये यः कृतः पण्डितेशः ।

नानादेशादुपेताः सुनिपुणमतयः संघशो यस्य शिष्याः

मीमांसातर्कविद्याश्रुतिशिखरमति प्रौढमध्यापयन्ति ॥ १२ ॥

अनुजोऽस्य च पोण्डरीकयाजीवलभद्रविदितः श्रुतोनयेन ।

सदृशः श्रुतिमौलिभट्टतन्त्रे किमु सम्बत्सरदीक्षया कृतौ ॥ १३ ॥

अपरेऽपि नृसिंहसूनुव इह चत्वार उदारचेतसः ।
 स्वकुलोचितविद्ययोर्जिताः सततं कृष्णपरायणाः समाः ॥ १४ ॥
 आनन्दपुत्रावसुतेजसोऽष्टौ वसूत्तमाः किं वसुधामुपेताः ।
 यदीयशिष्यादनवाप्तविद्या येकेऽपि तल्लक्षणमज्ञतैव ॥ १५ ॥
 सर्व्वे च पुत्रा विगतारिमित्रास्तेवाजपेयादिमुखैः पवित्राः ।
 काले यथावद्विहिताग्निहोत्रा महद्भिराशंसितसच्चरित्राः ॥ १६ ॥
 ते वामदेवाभिधवर्द्धमानौ समाधवौ तौ भुवनेश्वरीरौ ।
 धराधरस्यानुगदाधरज्जोरविश्व तेषामिह सप्तमोऽभूत् ॥ १७ ॥
 धराधराख्य प्रथितस्य जैमिनेर्ज्जगन्निवासैकजुषो दशात्मजाः
 गरिष्ठविघ्नेश्वरनामसंवृतो वशिष्ठ एव व्यजनिष्ठ पूर्य्यजः ॥ १८ ॥
 मुरारिपीताम्बरवासुदेवनारायणश्रीपतिकेशवाख्याः ।
 वक्रेश्वरश्रीजयदेवकृष्णाः स्वाचारविद्यास्तनया नवान्ये ॥ १९ ॥
 मुरारि पूजार्जितविद्ययोर्जितो मुरारिरासीत् श्रुति मौलिपारगः ।
 बुधः सदानन्द मनूय-सेवया नृसिंहनामाजनि तस्य चात्मजः ॥ २० ॥
 श्रीमद्विघ्नेश्वरगुरोः प्राप्तविद्येन तेन च ।
 नित्याचारप्रदीपोऽयं नृसिंहेण प्रणीयते ॥ २१ ॥

MS. Folios 1-2.

(b). The Genealogy of Gadādhara Rāyaguru as given in his Ācāra-Sāra :

कृष्णात् कौशिकवाजपेयितुलशीवंश्याद्बृहत्पण्डिता
 नीतिग्रन्थकृतः सरायगुरुरीत्याधिकारी सुधीः ।
 पुत्रः शारदवाजपेयमुखकृत्जातो हरेकृष्णमु-
 नाथश्रीमद्विघ्नीगुरुर्हलधराभिख्योऽग्रजोग्रामकृत् ॥ १ ॥
 वेदान्तादिसमस्तशास्त्रनिलयो नीलाम्बराख्योऽनुज-
 स्तस्य स्मार्त्तवरोऽतिदैवविदभूत् साहित्यविद्यार्णवः ।
 सद्द्वैयाकरणश्च नीतिनिपुणः श्रीनीलशैलेशितुः
 मञ्चस्नानमुखोत्सवानवयवस्तोत्रं च योवर्णयत् ॥ २ ॥
 धीरेशान् स्ववितीर्णदापितमहासच्छाशनेषूत्तमान्
 संस्थाप्याध्वरिणो विधाय धनदप्रख्यान् द्विजांस्तान् व्यधात् ।

प्राज्यं प्राप चतुर्मुखादिकमहायज्ञेषु संतोषयन्
विप्रादीनपि राजसूयजनितं यौधिष्ठिरं यो यशः ॥ ३ ॥

यो नीलाम्बर राजगुर्वभिधयाख्यातः क्षितौ श्रीहरे-
कृष्णाख्य क्षितिपेश्वरे भूपतिना शिष्येण सम्मानितः ।

सौवर्णोऽचतुष्टयाच्युतपदाम्भोजाङ्ग कृष्णातपत्रा

शे + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ॥ ४ ॥

यज्वायच्चरमो यमेश्वर इति भ्राता वृहत् पण्डित

स्तं नीलाम्बर नामकं नृपगुरुं तातं प्रसूतं जानकीं ।

नत्वा राजगुरुर्गदाधरसुधीराचारसाराभिधं

ग्रन्थं प्रारभते सयुक्ति + + + + + + + चारकं ॥ ५ ॥

Ācāra-Sāra ends with the following couplet :—

श्रीनीलाम्बर राजगुरुराख्यातो हरेकृष्णभूनाथ

प्राप्तगजातपत्रि उदभूदे या या यजूकः सूधीः ।

श्रीमान् राजगुरुर्गदाधरसुधीस्तस्यात्मजः कौशिको

ग्रन्थं संश्रयनाशकं रचितवानाचारसाराभिधं ॥ १ ॥

(To be continued.)

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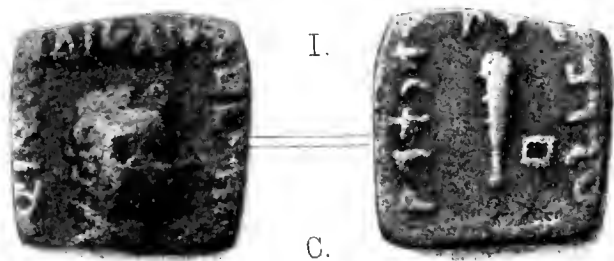
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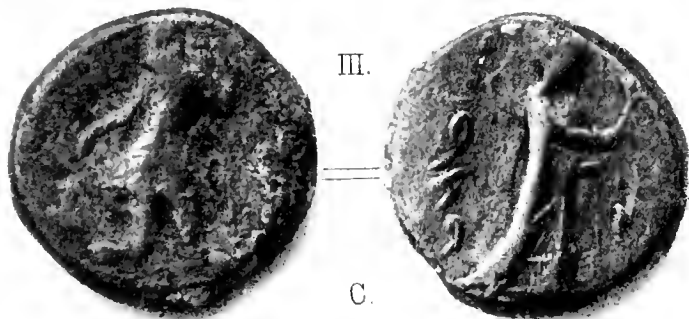
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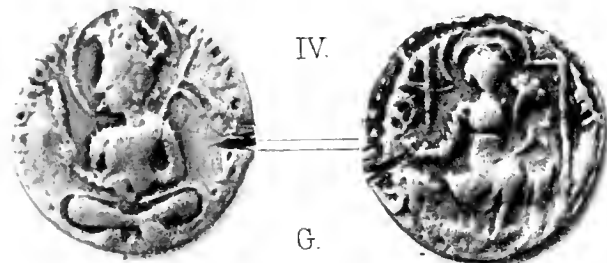
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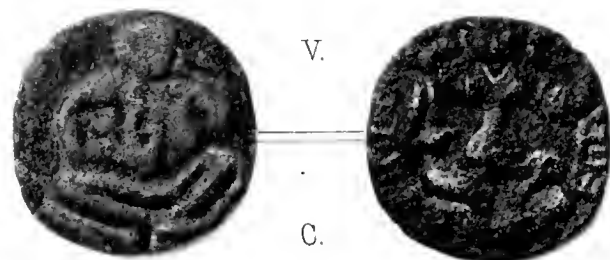
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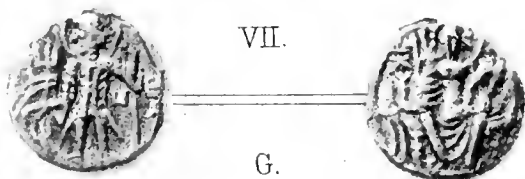
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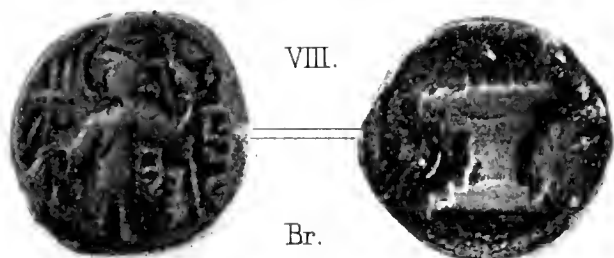
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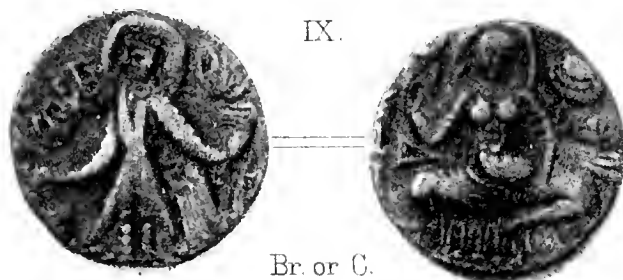
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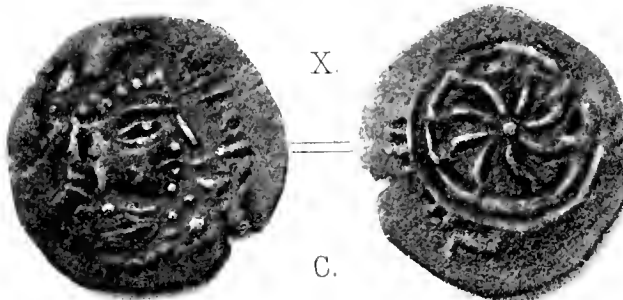
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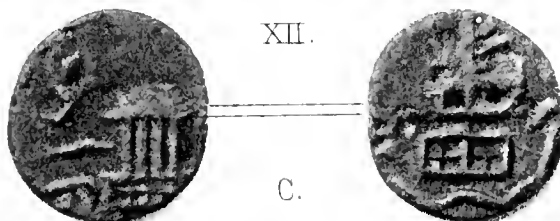
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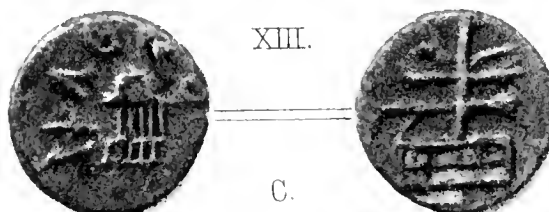
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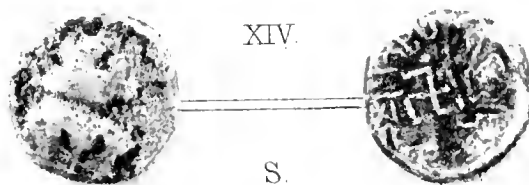
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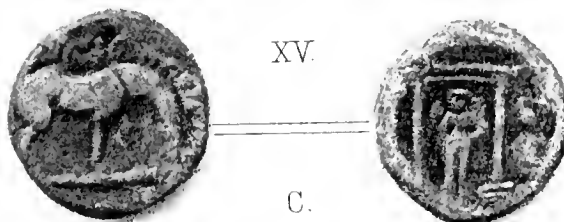
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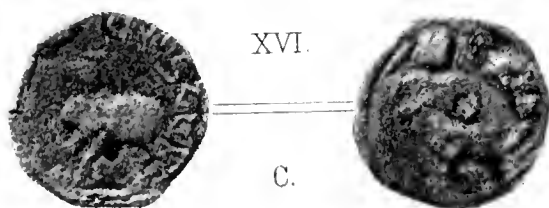
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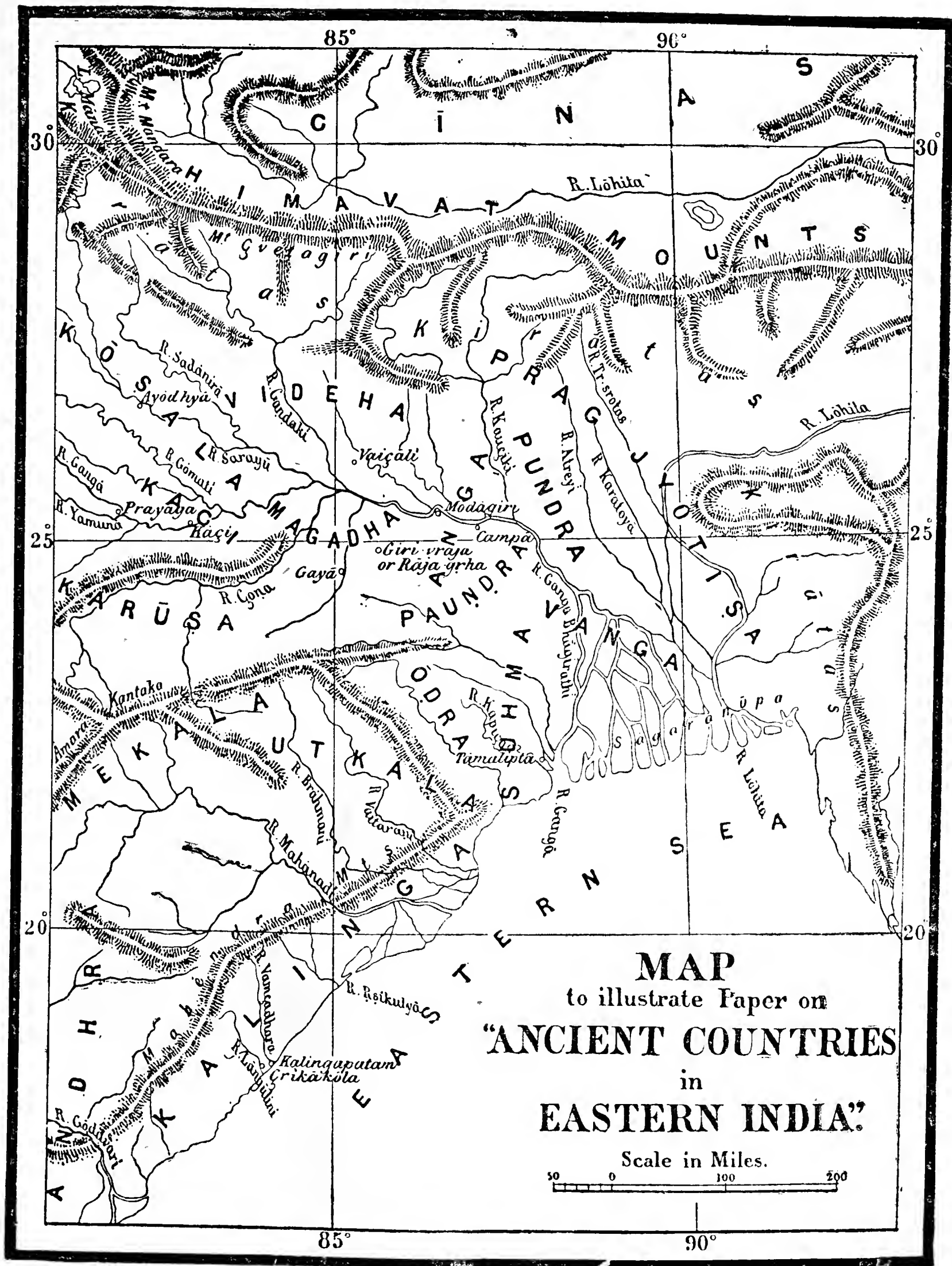
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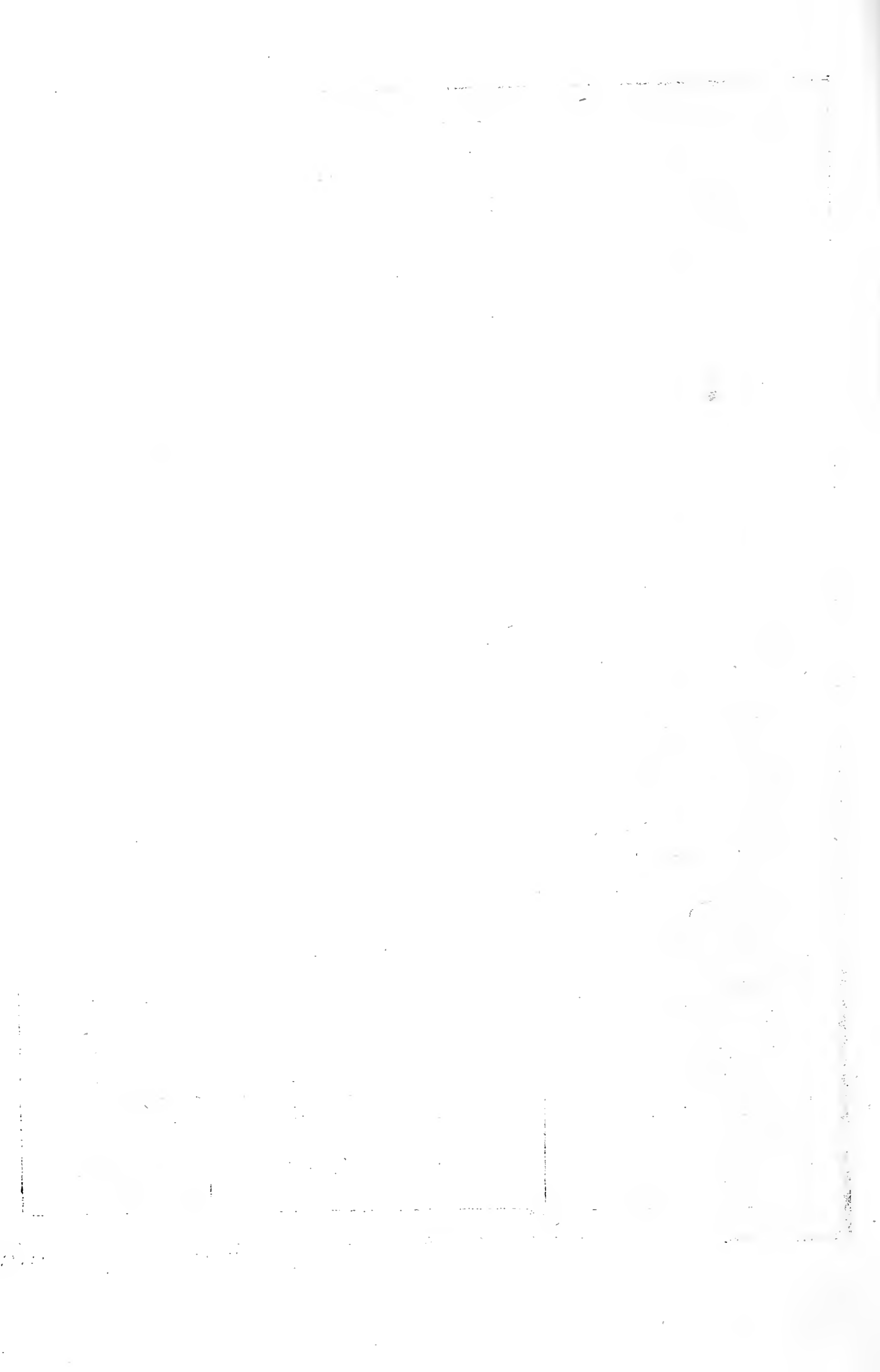


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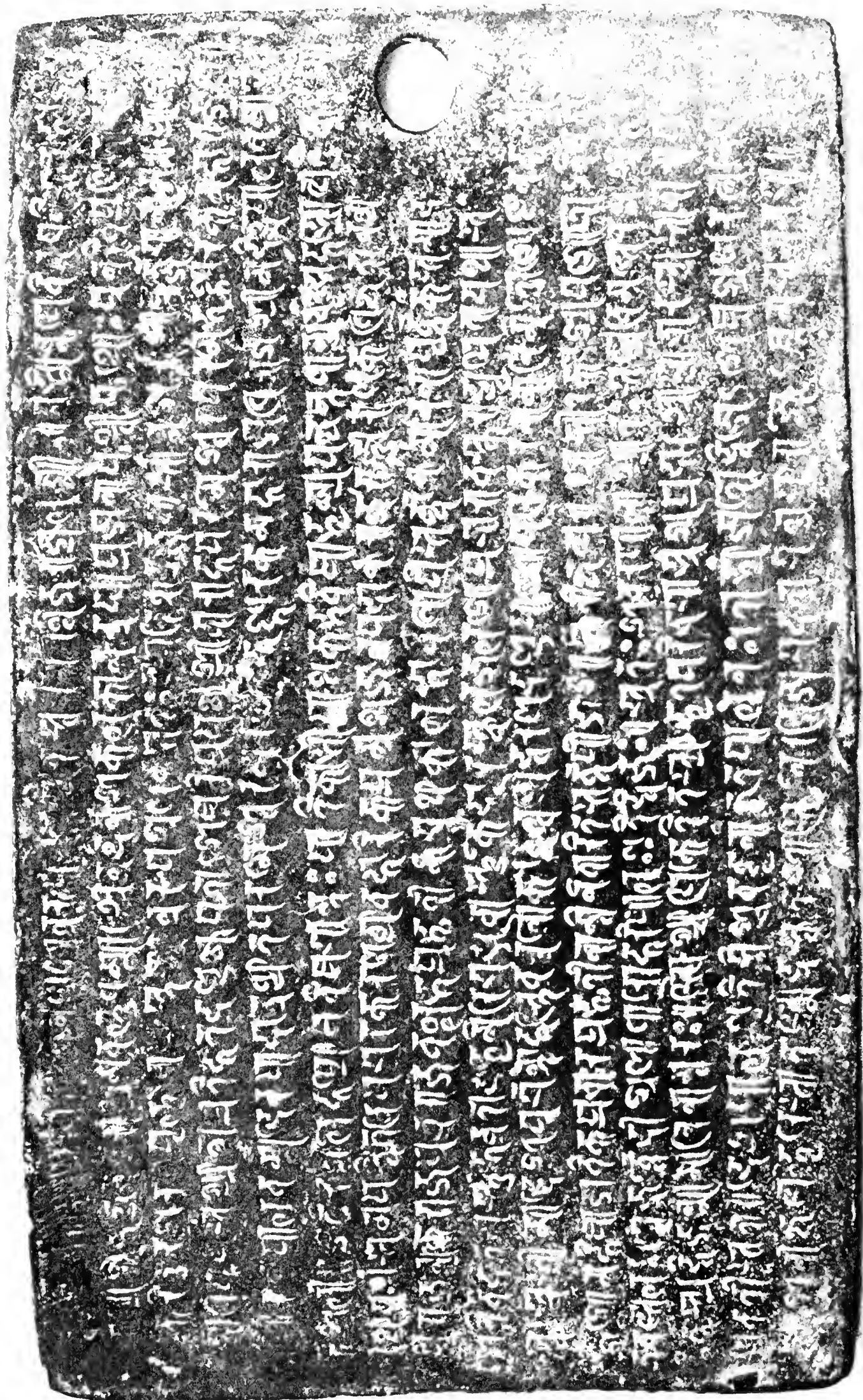


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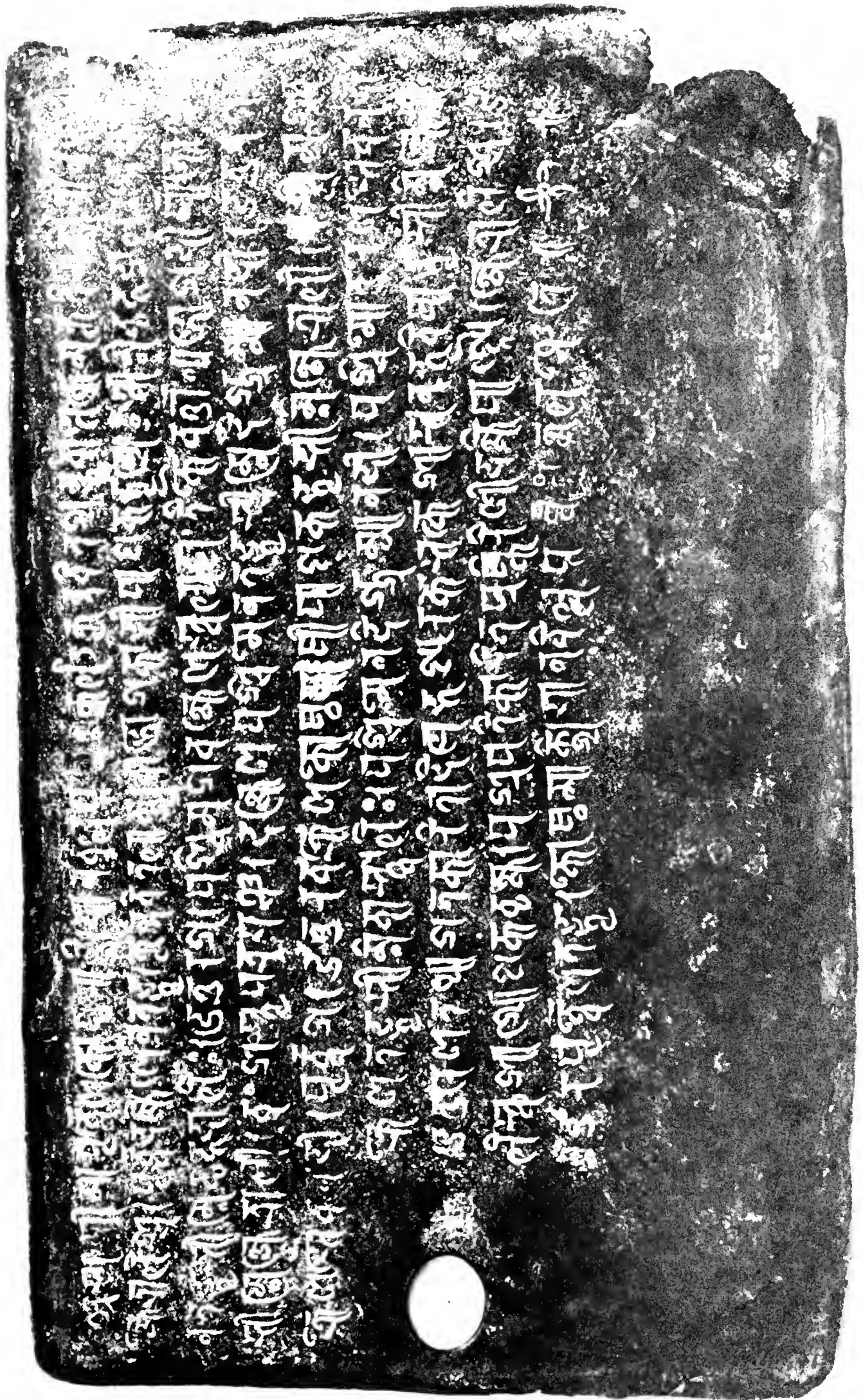


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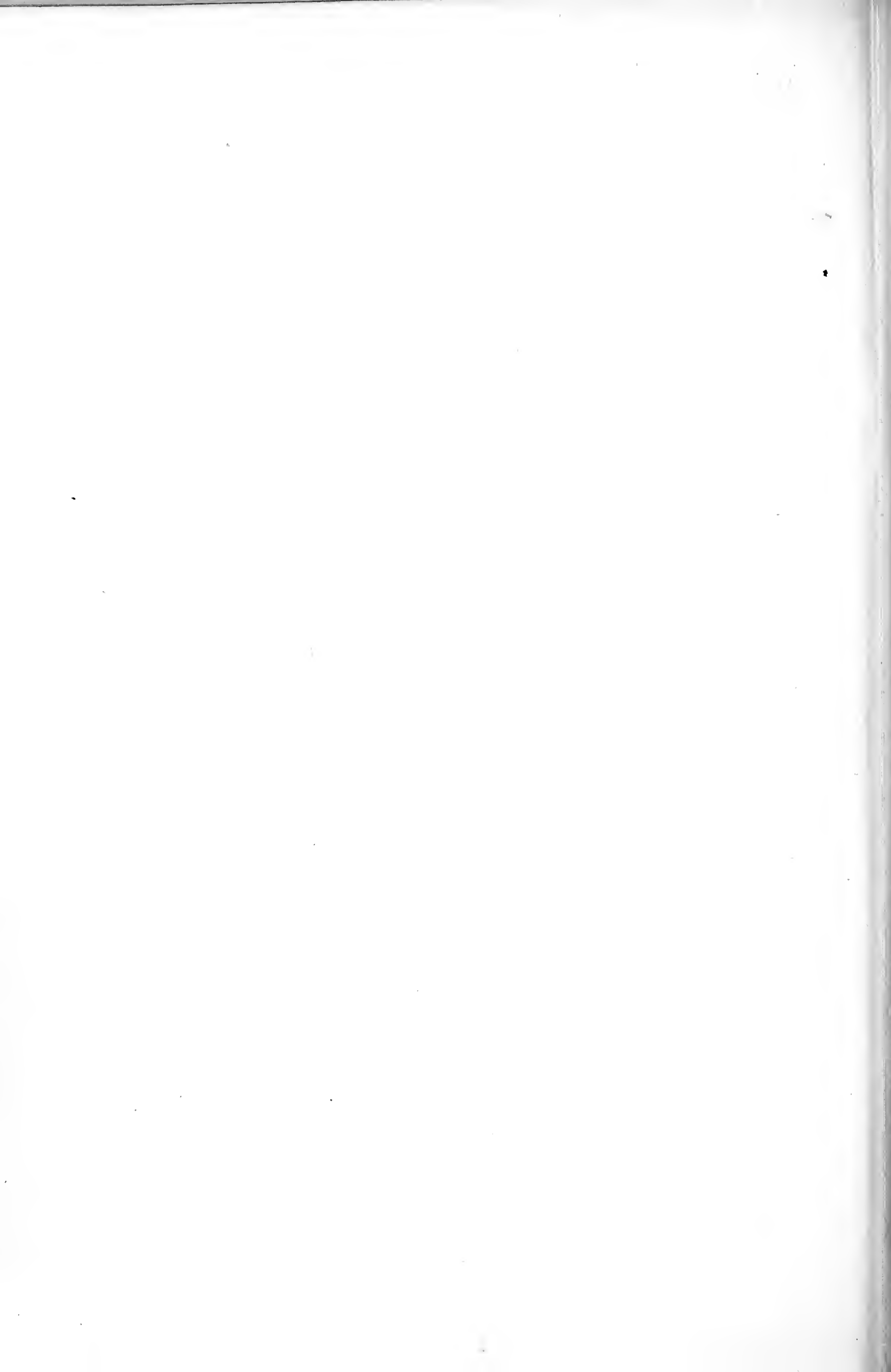
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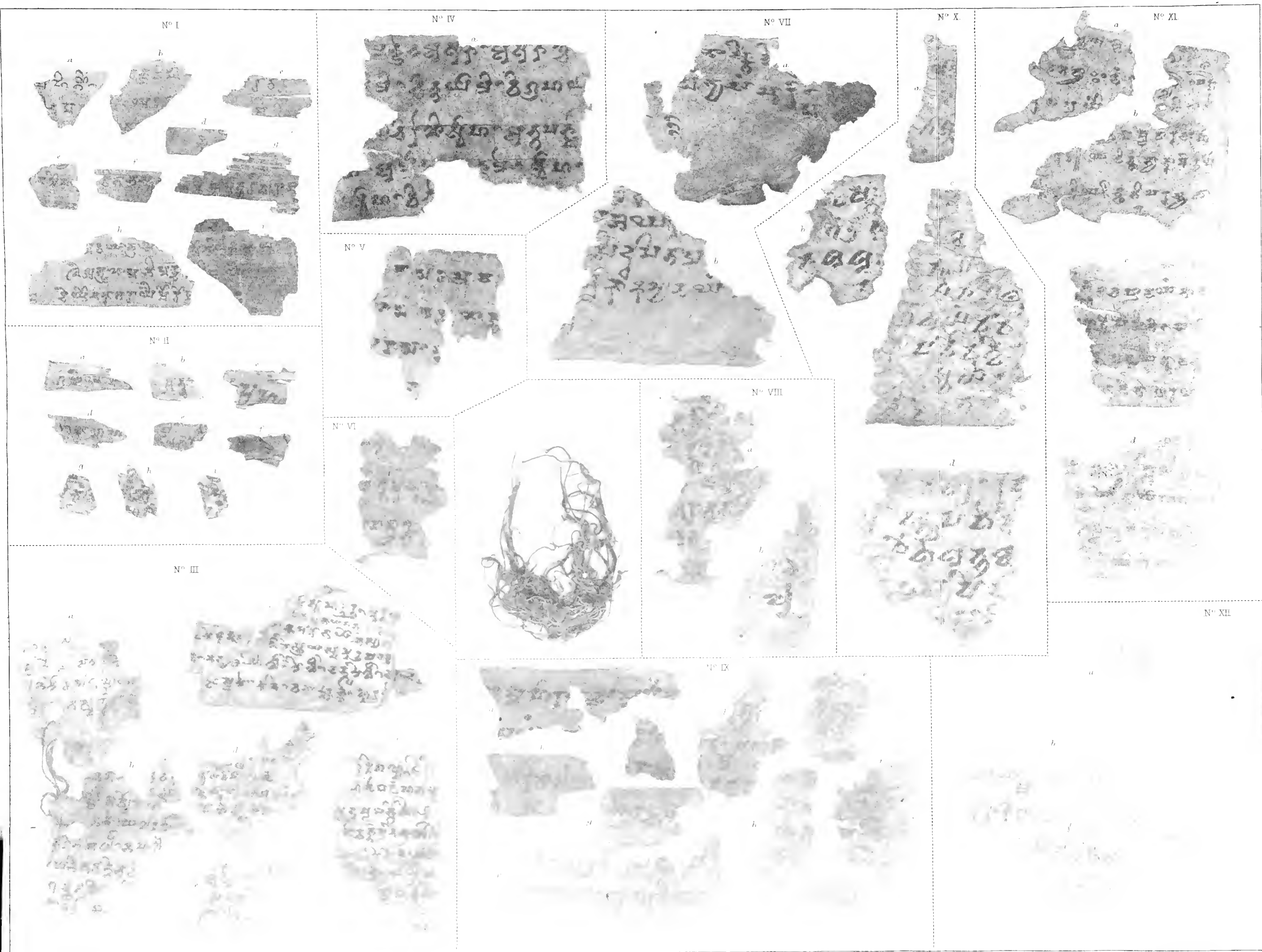
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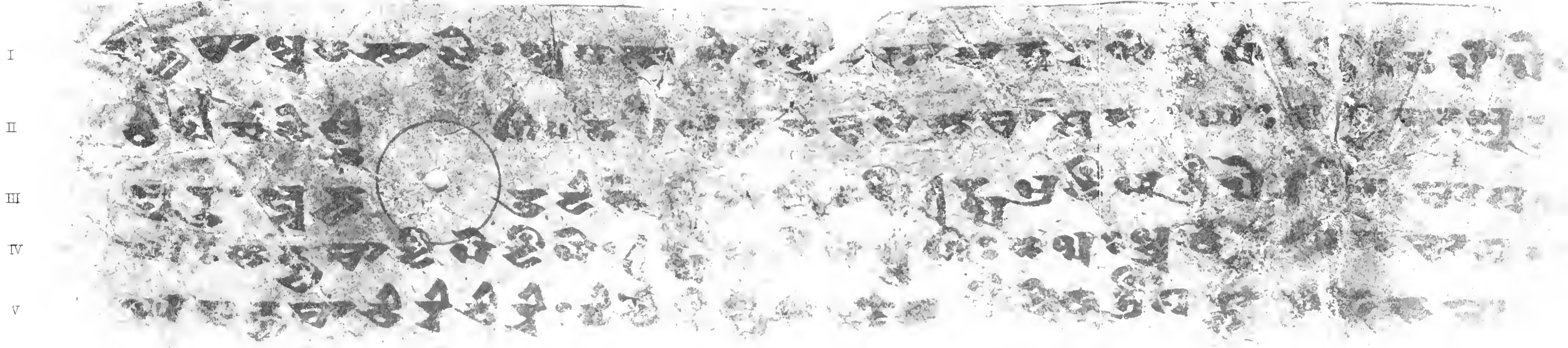
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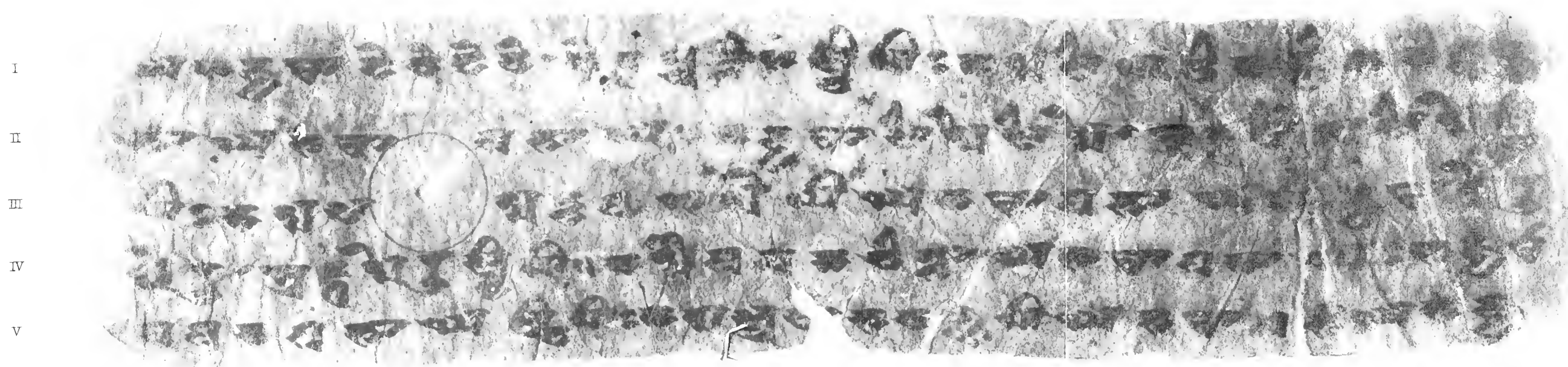
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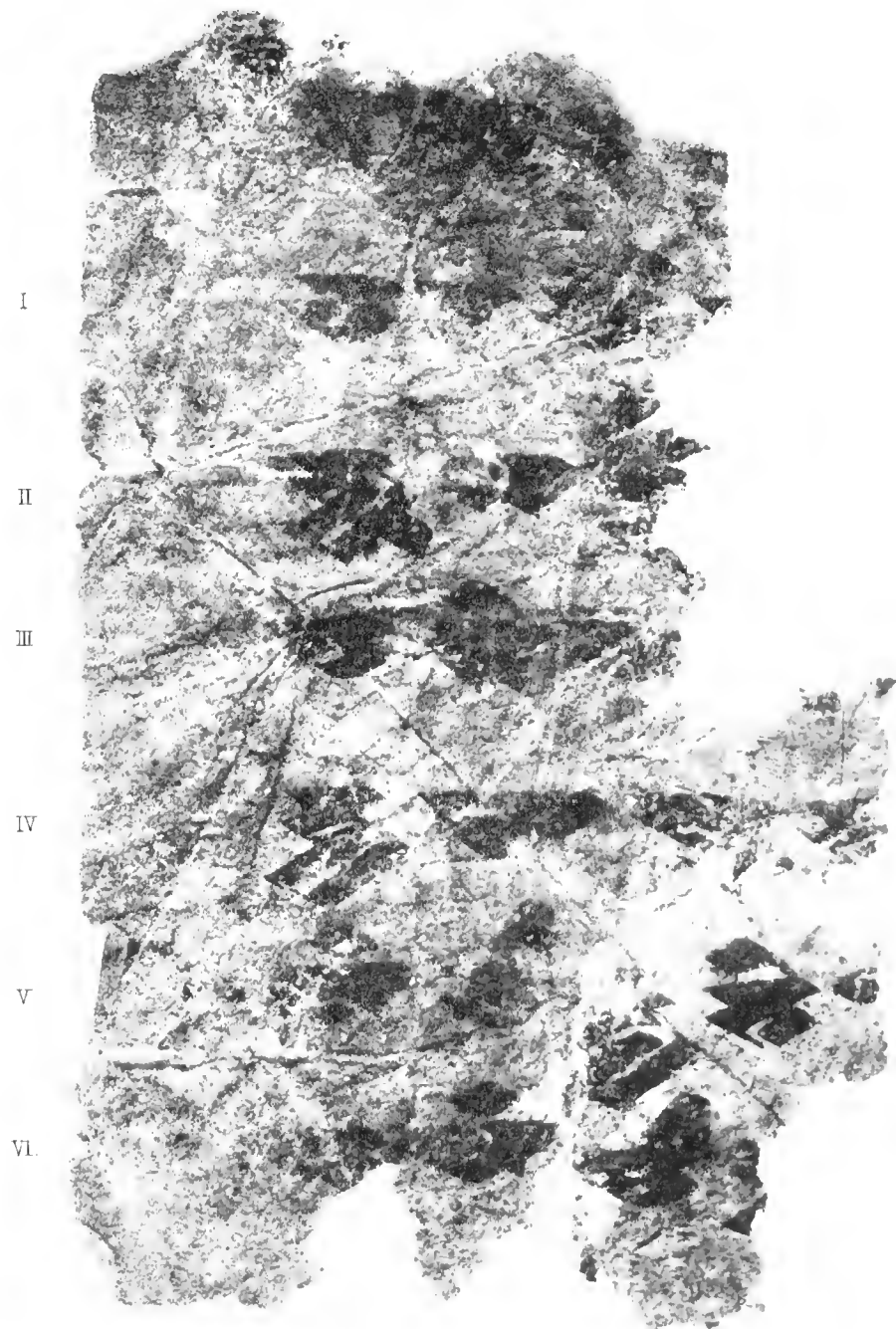
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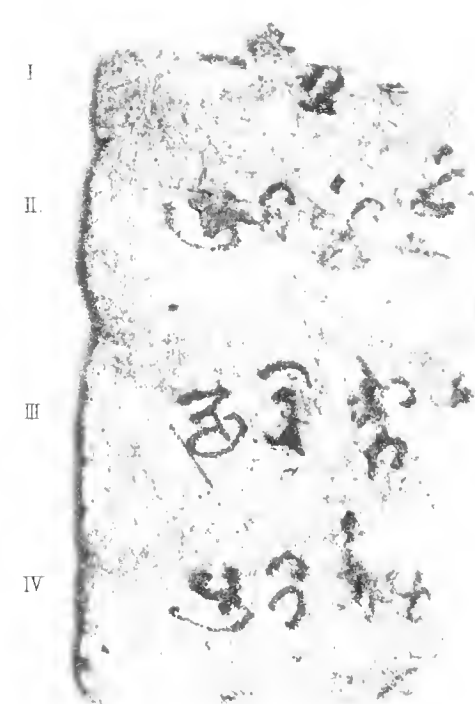
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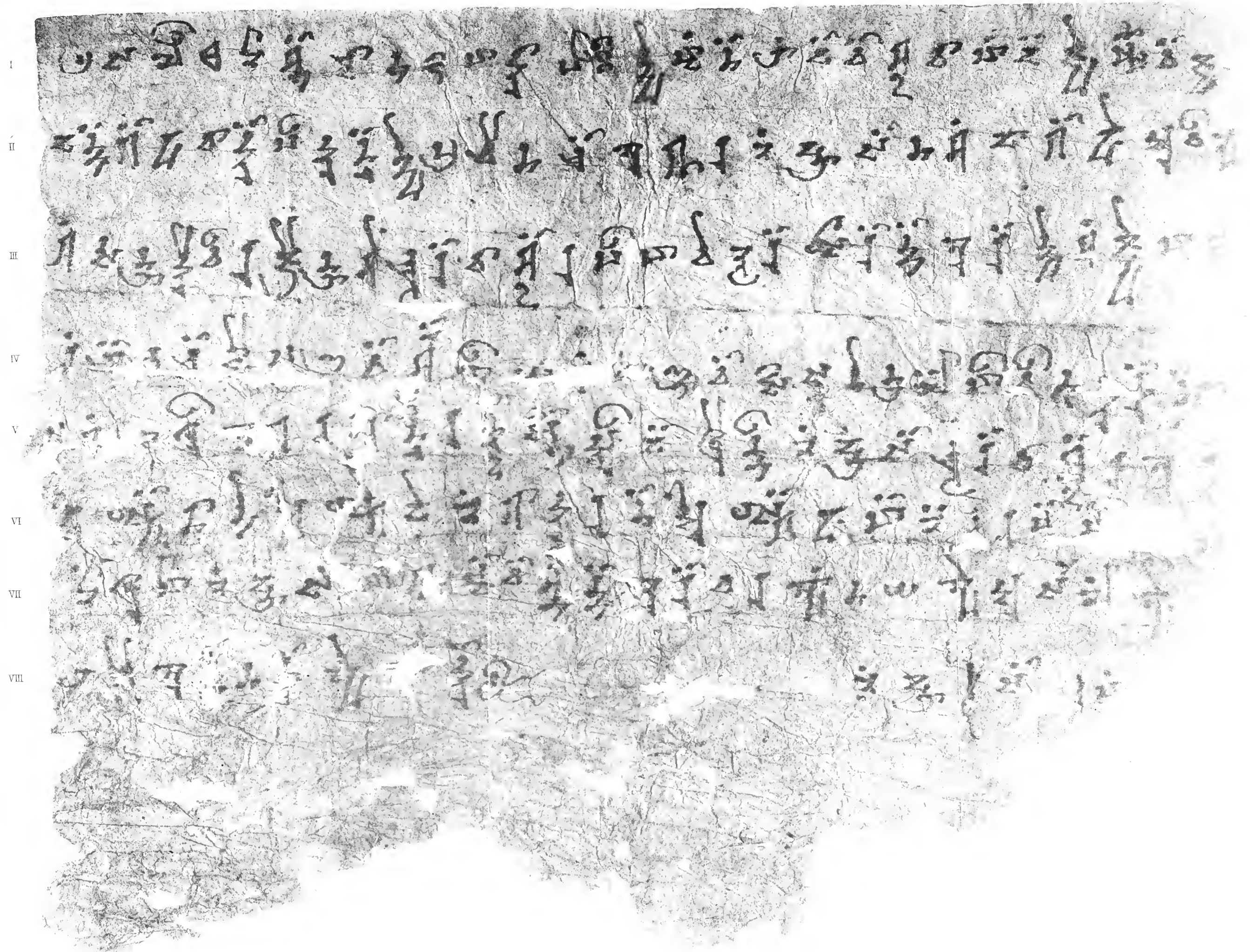


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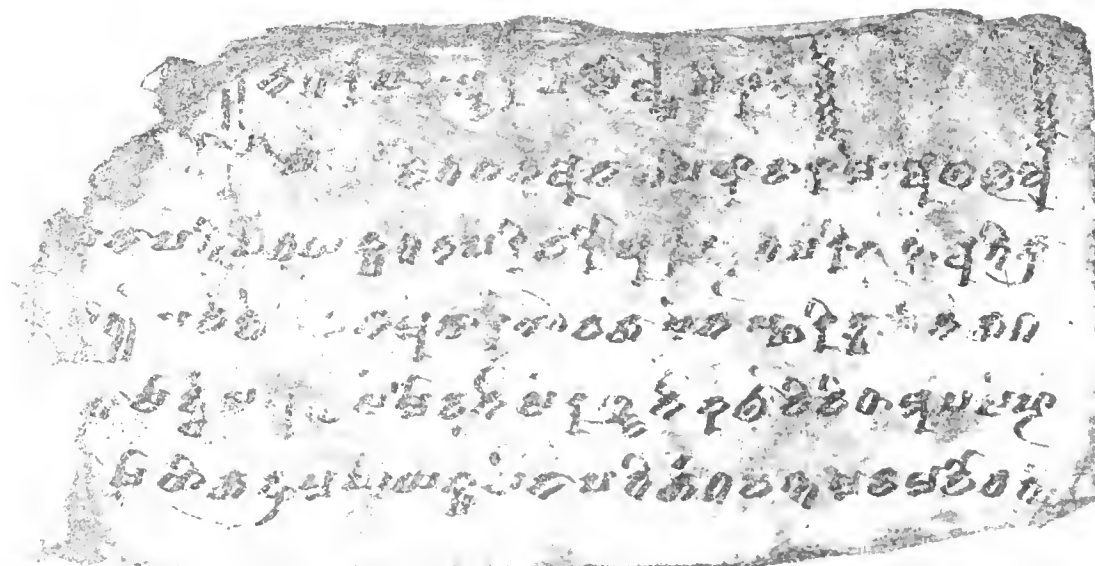


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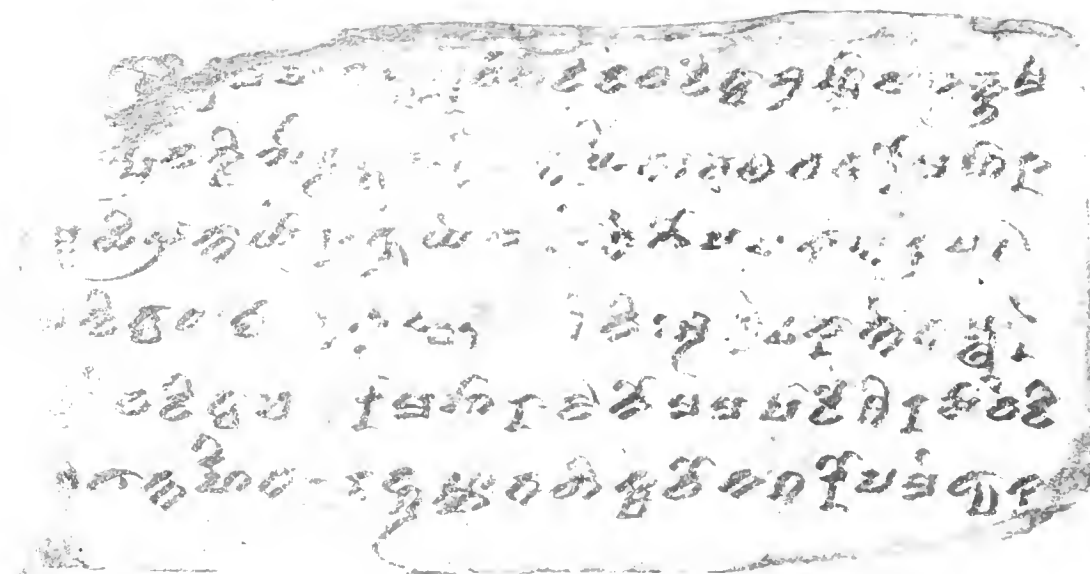
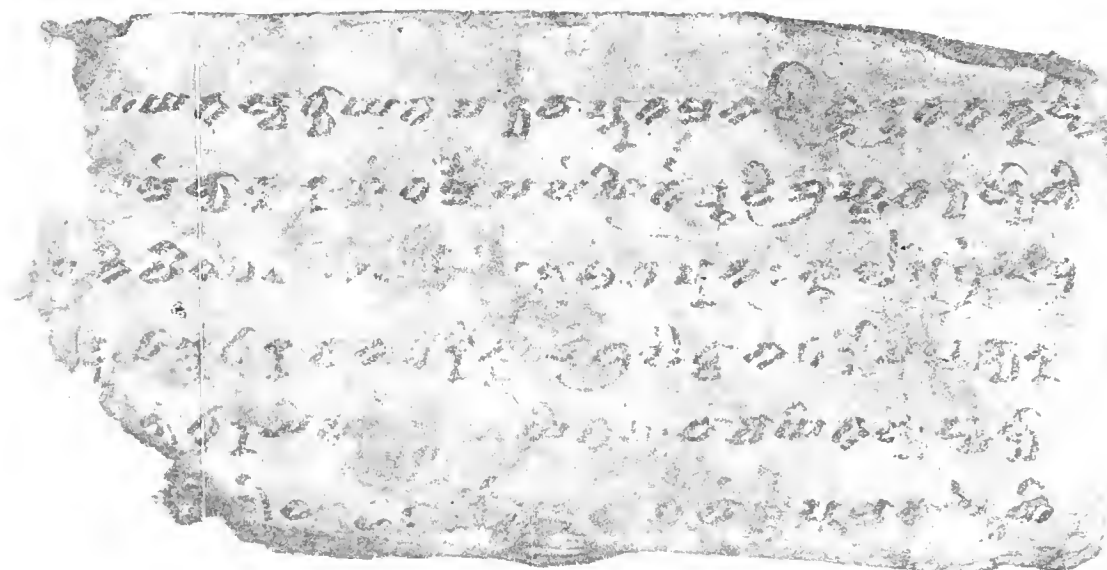
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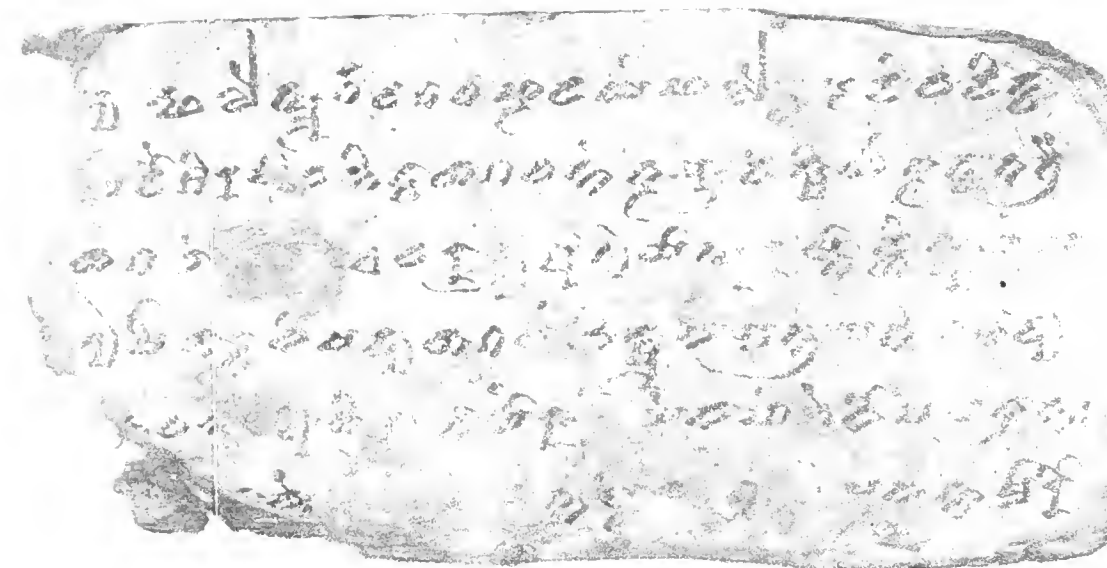
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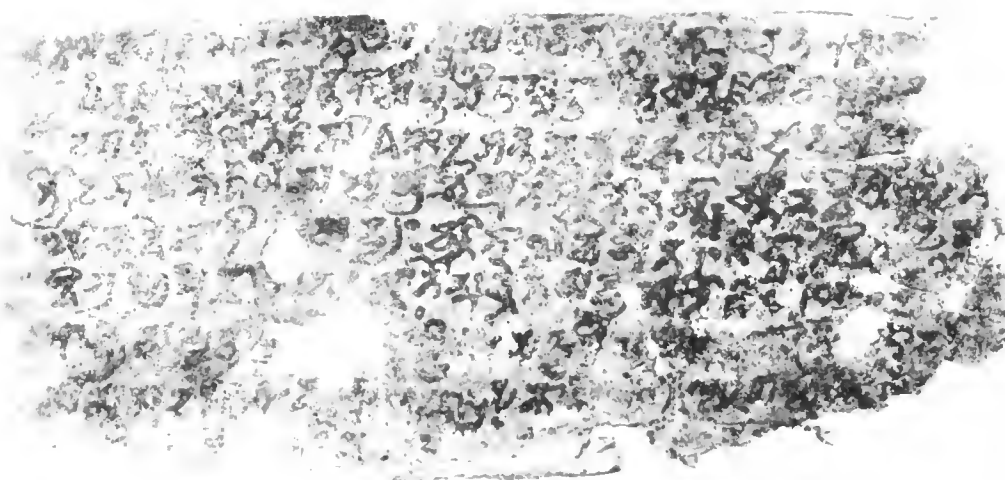


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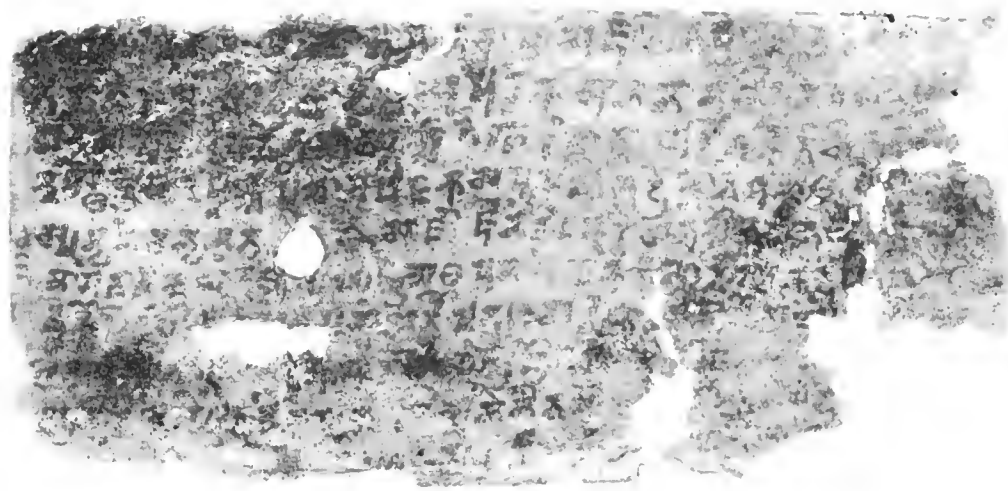
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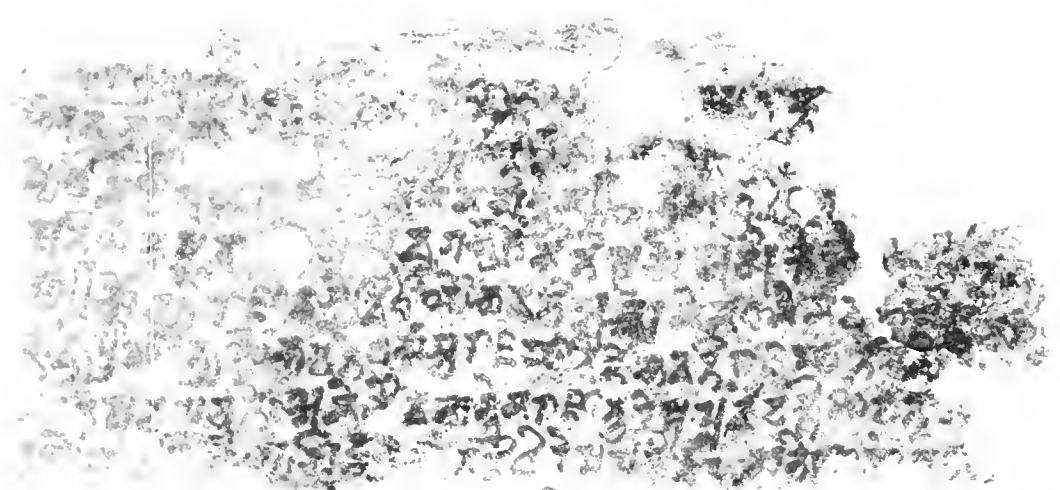
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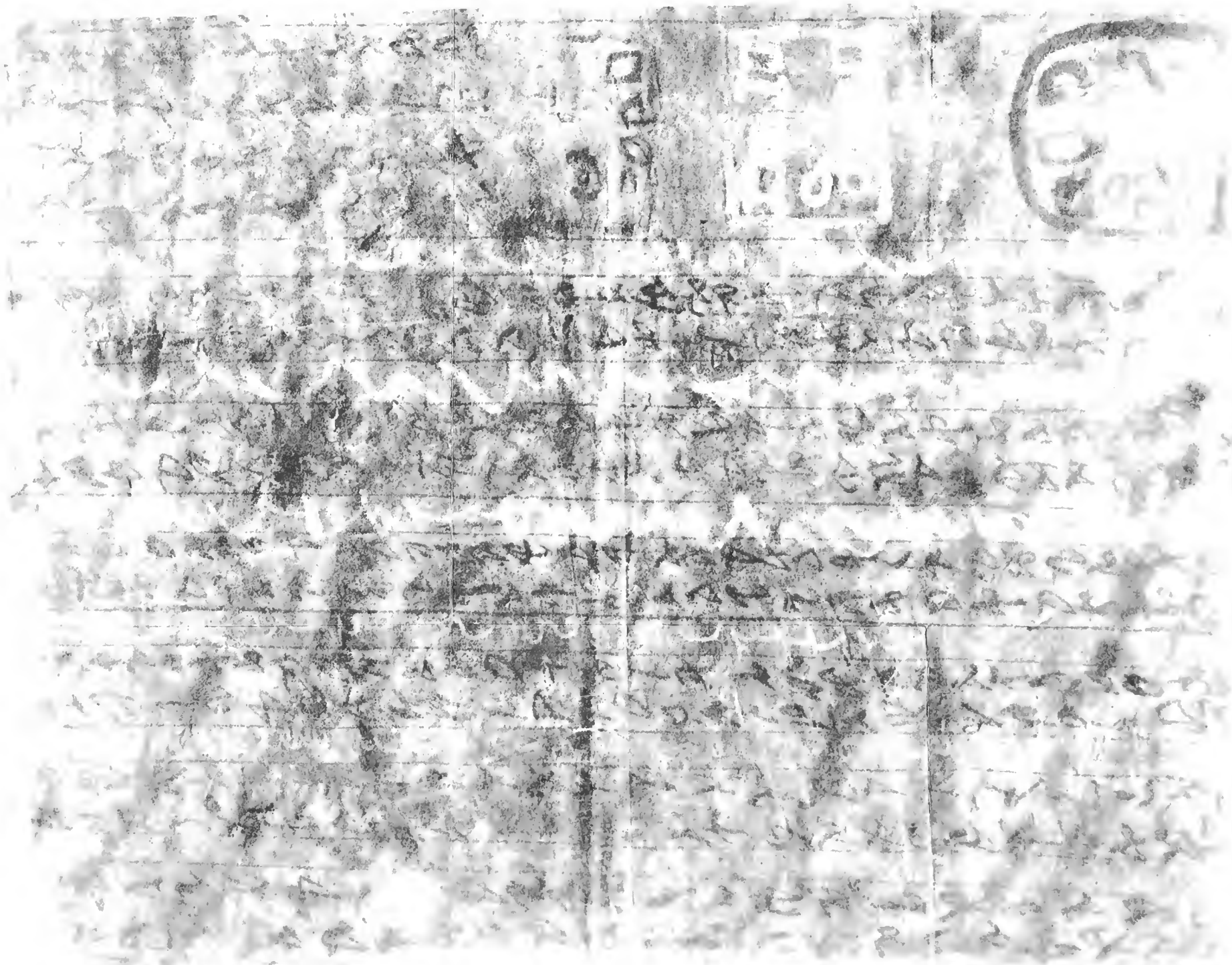
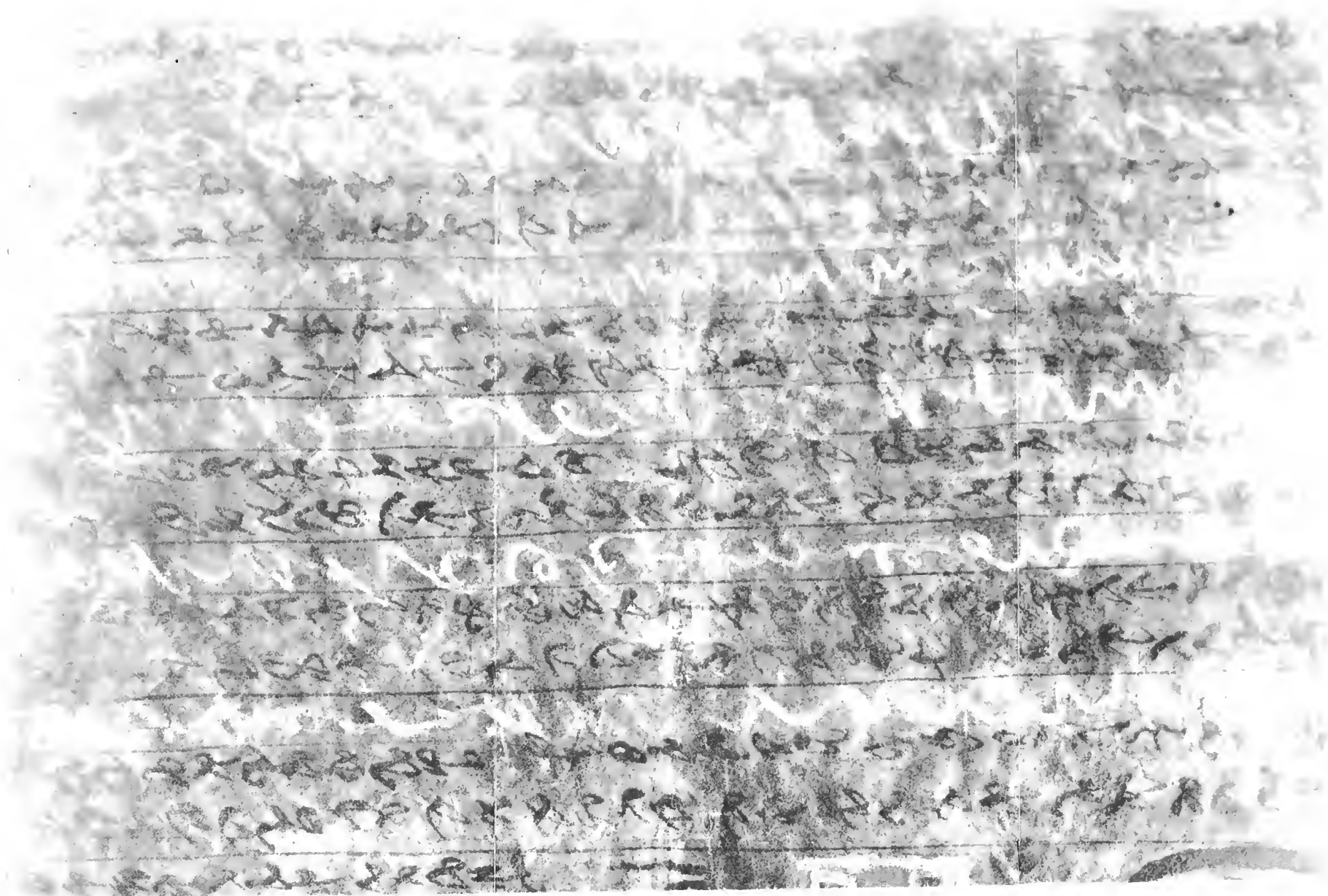


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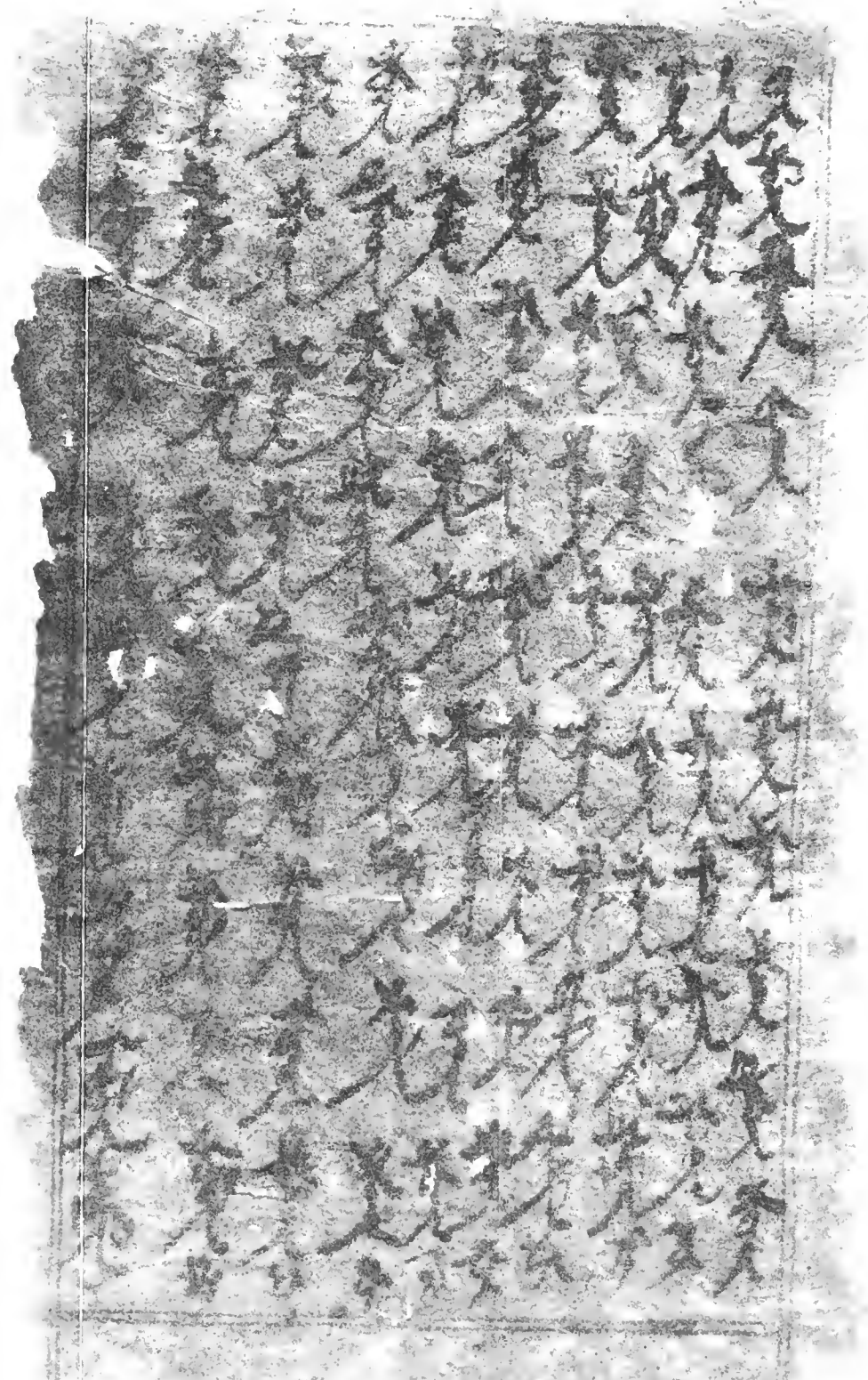
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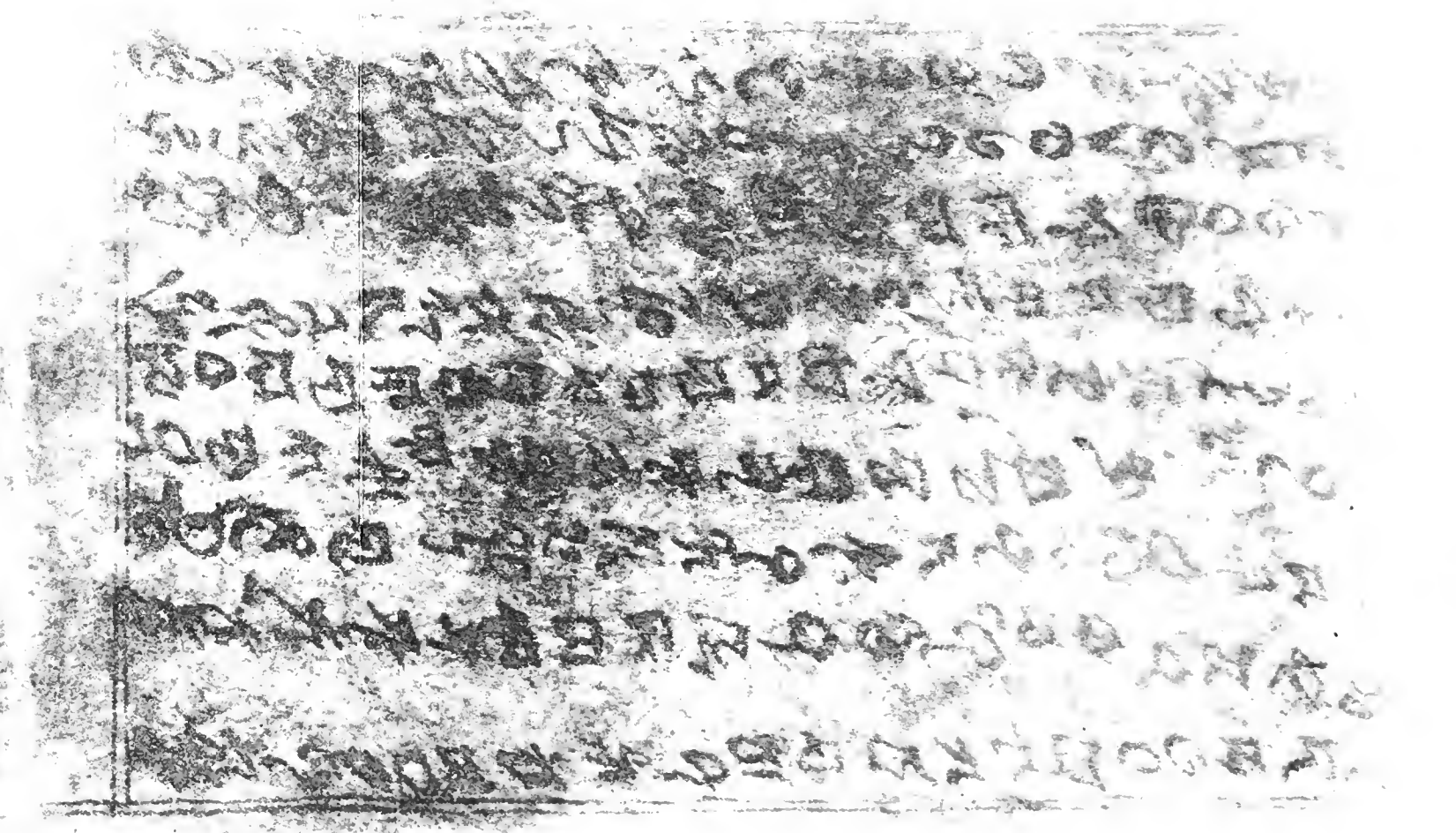
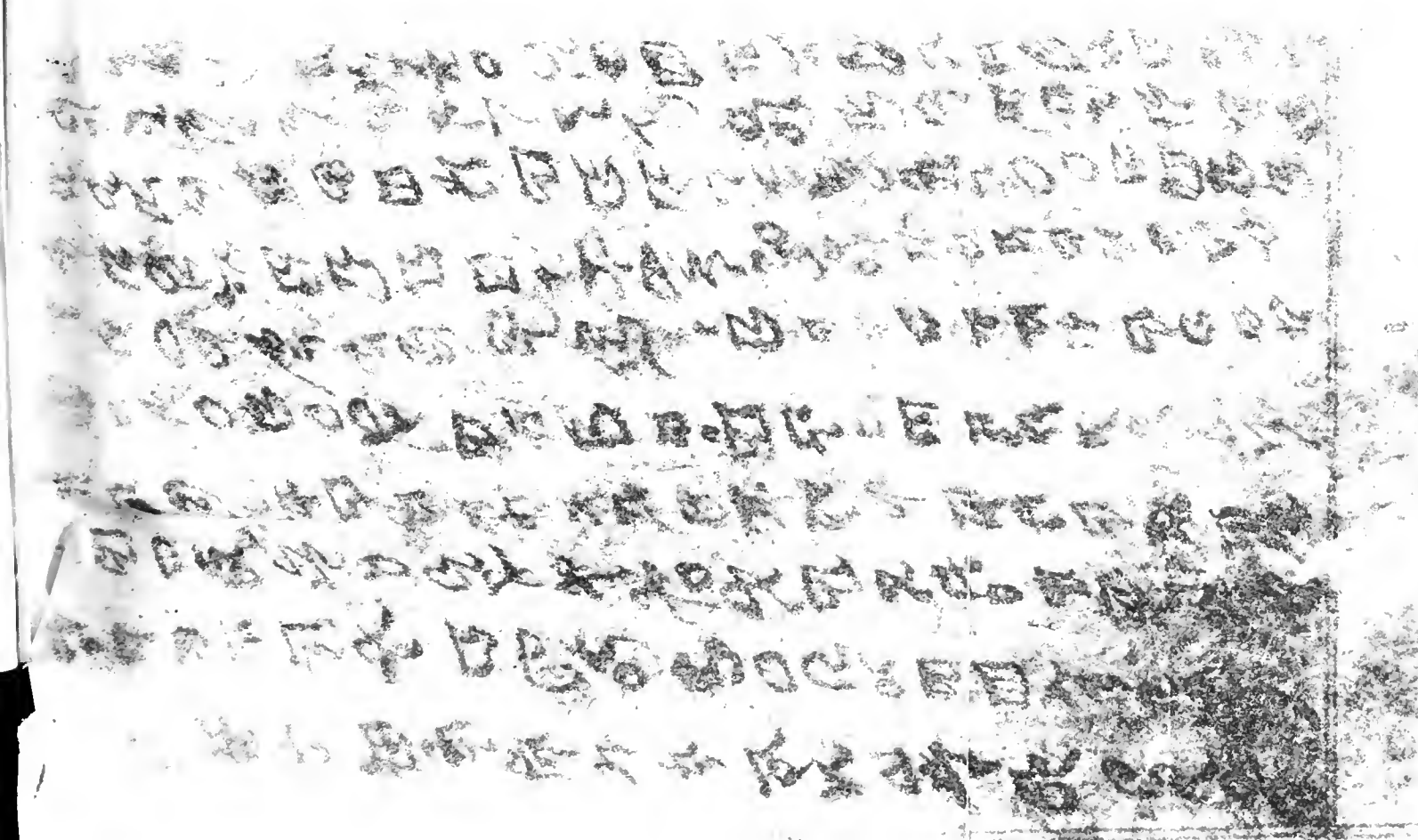
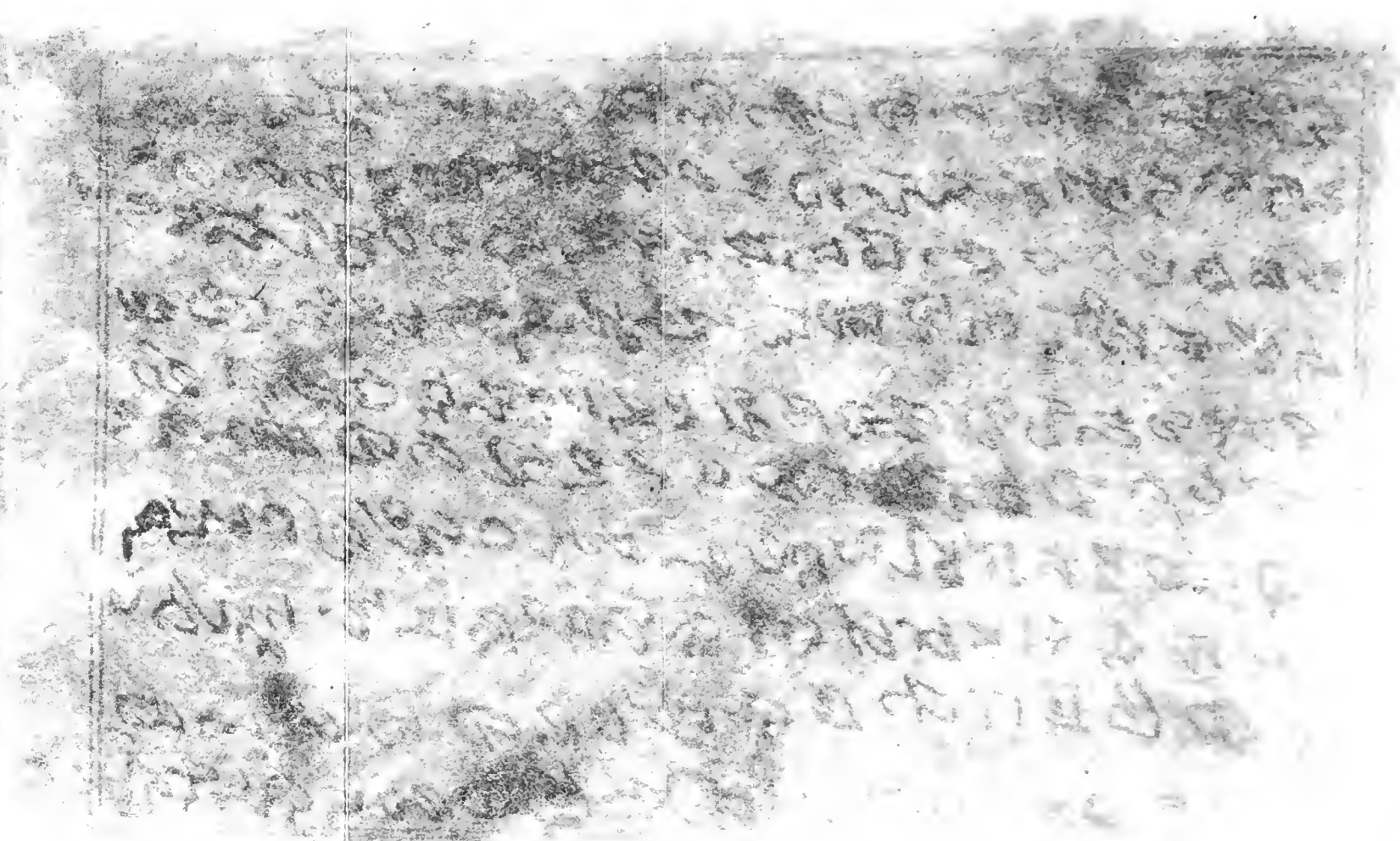
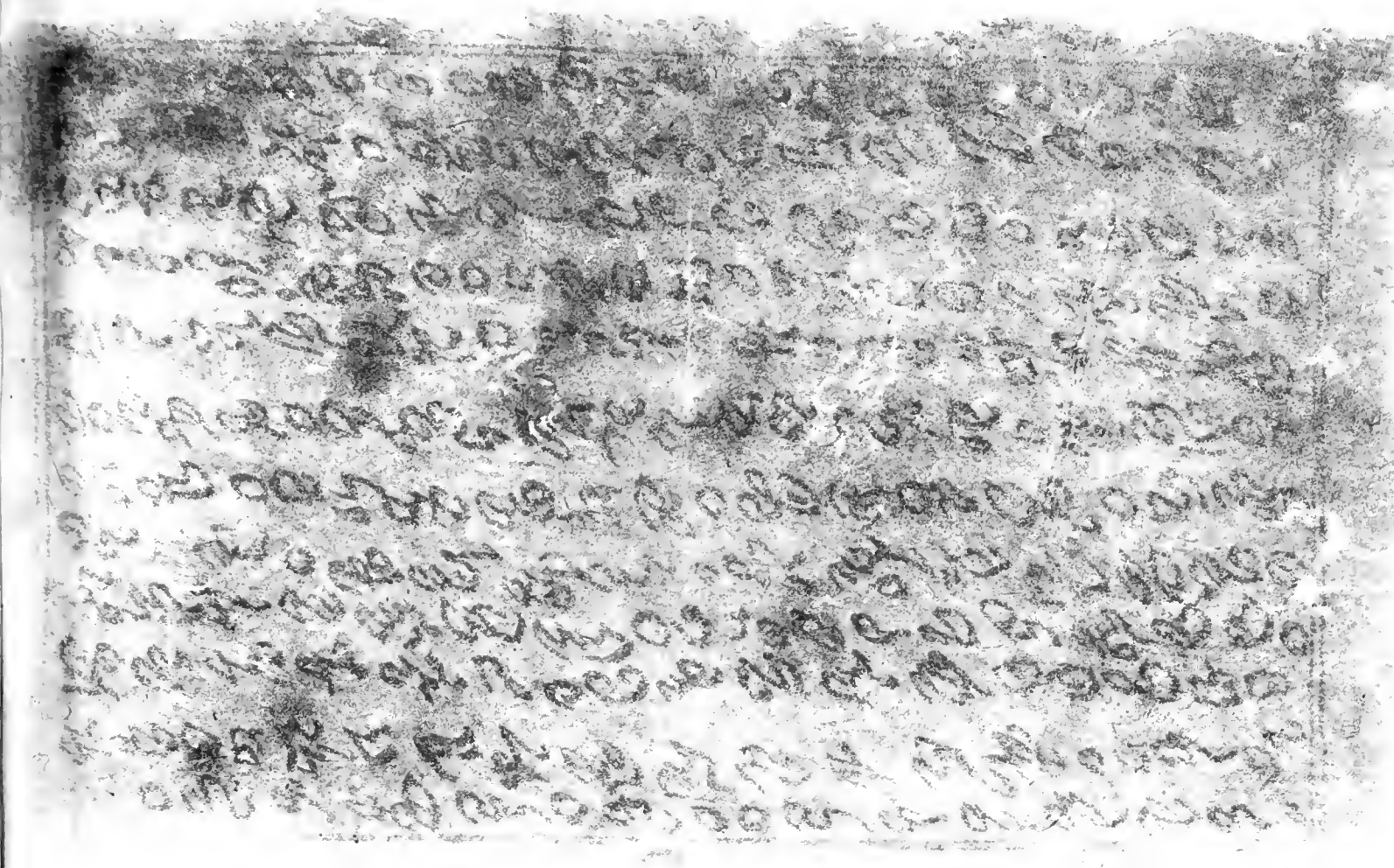


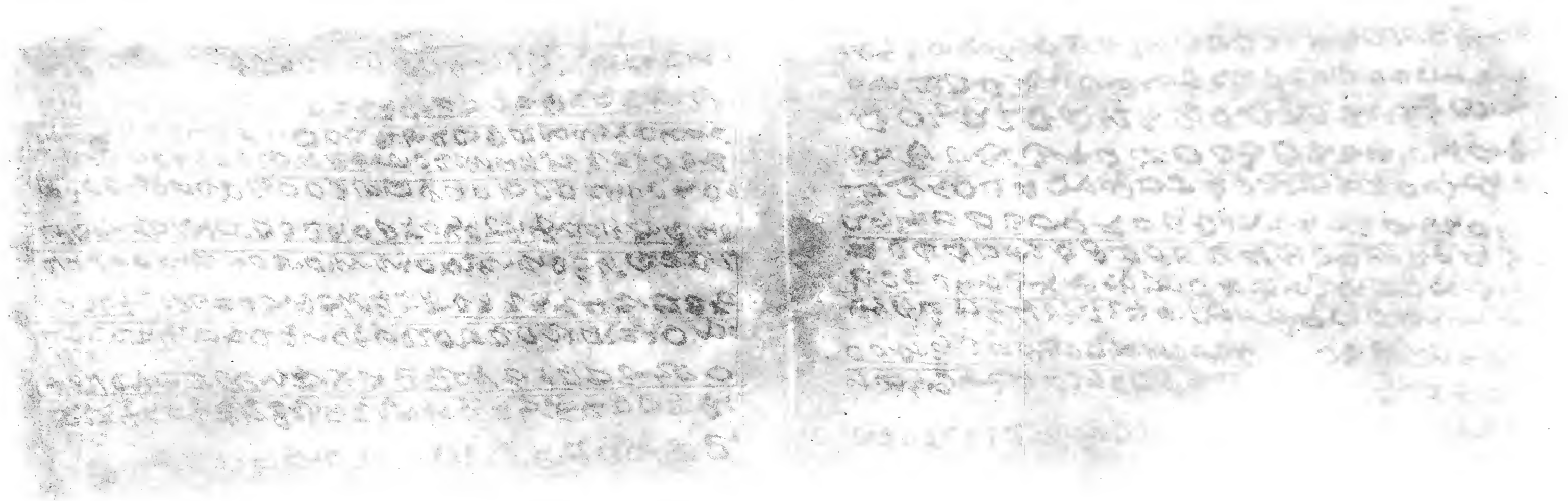
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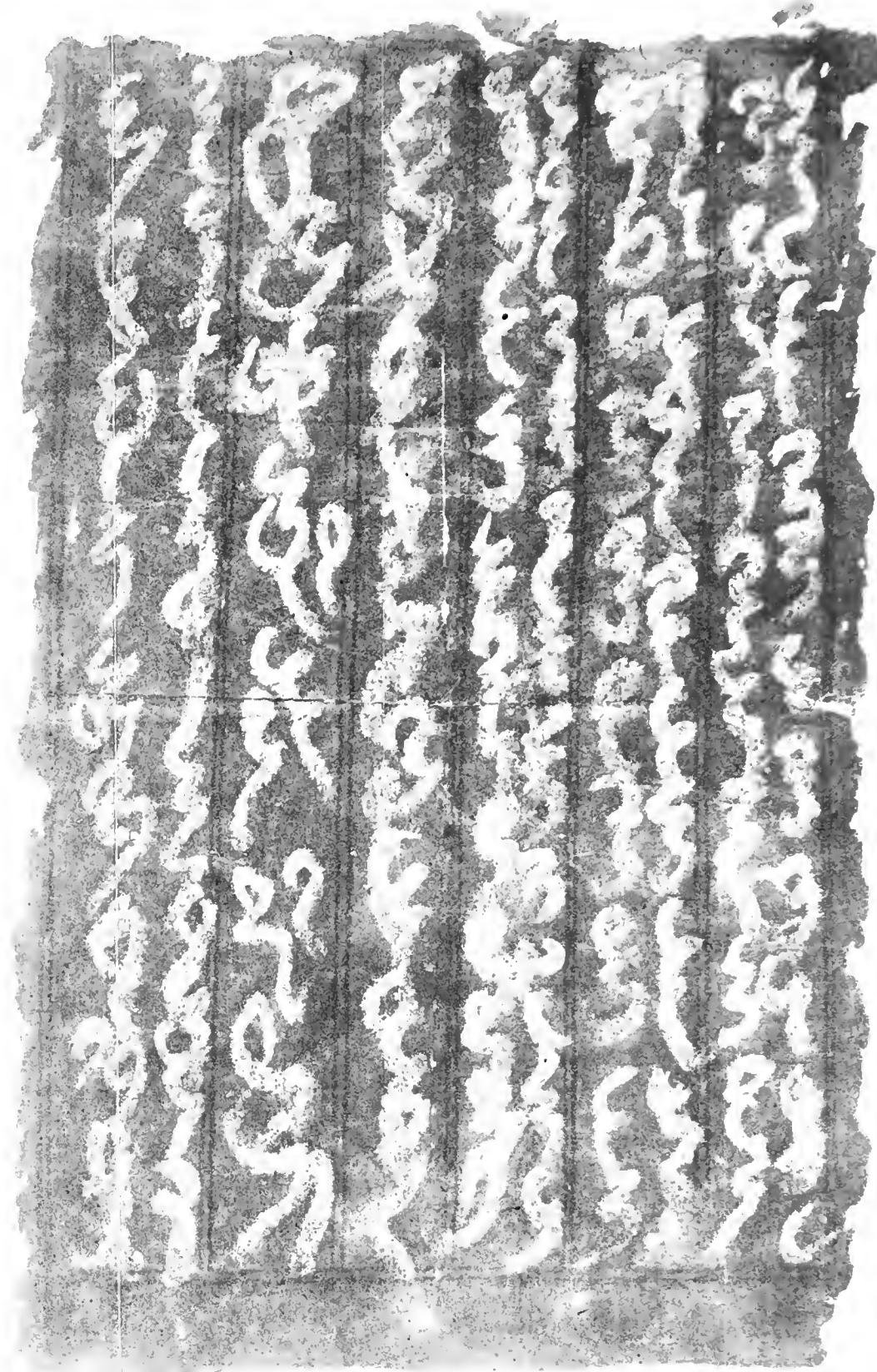
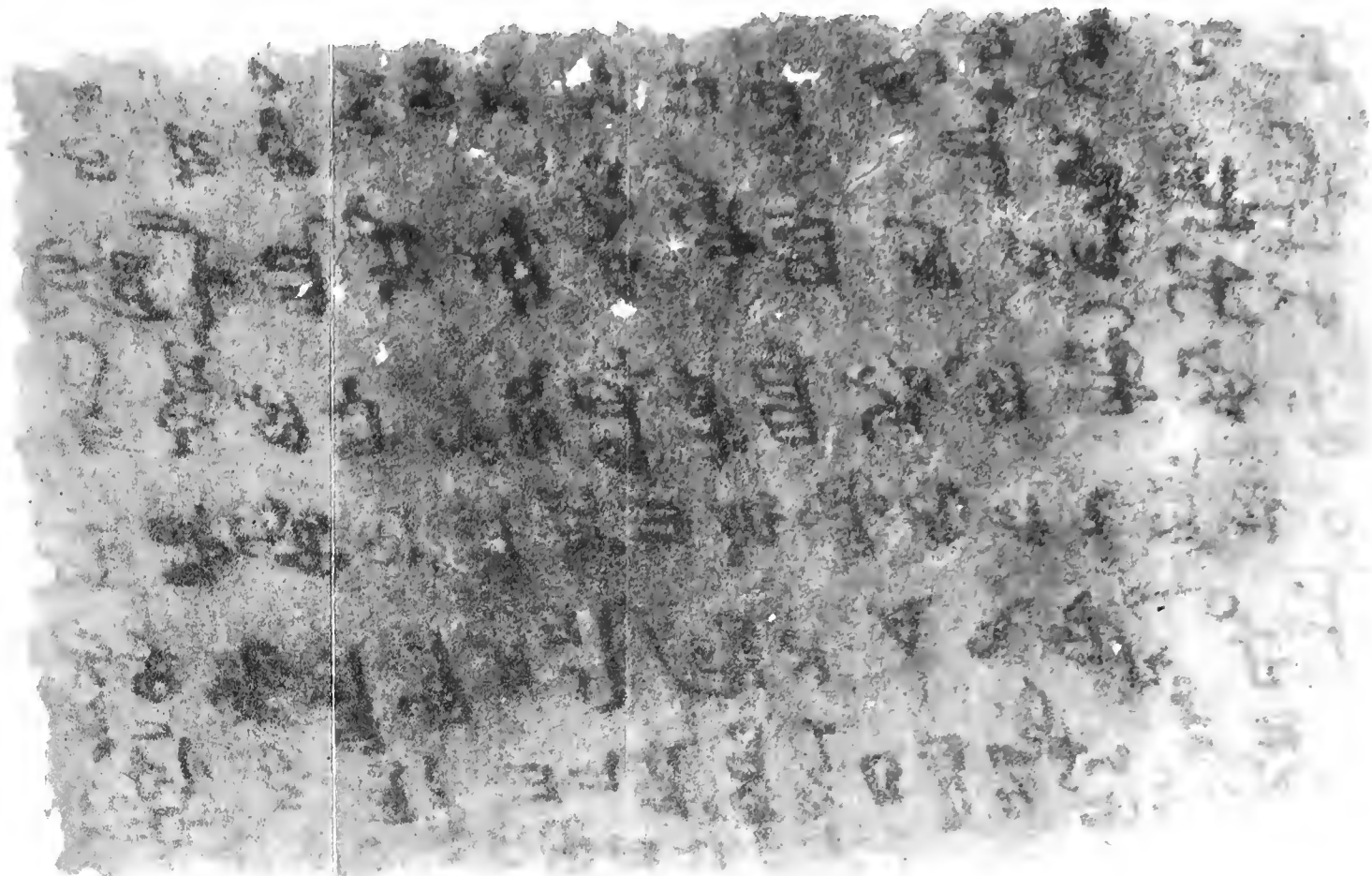
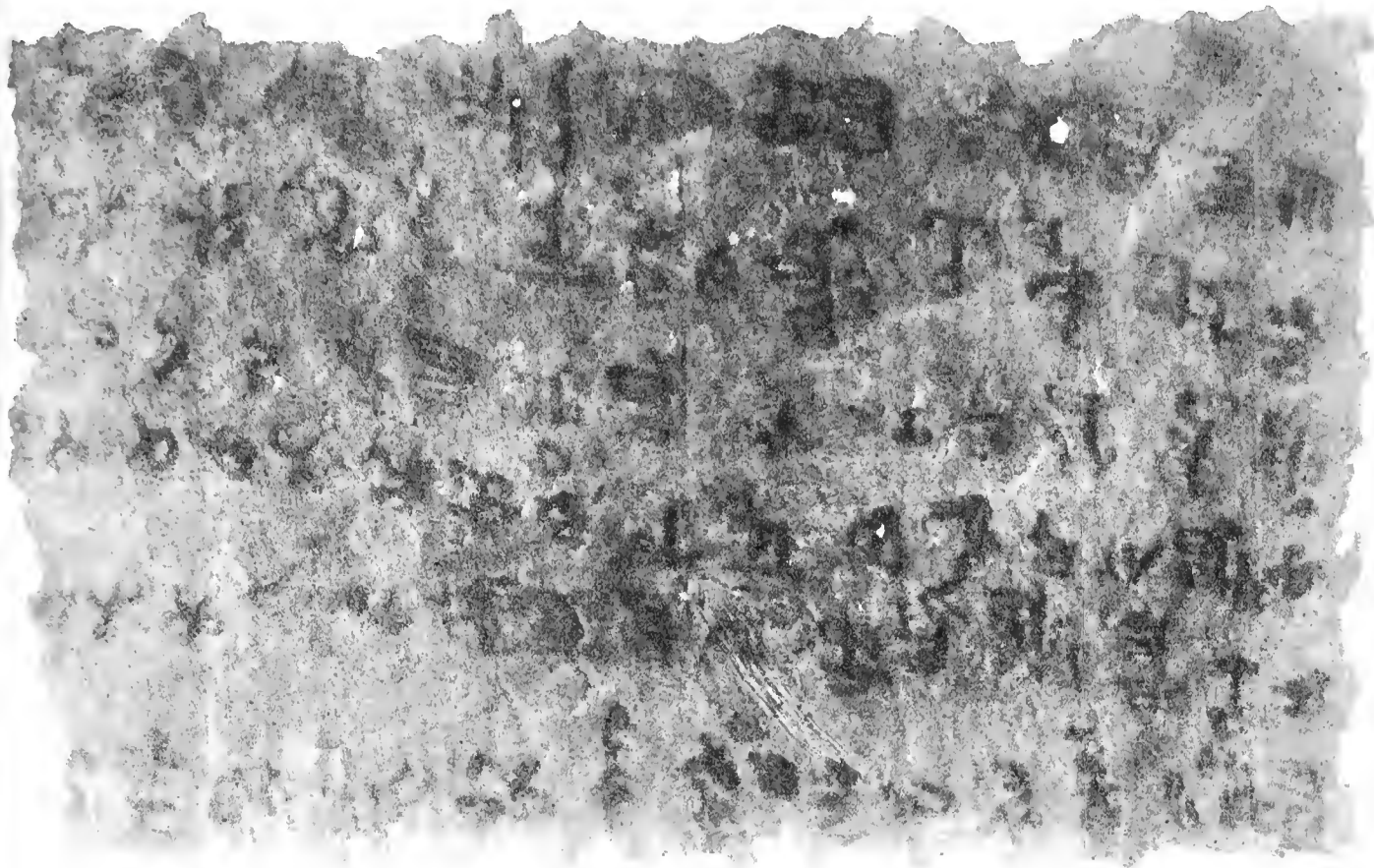


Photo-etching

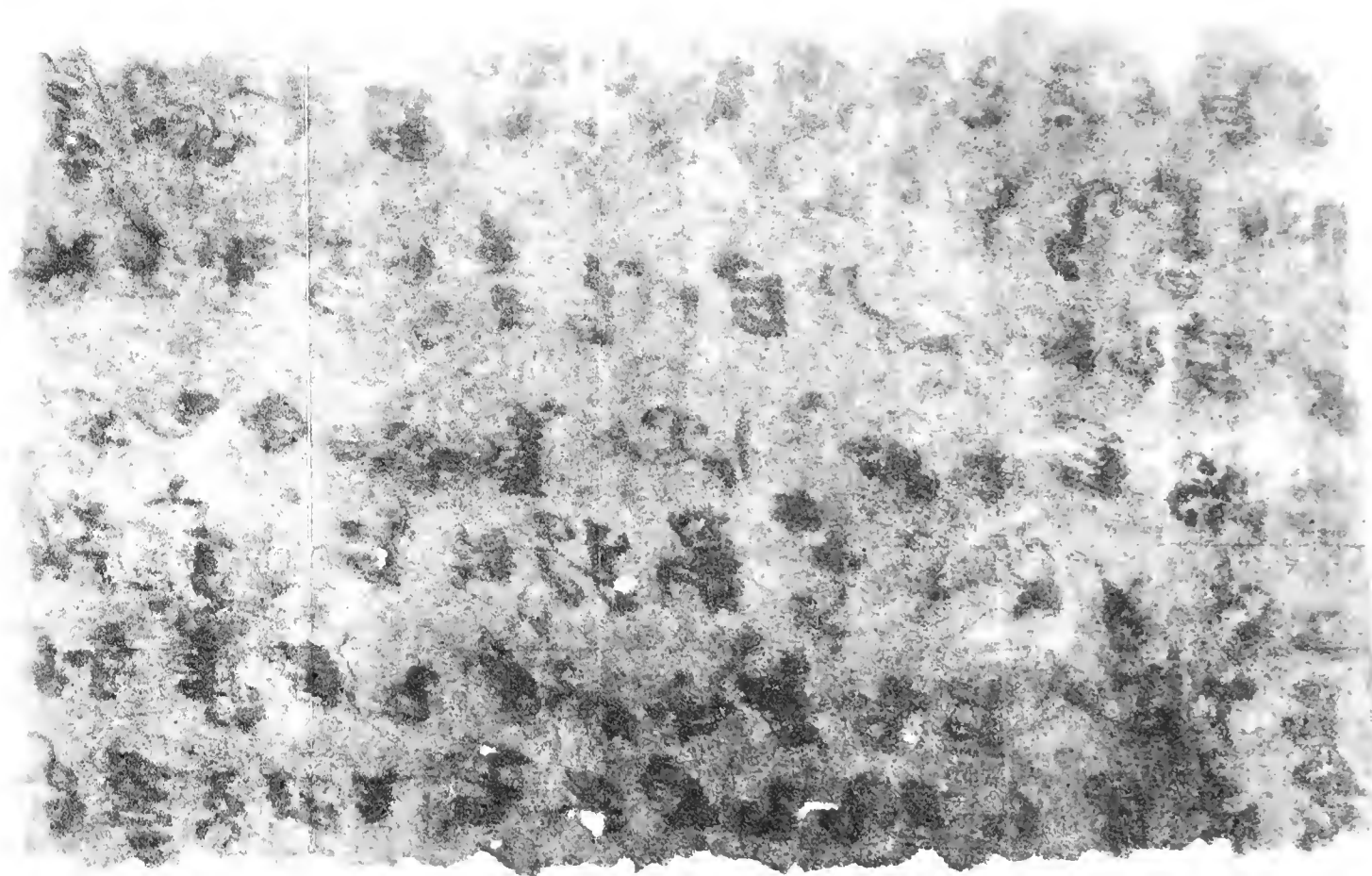
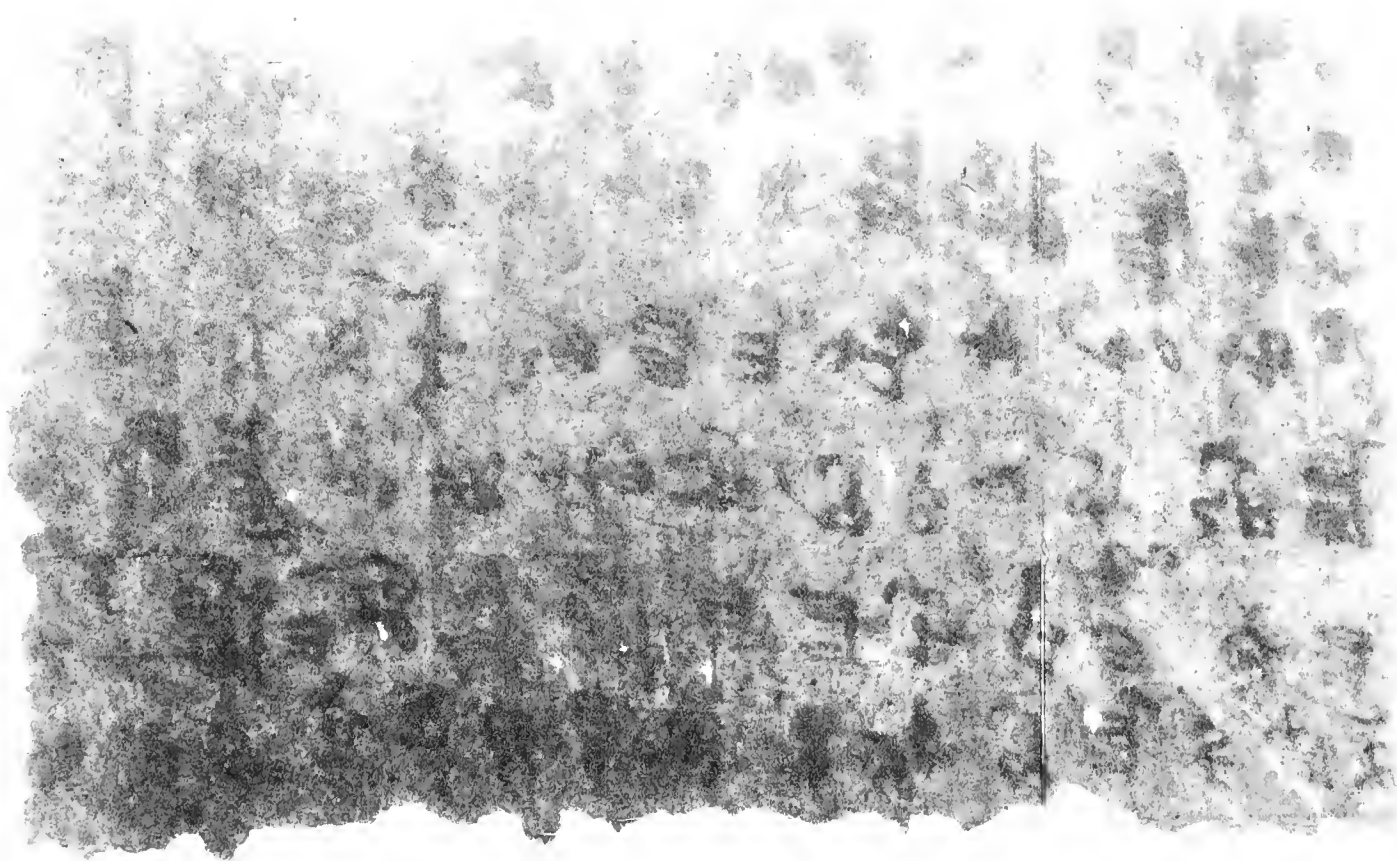
Survey of India Office, Calcutta, July 1897

SPECIMEN OF THE MACARTNEY MANUSCRIPTS FROM CENTRAL ASIA (FULL SIZE)



I. REVERSE.

II. REVERSE.



Photocopying.

Photocopying.

PAGE II

INSIDE

PAGE III



PAGE IV

OUTSIDE

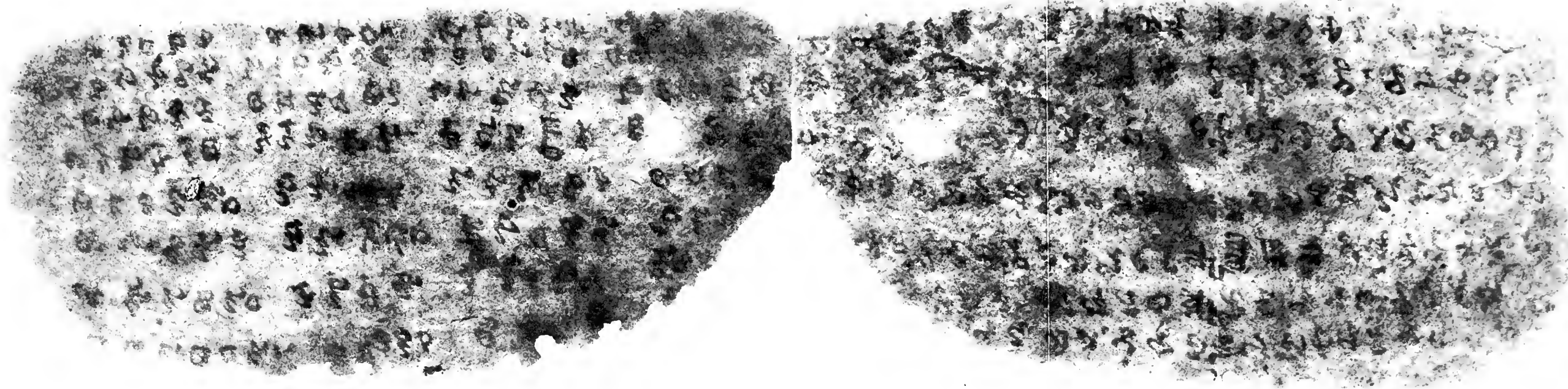
PAGE I



PAGE II

INSIDE

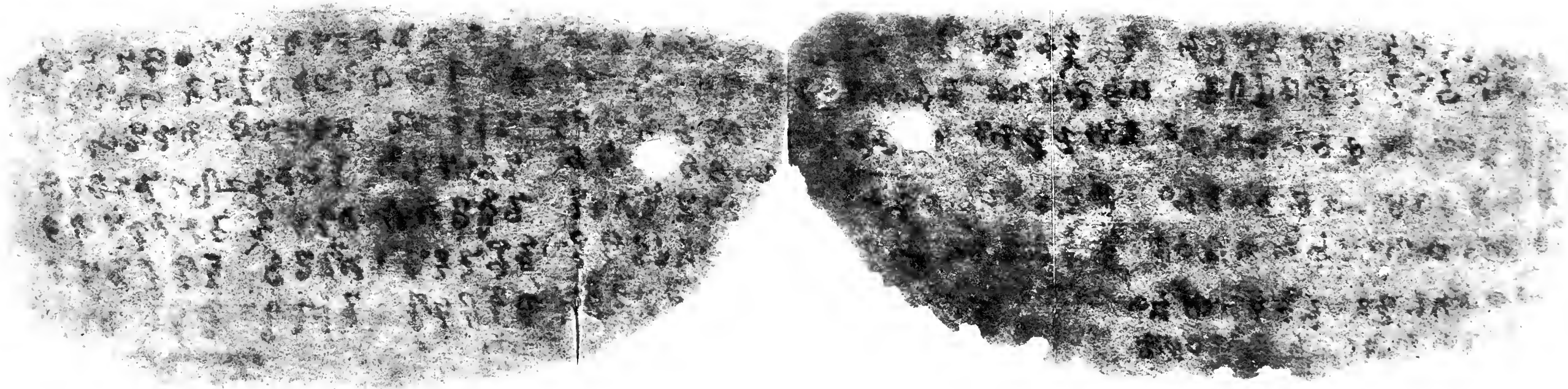
PAGE III



PAGE IV

OUTSIDE

PAGE I



SPECIMENS OF THE MACARTNEY MANUSCRIPTS FROM CENTRAL ASIA. FULL SIZE

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan or Mongolian, on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the others.

Nº1

Handwritten text on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment, similar to the one on the left. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the others.

Handwritten text on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment, similar to the ones on the left. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the others.

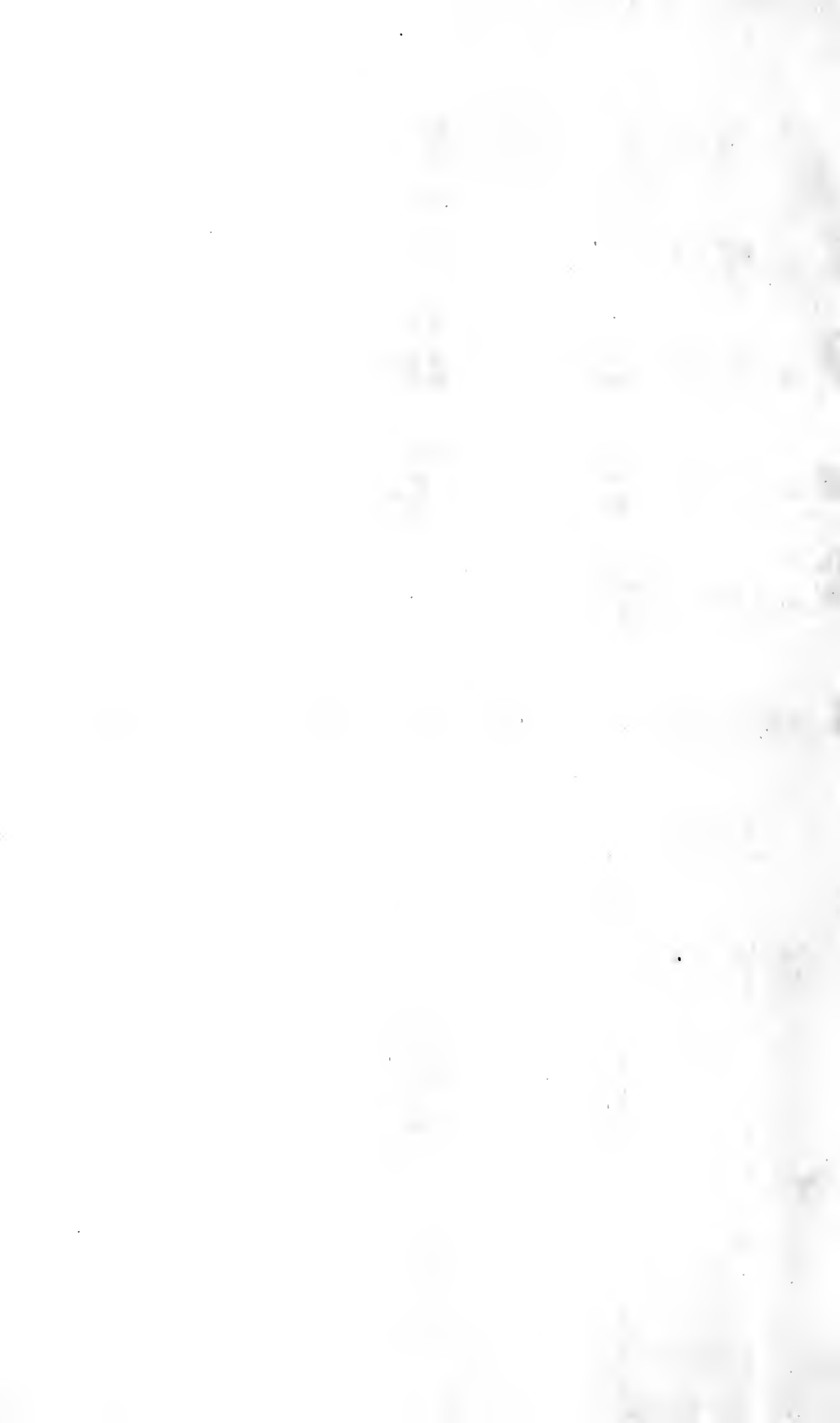
Nº2

Handwritten text on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment, similar to the ones on the left. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the others.

Handwritten text on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment, similar to the ones on the left. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the others.

Nº3

Handwritten text on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment, similar to the ones on the left. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the others.





	PLATES II AND III.	PLATES IV TO VII.
a	a II, b ²	V, 8 ^{2,7} VI, 10 ⁸ VI, 9 ¹⁰
ā	sū II, b ³ tā III, b ⁵ svā IV, 4 ¹	ā VI, 9 ^{7,9} ā VI, 9 ⁸ vā V, 8 ² hā V, 8 ⁷ hā VI, 9 ^{3,4}
i	sī III, b ¹	ī V, 8 ⁶ si (?) V, 8 ⁴ ri VI, 9 ² bhi VII, 15 ¹ ki VI, 10 ⁹
ī	vī III, a ³	ī VI, 10 ^{6,7} ī V, 8 ⁵ ī VI, 9 ⁴
u	ū III, a ³ su II, b ¹ ru III, b ⁴ dbhu II, b ³ dhyu II, b ⁴	ū VI, 9 ^{7,12} , 10 ⁸ VII, 11 ^{1,3,6} u V, 8 ⁸ gu V, 8 ² dru V, 8 ^{2,5,7,8} hu VI, 8 ^{2,3,6,7,8}
ū	sū III, a ³ vyū III, b ⁵ rū IV, 3 b ⁴	ū VI, 9 ² ū V, 11 ^{2,5} ūm V, 8 ¹ ū V, 8 ⁴ rcū V, 8 ^{3,5}
r		hr̥m V, 8 ¹
ē	dē III, b ¹ sē III, b ³	hē VI, 9 ² hē VII, 11 ^{7,12}
ai		cai VII, 11 ²
ō	mō II, b ¹ mō III, b ⁴	ō V, 8 ¹ sō VII, 11 ^{4,7} hōm VII, 11 ^{3,6}
au	mau II, a ³	or not fig. yau IV, 6 ¹ hau VI, 10 ⁵
m̐		sam̐ V, 8 ² tam̐ VI, 9 ^{1,3} cem̐ V, 8 ² thom̐ V, 11 ⁷
m̐		lā V, 8 ⁴ tā V, 8 ^{1,6} rā V, 8 ^{3,6} dā V, 8 ^{1,5}


PLATES II AND III.

k  ka III, a¹  kō II, b⁵  ktē II, b¹



kh

g  ga II, b⁶  gu II, a⁴



gh

 ghō II, b⁴

ḡ

c  ca II, b¹  cum IV, 4²






ch






j  ja III, a²  ji II, a²





jh







 ka VII, 11²  kain VI, 9^{1,3}  kā V, 8^{2,6}  k̄a VI, 9^{6,7}  ki VII, 11^{2,3,6,8,9}  ku VII, 11⁷


 kē VI, 9⁸  kyī VI, 9¹







 kha V, 8⁷  khi V, 8⁵  khu VI, 9¹²  khai V, 8⁵  khyām VI, 9⁸


 gam V, 8³, VI, 9^{3,4,11}  gā V, 8²  ḡa V, 8⁶  gu V, 8^{2,5}, VII, 11^{8,9}  gū VII, 11⁵







 gam V, 8^{2,5,6,7,8}  gā V, 8⁶  ḡa V, 8^{1,7}  gū V, 8³

 ca VI, 9¹  cā V, 8^{2,4}  cu V, 9⁸, VII, 11²  cai V, 8²  cū V, 8^{3,5}  cā V, 8¹

 chā VI, 9¹⁰ (10⁸?), VII, 11^{4,7}, 15²







 ji IV, 6², VI, 9^{2,5,6}  jī VI, 10^{3,4,5}  jya V, 8¹  jyē V, 8^{1,2}  jram V, 8³  jha VI, 9³, 10³




 jhā VI, 9⁴

 jhā V, 8³  jhā VI, 9^{7,8,9}  jhi V, 8⁴  jhu V, 9¹⁰  jhvi VI, 9¹²  jhgā V, 8⁶

 jhgē V, 8⁶


ñ

 ña V, 8⁴  ña VI, 9⁹, VII, 11⁶  ña VII, 11²  ñam VII, 11⁴  ñā V, 8⁴  ñā VI, 9²


 ñu VI, 9^{7,8}  ñū V, 8⁴  ñai VI, 9⁴, 10^{5,6}, VII, 11³

t̄





 t̄i II, b⁵

 t̄i VII, 11^{5,8,9}



th





 tha VII, 11⁶

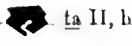

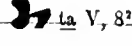


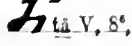
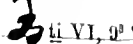
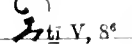
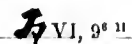


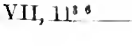
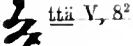




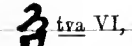
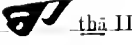
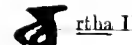
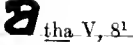
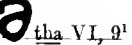

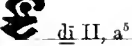
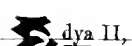

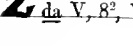
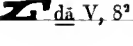
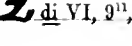
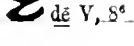

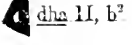

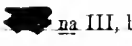
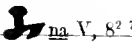
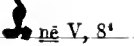
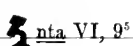




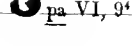
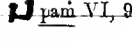
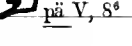
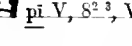



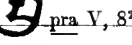
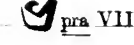

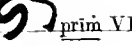

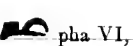
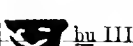
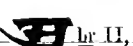

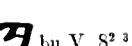
















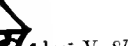
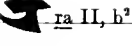
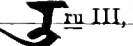



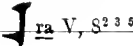
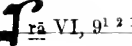
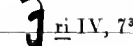
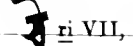
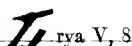
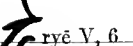
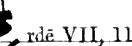
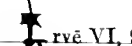

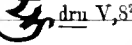
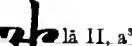

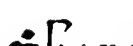

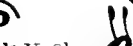
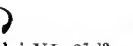
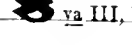
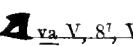




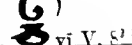
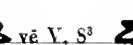


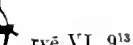
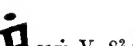
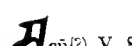
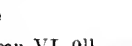









d̄


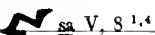
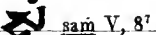
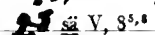
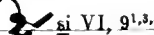

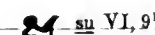
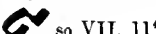
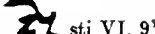

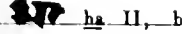

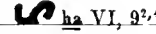
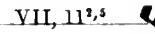



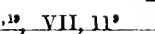
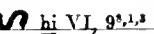
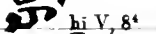


 d̄a V, 8^{2,4,6}  d̄ā V, 8^{2,4,8}  d̄a V, 8¹  dai V, 8³

dh

n  na III, b³  nya II, b²

 na VI, 9⁸  nā (2) V, 8⁵  spi VI, 9⁶, VII, 11²  sni VI, 9⁴

PLATES II AND III.	PLATES IV TO VII.
<p>t  </p>	<p>   </p> <p>    </p> <p>    </p> <p> </p>
<p>th  </p>	<p>  </p>
<p>d   </p>	<p>    </p>
<p>dh </p>	<p></p>
<p>n </p>	<p>    </p>
<p>p  </p>	<p>    </p> <p>   </p> <p> </p>
<p>ph </p>	<p></p>
<p>b  </p>	<p>   </p>
<p>bh </p>	<p>  </p>
<p>m </p>	<p></p>
<p>y  </p>	<p>    </p> <p> </p>
<p>r     </p>	<p>   </p> <p>    </p> <p></p>
<p>l  </p>	<p>   </p>
<p>v </p>	<p>   </p>
<p>c </p>	<p>    </p> <p>    </p> <p></p>
<p>s  </p>	<p>   </p>

PLATES II AND III.		PLATES IV TO VII.	
s	 <u>sa</u> III, b ³		 <u>sa</u> V, 1 ⁴  <u>sam</u> V, 8 ⁷  <u>sa</u> V, 3 ^{5,6}  <u>si</u> VI, 9 ^{1,3,4,9}  <u>st</u> V, 15 ²  <u>su</u> VI, 9 ¹⁰
			 <u>so</u> VII, 11 ⁴  <u>sti</u> VI, 9 ^{1,7}  <u>rsa</u> V, 8 ³
h	 <u>ha</u> II, b ⁵		 <u>ha</u> V, 8 ^{1,3}  <u>ha</u> VI, 9 ^{2,4} , VII, 11 ^{2,5}  <u>ham</u> VII, 11 ^{6,8,9}  <u>ha</u> V, 8 ⁶  <u>ha</u> V, 8 ⁷
			 <u>hi</u> VI, 9 ^{3,4,7,10} , VII, 11 ⁶  <u>hi</u> VI, 9 ^{1,3}  <u>hi</u> V, 8 ⁴  <u>ho</u> VII, 11 ⁴
			 <u>hva</u> VI, 9 ⁵ , 10 ^{3,4} , VII, 15 ¹  <u>hva</u> VI, 9 ^{2,9}

NUMERALS.

	PLATES II AND III.	PLATES IV TO VII.		PLATES II AND III.	PLATES IV TO VII.		PLATES IV TO VII.
1	१ II, २ ^३	१ VI, 10 ⁷	20		४ or ६ V, 8 ¹	800	४५ VI, 10 ⁴ , VII, 15 ^३
2	२ III, २ ^१ , II, २ ^४	२ IV, 7 ^{२,४} , VI, 10 ^८	30		२० not fig.	900	२०० not fig.
3	३ II, २ ^५	३ VI, 10 ^{५,८} , VII, 11 ^२	40		४ IV, 7 ^{२,४}	3,000	४५ VI, 10 ^५
4		४ VI, 10 ^५	50		८ VI, 10 ^{५,९} १ not fig.	4,000	४५ not fig.
6		६ not figured	90	६ III, 2 २ ^३ , IV, 3 ^१ ६ II, 1 २ ^२		7,000	६ VII, 15 ^४ (or 50,000?)
7		७ VI, 10 ^३ १ not fig.	100		१० not fig.		
8		८ VI, 10 ^६ ८ VI, 10 ^६	200		२० or ४० not fig.		
9		९ VI, 12 ^३	400		४० not fig.		
10	१० II, २ (margin)	१० VI, 10 ^{३,४} , VII, 11 ^२ १० or	700		१० VI, 10 ^९		
		१० not fig.					

INTERPUNCTUATIONS.

‘ VI, 9^{2,3,4} | VII, 11⁴ { VII, 11⁵



A.C. Chowdhary del. et. lith.

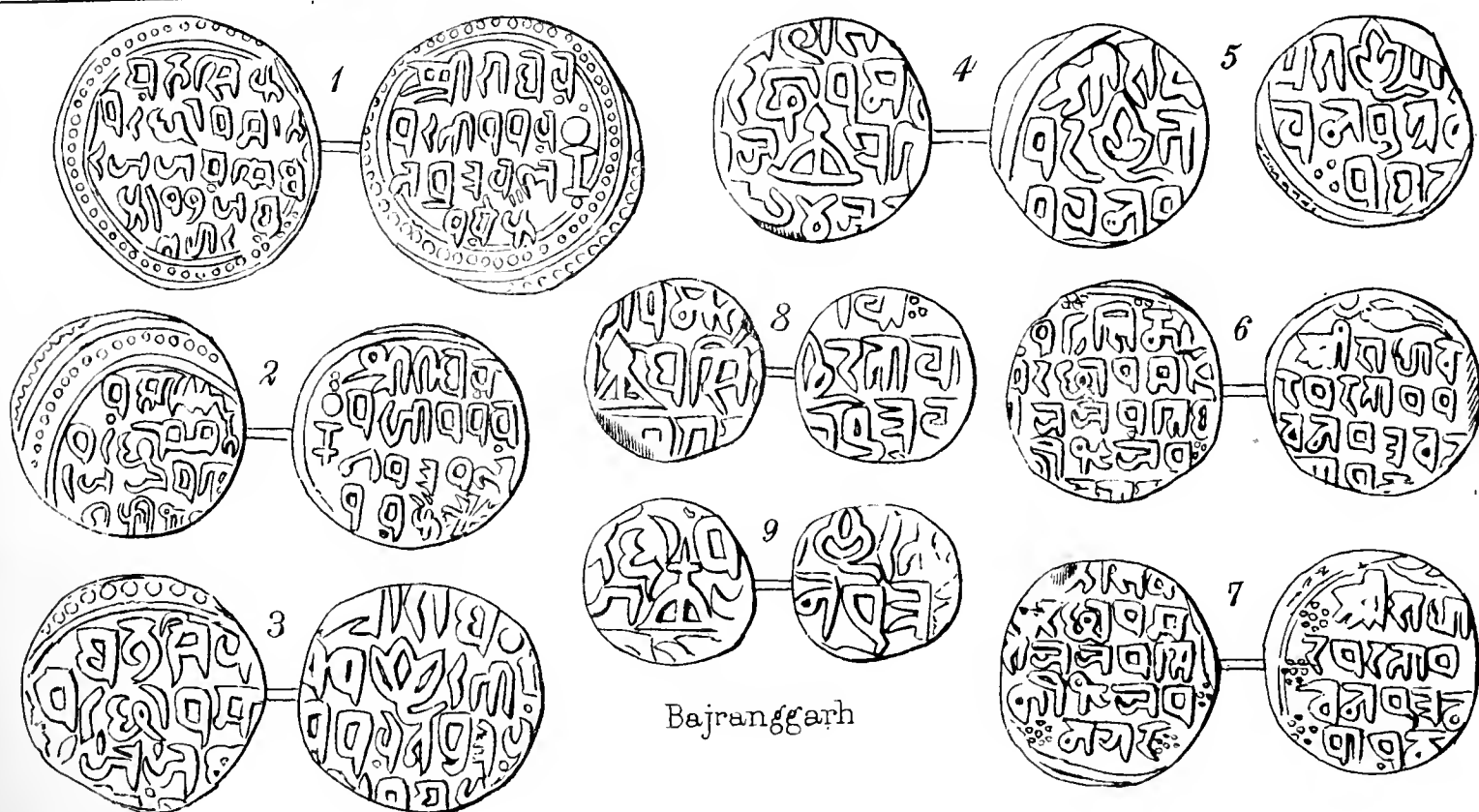


S. C. Mondul del. et. lith.



A.C. Chowdhary del. et. lith.

COINS OF NATIVE STATES.



Bajranggarh

A.C. & S.C. del. et. lith.

COINS OF NATIVE STATES.

16.

[illegible]

1. ...
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 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
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 11. ...
 12. ...

THE NOWGONG COPPER-PLATE OF BALA VARMAN.

II. b.

1. निजा मेसेयाउडे सलवला ॥ मेदि त मुद्रा थिदिगलया मेख ककनेतु मेसिक गचुसभा मेवकक ॥
2. कलिकुयतिमूवयन् प्रयसकिउं प्रिलि वल्म कसुवि किन्नायप्रदुमं सिद्ध कन मौवि सोअनेय श्रीतयनेव
3. नमदिग मुसाडा तयु कुमाडु सिदयदिशयतव मां सिदिमी म छा मावि नय कलपिप्रतिमिदु म अद्र
4. व दुवेकथिका मुमुकुलि ताम्भोर मलवलि वरुण न्निदिहा मुन्नमो ए तर व ये तोम दे दहा केपु। नदुमी
5. सजिहक रागुममा मनि कहर कदुत मतिर दुना मिने त ममी निजि र य म व किनेन
6. केदुता मिदि व प्रकल दिक्के कोवालावी म पुपनमी म य अगि सी अ्मि वि मु पु न्नेन
7. भोग मयु म यम बडा विन म्भो यी कृष्ठा वि को हवनः हुनल का सा सा यि न्ना दक
8. गानेप्रीत कला सः य र म्भुनः वन मरुत म क म द म द वि मज्जी वत केने
9. मय कालिबी म्भुनः ॥ यक्षिण कुल दिहा वि प्रवाक्नः मदिनो पनुय कुमरु अतकि म नो दद्विना (द्वेग
10. मकु रिम नग्ना अन्त्रिक म्भुम दिनाय वाचव म प्र पश्चि त वा अमण दिने स य क म्भो वा च द्र पि द म म ग द म म म्भ
11. व क्क नो री गल कादि कु नान ग्नां शुभ वा क ल म्भु विन विम च्छा न न्ना म्भु म्भु न्नि म्भु यदि म्भु म्भु
12. दिने म्भु किदि दित म म्भु रुवता म्भु मिदि यं वा न्नु म्भु म्भु गू ल म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु म्भु

1. मातृशययं ॥ मातृशययं ॥ मातृशययं ॥ मातृशययं ॥ मातृशययं ॥
 2. त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥
 3. पुःकृतीका ॥ पुःकृतीका ॥ पुःकृतीका ॥ पुःकृतीका ॥ पुःकृतीका ॥
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 13. ॥

THE NOWGONG COPPER-PLATE OF BALA VARMAN.



THE NOWGONG COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF BALA VARMAN.— THE SEAL.



NUMISMATIC NOVELTIES.

Photo-etching.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November 1897.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

KHŌJAS OF EASTERN-TURKISTĀN

SUMMARISED FROM THE

TAZKIRA-I-KHWĀJAGĀN OF
MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ KĀSHGHARĪ,

BY THE LATE

ROBERT BARKLEY SHAW,

AUTHOR OF SKETCH OF THE TURKĪ LANGUAGE,
THE GHALCHAH LANGUAGES, etc.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

N. ELIAS.

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1897.

CALCUTTA:
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,
8, HASTINGS STREET.

P R E F A C E.

IN 1875, when the late Mr. R. B. Shaw returned from duty in Kāshghar and Yārquand, he brought with him a number of Turkī and Persian manuscripts which he had collected during a residence in those towns of nearly a year. Several of these works were historical and some were of great rarity. They comprised, I believe, the *Jahān Kushāī* of Alāu-d-dīn Aṭāu-l-Mulk, Juwaini, the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Haidar, the *Tazkiratu-l-Bughrā* and the *Tazkira-i-Khwājagān* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq, Kāshghari. Of these I have seen none but the last named; but from certain documents left by Mr. Shaw which his nephew, Captain F. E. Younghusband, has been so kind as to lend me, it is to be inferred that all were intended to be used by their accomplished possessor, in elucidating either the history or the language of Eastern Turkistān. A few translated sheets of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* are to be found among these documents, and a portion of the memoirs of Sulṭān Satuk Bughrā is actually in print—text and translation—as an appendix to Mr. Shaw's Turkī Grammar.¹ It was on the memoirs of Khōjas, however, that most work had been done, and this was the book that he was occupied with up to the last. There is evidence that his intention was to bring out a revised Turkī text, with a translation, and I think it quite likely that both text and translation were finished at the time of his death, at Mandalay, in June 1879.

All that is now to be found of matter connected with this book may be stated as follows :—

- (1) Seventy-three small folio sheets (146 pages) of the original manuscript of Muḥammad Ṣādiq. These are consecutive as far as they go and represent, I should estimate, about three quarters, or four-fifths, of the entire work.
- (2) One hundred and twenty octavo pages of Mr. Shaw's Turkī text printed at the Baptist Mission Press at Calcutta. These are revised and ready for publication, together with four long slips of galley proofs in continuation. This printed text ends at the same point in the narrative as the manuscript.

¹ See *A sketch of the Turkī language* in Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1880.

-
- (3) Certain sheets of translation in Mr. Shaw's handwriting, numbered pages 1 to 10, 79 to 107, and 13 odd pages not numbered.
 - (4) Five separate notes, in Mr. Shaw's handwriting, on various subjects connected with the history and headed respectively Appendix A, B, C, D and E.¹
 - (5) A document of 41 foolscap pages very widely and hurriedly written by Mr. Shaw, without any heading, but which is found, on comparison, to be a *précis* or epitome, of the whole book.

This last is the only complete document and is the one printed below.

But though we have here parts of an original Turkī manuscript, of a printed Turkī text and translation, and a complete English epitome, there is evidence to show that this original manuscript is not the only one that Mr. Shaw based his work upon. The 73 sheets of the manuscript which have come into my hands contain many alterations and additions in Turkī, in what I believe to be Mr. Shaw's handwriting, and many passages—some long, some short—marked for the printer to omit. In certain marginal jottings, moreover, mention is made of variations in "the other book," while in the fragments of the translation and in the epitome passages occur which are not contained in the original manuscript. Hence it is to be inferred that Mr. Shaw had, besides this work of Muḥammad Ṣādiq, another which told the same story but in a different way; that he collated the two for his printed text, and translated and summarised from the latter.

What this "other book" may have been I can find no trace of. It frequently happens that different copies of the works of Asiatic authors are found to vary to some extent—either copyists or editors having altered the original manuscript. But, as far as I am aware, the variations in these cases are not usually considerable. In this instance, however, the texts differ rather widely in places, and on points of some importance. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the "other book" was not merely another copy of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's manuscript, but the work of some quite different hand which recorded the history of the same times and events, though in entirely different language. It would be useless to speculate as to what particular book it may have

¹ Appendix E is not printed with the other four, as it consists only of an extract from a published book, on a subject sufficiently explained in the Introduction.

been, but there are, I believe, some others, besides that of Muḥammad Ṣādiq which relate the story of the Kāshghar Khōjas, and Mr. Shaw may have had one of them in his possession, though it may have been lost with others of his documents after his death. But whatever influence the collation of the two original histories may have had in modifying the printed text and the full translation, the epitome derived from them, containing as it does only the main facts, does not seem to have been affected to any appreciable degree. This will be seen from the foot-notes which I have added in a few places to indicate sometimes the variations from the manuscript and sometimes the actual statements, in detail, of Muḥammad Ṣādiq.

It may be mentioned here that while still in hope that a search for the missing leaves of the original manuscript (at the Baptist Mission Press) might prove successful, I caused a translation to be made of all that there is of it, through Persian into English. This was accomplished, with the help of a Turkī Munshī from Bukhārā, by Khān Bahādur Maulā Bakhsh and Mīrzā ‘Abdu-llāh, of the Khurāsān Agency to whom my thanks are due for their labour. Knowing nothing of Turkī myself, I hesitate to publish this translation; but it has proved a most useful resource in enabling me to ascertain the differences between Mr. Shaw’s text and Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s manuscript, in amplifying certain passages in the epitome and in compiling the genealogical tables of the Khōjas and Khāns. It has also afforded the means of forming an opinion of the value to be placed on Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s work.

As regards the history itself, it must be confessed that it is a disappointing one. Whatever the literary attainments of the author may have been, he was evidently lacking in historical knowledge. He tells us that he was persuaded to undertake the task of writing a record of the Khōja period by the wife of the “Hākim,” or Governor, of Kāshghar, at that time (1768), one ‘Uṣmān Bēg.¹ Of himself the author gives no information, but there are indications, in his narrative, that he must have been connected by descent with one of the Khōja families and seeing that his sympathy for the Iṣhāqī, or black party of the Khōjas is very marked throughout, it is probably from a branch of this faction that he sprang. In all likelihood too he would have been a Mullā, for his mind seems to run on the lines of a religious devotee

¹ Mr. Shaw notes that this ‘Uṣmān Bēg was son of Mīr Zāhidī, a religious chief of Kāshghar.

and he attaches more importance to the sayings and doings of the "holy men" among his characters than to events that had a serious influence on the fate of his country. Visions, prophecies, tombs and shrines pervade the pages to a depressing extent, and much space is devoted to the speeches of saintly personages and anecdotes concerning them, while history, properly so called, is relegated to a secondary place. All that there is, however, has been embodied by Mr. Shaw in the epitome, while most of the rest has been judiciously omitted. Throughout the impression is conveyed that the author had a very slight acquaintance with anything bearing upon the nations outside the narrow limits of the western cities of Eastern Turkistān, which were under Khōja rule. He only mentions briefly and incidentally the affairs of the neighbouring states with whom his countrymen were almost constantly at war, yet without a glance at their history it is impossible to gain a complete view of the period.

Of the Qalmāqs, their Kingdom and their rulers, who were usually the suzerains of the Khōjas (as will be explained lower down) of the Kirghiz and the Chinese, the information he doles out is most meagre. It has been necessary therefore to go to other sources in order to connect his history with that of these nations, and to elucidate the brief references he makes to them. In dates the book is entirely wanting: beyond the mention, on the first page, of the year in which it was written, not one date is to be found in the course of the narrative and there is nothing to point to the author having read the works of other Asiatic writers. The pervading tone is one of gloomy superstition and fanaticism, the outcome of that class of spiritualism or miracle-working, of which the Khōjas of Central Asia were the chief exponents during several centuries.

The principal, and indeed the only, value of the book lies in its being a more or less authentic narrative dealing with a period in the history of Central Asia which has hitherto been scarcely known; for when divested of magical tales and the irrelevant speeches of "holy men" it becomes possible, as Mr. Shaw has done in his epitome, to construct a story containing some degree of sequence and some historical links. The *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* brings down the history of Eastern Turkistān and the neighbouring countries to the middle of the 16th century, while from about the middle of the 18th when the Chinese become masters of these regions, we have very full and authentic accounts, derived from their annals and from the writings of the Roman Catholic missionaries in China, who were, in many cases, eye witnesses of what took place.

But the interval of some two hundred years has hitherto been almost a blank, and it is this void that Muḥammad Ṣādiq's book helps us, however imperfectly, to fill up. It cannot, as will be seen further on, be said to extend over the whole of this interval, for though it is impossible to point to any particular date as its commencement, it may be regarded, generally, as only starting from the early part of the 17th century, while it carries us down to about the opening of the year 1756, a date well within the author's recollection.

Nor can it be claimed for Mr. Shaw's epitome that this is the first time a summary of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's story has appeared in Europe. In 1865 Messrs. John and Robert Michell published, in their book of translations from the Russian, called "The Russians in Central Asia", an account of Eastern Turkistān by Captain Valikhanoff—a Russian officer, who, in 1856, had travelled in the country and had devoted a chapter¹ to a review of its history. The sources from which he derived his information of the *Khōja* period he has nowhere mentioned, but, for two reasons, it seems certain that the chief authority must have been the *Tazkira-i-Khwājagān*. In the first place he tells us² that, when at Kāshghar, he obtained a copy of the book, and secondly, on reading his summary, there is abundant internal evidence that this was one, at least, of the works he used. As a "son of a Kirghiz Sultān and a native of the steppes"³, Captain Valikhanoff may be supposed to have been at home in the Turkī language, yet, strangely enough, his review of the *Khōja* domination contains many vital mistakes, the proper names are so distorted as to be barely recognized, while a number of statements and a few dates are inserted (not always correctly) for which the author of the *Tazkira* cannot be held responsible. In short, it is scarcely a summarised translation, but more properly a general account of the period based mainly on our author's book. A detailed criticism would serve no useful purpose; it need only be remarked that on first reading Captain Valikhanoff's version, in connection with the translation made for me of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's original manuscript, it appeared to be a question whether, in spite of serious inaccuracies, it might not be superfluous to print a second summary—whether, in fact, anything but a complete translation would

¹ See *Russians in Central Asia*, Chapter VI.

² *Ib.* End of Chapter III.

³ *Ib.* Preface.

now be of any advantage. But on further comparing the Russian officer's account with Mr. Shaw's epitome, it became evident that the latter was a far more valuable and useful document. In length it is about the same: thus, though not more detailed, it is far clearer, more exact and has the merit of bringing out the essential points of the history in their proper sequence and proportions. It contains, moreover, no matter imported from outside, and unacknowledged, sources.

That Mr. Shaw was acquainted with Messrs. Michell's book there can be no doubt, and judging from the interest he took in the history of Eastern Turkistān, he must certainly have read Captain Valikhanoff's review of the Khōja period; yet there is nothing among his papers to show that he detected in it a summary of the work that he was engaged in translating and editing.

MESHED;
The 10th March 1896. }

N. ELIAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

I.—THE KHĀNS AND THE KHŌJAS.

It so happens that the only history we have of the Moghuls of Central Asia, closes at a date almost coeval with the break up of the Moghul kingdom. The last of the Moghul line who ruled over the whole of the six cities of Eastern Turkistān (the kingdom of “Altishahr”) as well as over a portion, at least, of the country north of the Tiānshān, then known as Moghulistān, was Ābdu-r-Rashīd Khān, otherwise Rashīd Sultān, the early years of whose reign are recorded in the closing chapters of Part I of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*. The kingdom that Ābdu-r-Rashīd had inherited in 1533 was being pressed upon from the north-west by the Usbegs, from the north by the Kirghiz, and from the north-east by the Qalmāqs. As far as the history of his reign can be traced in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, it would appear that Ābdu-r-Rashīd was able to repel his enemies and keep his dominions together, up to about the year 1546; but after that date nothing is known of what occurred, until the end of his life—and indeed for a considerable time after. He died in 1565-66, but it is not possible to say definitely that he maintained his country intact till that time. All that can be gleaned is that some thirty years after his death, it was almost certainly divided into two, if not split up into several different chiefships. He left thirteen sons to dispute over the inheritance, one of whom, Muḥammad Khān or Sultān Muḥammad, can be traced as having reigned at Kāshghār to within the 17th century, for his death is mentioned in 1609. Another, named Ābdu-l-Karīm, is spoken of as being in power (probably at Yārqand) within the same interval, viz., in 1593—though one authority, it seems, alludes to his death in that year. In 1602 we hear of a third, called Ābdu-r-Raḥīm, as chief in Yārqand, but the remainder are scarcely more than mentioned by name.

These are the only Khāns of this generation of the Moghul dynasty for whose lives even odds and ends of dates are forthcoming, and as they are culled from various sources, which give no information regarding the country or its affairs, it is only by inference that we can conclude that the dominions of Ābdu-r-Rashīd had been split up so soon after his death. Nor do any of these sources except one—and that but vaguely—give any indication of how far the foreign enemies of the Moghul Khāns were concerned in dismembering the kingdom; so that it is impossible to judge

whether, if the power were really divided at the time in question, the division was brought about by external foes or by internal dissension.

What the sources of information on these points are, it will not occupy many lines to explain, for they are the merest fragments. In the first place there is the short passage in the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī,¹ where a list of the thirteen sons of ʿAbdu-r Rashīd is given, with some scanty indications of what had become of them down to the year when Aḥmad Rāzī wrote—viz., 1593. Secondly, there is the remnant of the narrative of the Portuguese missionary, Benedict Goez,² who passed through Eastern Turkistān on his way from Lahore to China, *viā* Badakhshān and Wakhān, and only a portion of whose journal was rescued, after his death at Suchau, in Western China, in 1607. His sojourn in the country fell in the years 1603 to 1605, and though he mentions only the name of one Khān—Muḥammad—whose seat was at Kāshghar, he points incidentally to others possessing some sort of power in other provinces, but does not name them. Thirdly, Dr. Bellew mentions, on the authority of a book called the *Tārīkh-i-Khānān Caghatāia*,³ that this Muḥammad Khān and ʿAbdu-l-Karīm “succeeded to a divided Government in turn;” while during the reign of the former, and about the year 1572, the Kirghiz invaded the country. It is then added that this invasion led to the dismemberment of the kingdom by rival representatives of the Moghul family; but, as remarked above, it is not clear whether this was effected by the Kirghiz, or whether it was due to dissensions between the Khāns. Fourthly, Dr. Bellew cites some passages from another book—the *Tazkira-i-Hidāyat* of Mīr Khālu-d-Dīn, Yārquandī⁴ which he was, apparently, able to examine at Kāshghar in 1873-74. But the extracts he furnishes afford no dates bearing on the generation of Khāns immediately succeeding ʿAbdu-r-Rashīd, though it is somewhat more explicit in information concerning the next two generations, as will be seen below. Fifthly, among Mr. Shaw’s fragmentary papers, are to be found some notes of certain *Yarlyghs*⁵ or title-deeds (sanads) which he procured at Kāshghar or Yārquand, and which afford unmistakable proof of certain Khāns being in power at certain periods. These documents consist of grants of land, titles or privileges, and most of them bear the date of issue. From them are obtained glimpses of Muḥammad Khān reigning in 996-H. (or 1587)

¹ See Quatremère *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, pp. 474, *seq.* Aḥmad Rāzī calls ʿAbdu-l-Karīm the brother of Rashīd, but it is obvious, from the context, that “son” is meant.

² See Yule’s *Cathay and the way thither*, volume II.

³ *Report of Sir D. Forsyth’s Mission to Yarquand, etc.*, page 174. He notes, however, that he had not himself seen the book.

⁴ *Report of Mission to Yarkand, etc.*, pages 175 to 178. This book would appear to be history or biography of the Khōja Ḥaṣrat Afāq, whose name was Hidāyatu-llāh.

⁵ يارليغ *Yarlygh* ou يارليق *Yarlyq*, ordre royal, chiffre qui le surmonte. (Pavet de Courteille.) [Ed.]

and dying in 1018-H. (1609); of Ābdu-l-Karīm in the year 1000-H. (1592); of Ābdu-r-Raḥīm at Yārqaṇd in 1011-H. (1602-3) and at Kuchār in 1017-H. (or 1608).¹

To these five sources, fragmentary and imperfect as they are, it would have been gratifying to be able to add the history of Khōjas as an authority, but it is not possible. A few of the names of the Khāns are mentioned, but not a date is vouchsafed throughout the book; while for about half a century following on the death of Ābdu-r-Rashīd, no events are recorded that can be set up as landmarks from which to infer them even approximately.

During the whole of this period nothing is heard of the Khōjas in any other capacity than that of priests and workers of miracles. They appear to have been content to exercise over the Khāns or Chiefs, to whose service they nominally attached themselves, the great powers they possessed as "Khalifas," or spiritual guides. This, indeed, is what they had already been doing for more than a century past, among the various rulers in Central Asia who entertained them: for it had long been the custom for every Khān, Chief or Amir of standing, to attach one or more of them to his court, where the "holy man" became, usually, the object of much superstitious reverence. But as the power of the Moghul Khāns declined, that of the Khōjas no doubt increased. What must have been wanting, previously, to enable them to obtain control, not only over the minds of the Khāns but over the affairs of the country, was that the dynasty should be divided against itself; and this opportunity was afforded them, to some extent, during the generation that followed Ābdu-r-Rashīd. Still more was this the case during the two succeeding and final generations of Moghul Chiefs, for it was then that the Khōjas began to raise themselves to temporal power, and brought their country's independence to an end.

Of grandsons of Ābdu-r-Rashīd, I can only find mention of two names. One of these, a certain Shujā'u-d-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad Khān, occurs merely in some deeds seen and noted by Mr. Shaw, in Kāshghar or Yārqaṇd, and there is nothing to show whether he ever ruled over even a province of the country, or, if he did, which one it was. The other, called Ābdu-llāh, a son of Ābdu-r-Raḥīm, appears to have been a man of some mark and his name often occurs in the History of the Khōjas, as well as in Mr. Shaw's list of "Sanads." He had his seat of Government at Yārqaṇd, but no mention is to be found of which provinces acknowledged his sway. Nor can the length of the reign of either of these cousins be indicated more nearly than by a few odd dates, during which

¹ See the Genealogical Table attached.

they seem to have been exercising power. Thus Mr. Shaw found documents of Shujā'u-d-Dīn Aḥmad dated in 1611 and 1615, and of Abdu-llāh in various years between 1637 and 1643 inclusive.¹

Abdu-llāh Khān's sons, alone, constitute the next and last generation of the reigning Khāns. How many there were of his children is not apparent, but four sons and one daughter are to be found named by one or another of the above mentioned authorities, or by our author, and those of them who governed the various provinces, had to keep up an almost constant struggle with the Khōjas. Their period may be placed, in the absence of more accurate information, at between 1650 and about the end of the century. The one who seems to have played the most noticeable part was called Isma'il. He succeeded, for a time, as will be seen in the history, in ridding his country of the most powerful of the Khōjas and continued his career till 1678, when the Qalmāqs, intervening in favour of the Khōjas, made the whole of Eastern Turkistān a tributary of their own, and carried Isma'il a prisoner to Ilī. After this date one of his brothers, called Akbash, is incidentally mentioned as a vassal of the Qalmāqs struggling against Khōja fanaticism in the year 1694, and he completes the tale.

As the author himself tells the history of the Khōjas, there is no need to encumber this Introduction with more than a few remarks on them, gathered from Dr. Bellew's notice of the *Tazkira-i-Hidāyat*, and to add a genealogical table which may help to make the narrative of the Epitome clear. There are, as is well known, many Persian and Turkī books in existence,² which deal with the lines of saints [Auliya] and Khōjas who have flourished at one period or another, in various parts of Central Asia; but probably very few indeed of these concern themselves with Eastern Turkistān, or with the Khōjas who governed there between the Moghul and the Chinese periods. Except those of our author, and of Khālu-d-Dīn, I can find no reference to any. Several of the Musalmān general histories contain notices of saints and miracle-workers, more or less celebrated, who appear to have been mostly Khōjas, and some of whom belonged to particular countries, while others seem to have wandered from one place to another. None of these, however, so far as I am aware, ever attained to temporal power in any country, as they did in Eastern Turkistān, though many must have exercised considerable influence in the dominions of the Khāns or Sultāns to whom they attached themselves. A number of such characters will be found alluded to in the *Tārīkh-i-*

¹ These are the dates contained in the list of "Sanads," but there is elsewhere a note of Mr. Shaw's giving 1617 to 1642 as the dates traceable for Abdu-llāh Khān. He does not mention his authority.

² Such as the *Silsila-i-Khwājagān*, the *Tazkira-i-Auliya*, etc., etc.

Rashīdī as having flourished in various regions of Central Asia, including Eastern Turkistān, during nearly two centuries before their rise to power as described in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's history. Yet, strangely enough, not one of the names given by this author, in the pedigree at the beginning of the book (see below), can be identified with certainty, with any *Khōja* mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*.¹ It is possible that one cause for this may be that these professing saints went by several different names—or rather titles; and these titles seem to have been assumed, or given to them by their followers, at different times and perhaps in different places. However this may be, it can only be regretted that none of the later ones mentioned in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's pedigree are to be found in the history of Mirzā Haidar, for he furnishes dates so abundantly, that had it been otherwise, the descent of the *Khōjas* we have to do with in the Epitome, might have been fixed in point of time, and other events would have fallen into their right places.

The extracts published by Dr. Bellew, from *Khālu-d-Dīn's Tazkira-i-Hidāyat* are brief and consist chiefly of anecdotes which have no particular interest. Such indications as it contains regarding the Moghul *Khāns* and the course of affairs in Eastern Turkistān during the 17th century, are so confused and so greatly at variance with all that can be gathered from other authorities, that I have been unable to make use of them. No useful purpose would be served by discussing the irreconcilable discrepancies here, but a few examples may be mentioned to show their nature. Thus in one place a certain *Khān*—named *Akbash*—is spoken of as the brother of one of the *Khōjas*, which is impossible, seeing that he was a "*Khān*." In another place *Khānam Pādshāh*, the widow of *Khōja Āfāsh* is described as the daughter of *Ābdu-r-Rashīd*: yet, as is well known, *Ābdu-r-Rashīd* died in 1565-66, while *Khānam Pādshāh* was not left a widow by *Āfāq* till 1693, when she was still an active woman taking part in the intrigues and dissensions of the times. Further, the death of a great-grandson of *Rashīd*, named Muḥammad *Amīn*, is recorded for 1633-34, after years of fighting and intriguing, while his elder brothers are known to have been alive at near the end of the 17th century. Again the invasions of

¹ It seems just possible that the *Hazrat Makhdūm-i-Āzam* of our present author may be identical with the *Hazrat Makhdūm-i-Nūra* so often spoken of in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* under various styles, such as *Hazrat Khwāja Khāvand Maḥmūd Shihābu-d-Dīn* (which was his real name) and several other combinations of the same words. The last we hear of *Makhdūm-i-Nūra* is his escape from the Punjab to *Māwarāu-n-Nahr* in the year 1540, while Mr. Vambéry records the death of *Makhdūm-i-Āzam* as having taken place in that country in 1542. In the Epitome, below, it will be seen that his proper name is given as *Aḥmad Khwāja*; this is evidently taken from Mr. Shaw's "other book," for it is not mentioned by Muḥammad Ṣādiq. (See *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, page 399, and Vambéry's *History of Bukhārā*, page 299.)

the Qalmāqs and their acquisition of suzerainty over the Khōjas—the leading features of the history of the period—are not even mentioned.

Dr. Bellew's extract does not purport to be a translation, but I am assuming it to be a correct summary, and if this is the case, the book must be regarded as unreliable for historical purposes. It furnishes, however, some particulars respecting the Khōjas that are not contained in the narrative of Muḥammad Ṣādiq. We may gather from it, for instance, that the Khōjas themselves had split up into two opposing factions quite early in the 17th century, and that they were known, even then, as the *Ak-taghlyq* and *Kara-taghlyq*, or White and Black mountaineers, respectively, while these designations are never used by Muḥammad Ṣādiq. It appears (if the writer is to be trusted) that in 1622, in the course of the struggle for ascendancy between these two parties, one Mullā Fāzil of Artush, the leader of the White faction, called for help from some powerful Khōja of Khōkand, and by means of the forces this ally brought him, succeeded in capturing Kāshghar. Neither this event, nor the name of Mullā Fāzil is mentioned by our author, and it can only be conjectured that Fāzil must be another name for one of the descendants of Ishān Kalān whose line eventually became the White party. Only very shortly after this incident we find Khōja Hidāyatu-llāh, known as Ḥaẓrat Āfāq, mentioned as the leader of the White mountaineers, but it can hardly be to him that the style of Mullā Fāzil is applied, for he is so well known a personage that all his names and titles must have been handed down.

Āfāq was, without doubt, the most famous of all the Khōjas descended from Makhdūm-i-A'zam, and he attained to a greater degree of power than any other, of either party. He is described by Dr. Bellew's author as having held entire dominion, spiritual and temporal, over the six cities of Eastern Turkistān, as well as over Turfān and the eastern districts known, at an earlier date, as Uighuristān; while he had large numbers of disciples in foreign countries, from whom he received tithes. "Amongst the people of Kāshghar," writes Dr. Bellew, "he was held as a prophet only second to Muḥammad, and, in his miraculous powers of healing the sick and restoring the dead, he was reckoned the equal of Ḥaẓrat 'Isā (or 'the Lord Jesus'). His bearing exercised a marvellous effect on the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground, whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion of spiritual love. His miracles are said to be countless; yet in his early career scoffers and unbelievers were not wanting." He is said to have converted nearly a hundred thousand people to Islām, and appears to have lived to a great age. The date of his birth is not to be found, but if his biographer, Khālu-d-Din, is to be

relied upon, his active career must have begun some time previous to the year 1622, while his death is recorded in the year of the Hijra 1105, or 1693-94 A. D.—dates which would point to a life of almost incredible length, considering the country and times in which it was passed. Among the appendices to the present volume will be found an interesting account of a visit paid by Mr. Shaw to Ḥazrat Āfāq's tomb at Kāshghar in 1874, but it is remarkable that no mention is made of the duration of his life.

So scanty and fragmentary are the notices of the Khōjas of Eastern Turkistān in known or available works, that it is necessary to fall back on such brief statements as our author, Muḥammad Ṣādiq, vouchsafes to his readers, in order to trace their identity and origin. He very naturally omits any explanation of what constitutes a Khōja (or *khwāja*, as it is more properly written), for it must have been a household word among his associates and countrymen, and in every-day use with them. Still it may not, at first sight, be quite easy to determine whether any difference existed between a Khōja, as understood in some countries, and the members of other families supposed to owe their origin to the Prophet Muḥammad. The learned orientalist, M. Schefer, has defined them¹ as those who claim descent from the Khalīfs Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, by other women than the daughters of the Prophet; and that they were divided into two categories:—the Khōjas Sayyid-atā, who possessed deeds proving their descent, and the Khōjas Jūibārī, whose deeds were lost and who could only appeal to tradition and repute. They differed from the Sayyids in that the latter claimed to originate from the Khalīfs 'Uṣmān and Ālī, through the daughters of the Prophet; and they had precedence of the Khōjas. But this definition, though no doubt correct for some regions, seems scarcely to apply to the usage in Eastern Turkistān. Mr. Shaw, in his "Turkī Vocabulary" defines the word *khwāja* as "a title applied to the offspring of a Sayyid by a woman of any other family: also to their descendants." In other words the Khōjas were Sayyids²: for the offspring of Sayyids, by whatever woman, are always Sayyids; and it may be remarked that Mr. Shaw must have obtained his description from the mouths of people who were living among the posterity of those very Khōjas with whom our history is concerned. Thus, whether strictly accurate or not, it would seem that in Eastern Turkistān (and probably other neighbouring countries also) the name of "Khōja" had become synonymous with Sayyid.³

¹ See Howorth, II, page 870.

² It may be remarked here that the Khōjas belonged to the order of Darwīshes known as "Naqshbandī", but this does not affect the question of their being Sayyids.

³ Compare Richardson's *Persian Dictionary* and Redhouse's *Turkī Dictionary* under the words *Sayyid* and *Khwāja*.

But however this may be, our author, Muḥammad Ṣādiq, records the lineage of the Khōjas in a way which shows that they themselves could not have laid claim to the origin indicated by M. Schefer, for, in the pedigree which he gives, the names of the Khalifs Abū-Bakr and 'Umar do not occur. He traces them directly from Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of Āli, and thus classes them, in fact, with Sayyids. His account of their descent is contained in the first chapter of his book, but as Mr. Shaw has not reproduced it in his Epitome, it may be worth while to cite the passage here; for, although the pedigree may have no historical authority, the extract may, in some respects, be of interest. He writes: "Be it known to you that lineage [*nisbat*] is of two kinds, *viz.*, spiritual and apparent. Apparent lineage means that so and so is the son of such an one, and so forth; and the succession comes to him. True [or spiritual] succession is allowed to those who carry out the working of the Prophet (may God bless and save him). This kind of lineage is of three sorts: firstly apparent knowledge; secondly visible acts; thirdly internal acts. But apparent knowledge is of no use without internal grace. The knowledge of the Prophet (on whom be peace) was of two kinds: one of prophecy, which concerns the perpetual knowledge of holy law: another of saintliness [*Vilāyat*], which concerns the perpetual knowledge of internal conditions. First ¹ we will describe apparent lineage [of the Khōjas]. The offspring of the Prophet (may God bless and save him) was the blessed Fāṭimah;

her son was Imām Ḥusain;

his son was Imām Zainu-l-Ābidīn;

- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Imām Muḥammad Bākīr;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Imām Jafar Ṣādiq;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Muḥammad Mūsā-i-Kāzim;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Āli Mūsā; ²
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ṭālib; ³
- „ „ „ Ābdu-llāh-i-Āraj;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Ābdu-llāh-i-Afzal;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat 'Ubaidu-llāh;
- „ „ „ Sayyid Aḥmad;
- „ „ „ Sayyid Muḥammad;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Shāh Ḥusain;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Shāh Ḥasan;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Jalāu-d-Dīn;
- „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Kamālu-d-Dīn;

¹ The author omits to describe "Spiritual" lineage.

² Imām Āli Mūsā Rizā whose shrine is at Mashhad.

³ The Shī'as do not acknowledge Ṭālib as a son of Āli Mūsā.

his son was Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Burhānu-d-Dīn ;
 „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Jalālu-d-Dīn ;
 „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm-i-A‘ẓam ; ¹
 „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Iṣḥāq Walī ;
 „ „ „ Khwāja Shādī ;
 „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Abdu-llāh ; ²
 „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Dānyāl ;
 „ „ „ Ḥaẓrat Ya‘qūb (called Khwāja Jahān). ”

This pedigree, then, whatever it may be worth in point of authenticity, shows that the Khōjas of Eastern Turkistān were accounted Sayyids, and it is to that fraternity that we may regard them as belonging.

Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s history may be said to open with the life of the Khōja known as Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm-i-A‘ẓam who was of the twentieth generation in descent from the Prophet. Nothing more interesting, however, is recorded of him than some disjointed tales of miracles that he performed and some brief notices of his wives and children. These have mostly been omitted in the Epitome, but it may be remarked here that some of them have a certain bearing on the history, for they show how it was that at the death of Makhdūm-i-A‘ẓam, a division took place among the Khōjas, which resulted in one party becoming followers of the Makhdūm’s elder son, called Iṣḥān-i-Kalān, and another attaching themselves to his younger son, Iṣḥāq Walī. The party of the Iṣḥān seem to have acquired the name of *Ak-taghlyq*, or White mountaineers, and that of Iṣḥāq, *Kara-taghlyq*, or Black mountaineers, but these names had no reference to the localities where their adherents lived. All were inhabitants of the lowlands and cities of Eastern Turkistān, but each section made allies among the Kirghiz of the neighbouring mountains, and apparently subsidised them to fight their party battles. The Kirghiz tribes of the Western Tien Shan ranges, lying to the north of Kāshghar, were known as the “White mountaineers,” and those of the Pāmīr as the “Black mountaineers” so that the Khōjas came to assume the designations of their Kirghiz allies. Though these terms never occur in Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s book ³ they were, apparently, in pretty general use, for they are found, according to Dr. Bellew, in the *Tazkira-i-Hidāyat* and are employed throughout the narrative of Captain Valikhanoff, who tells us, moreover, that they were current at the time when he wrote.

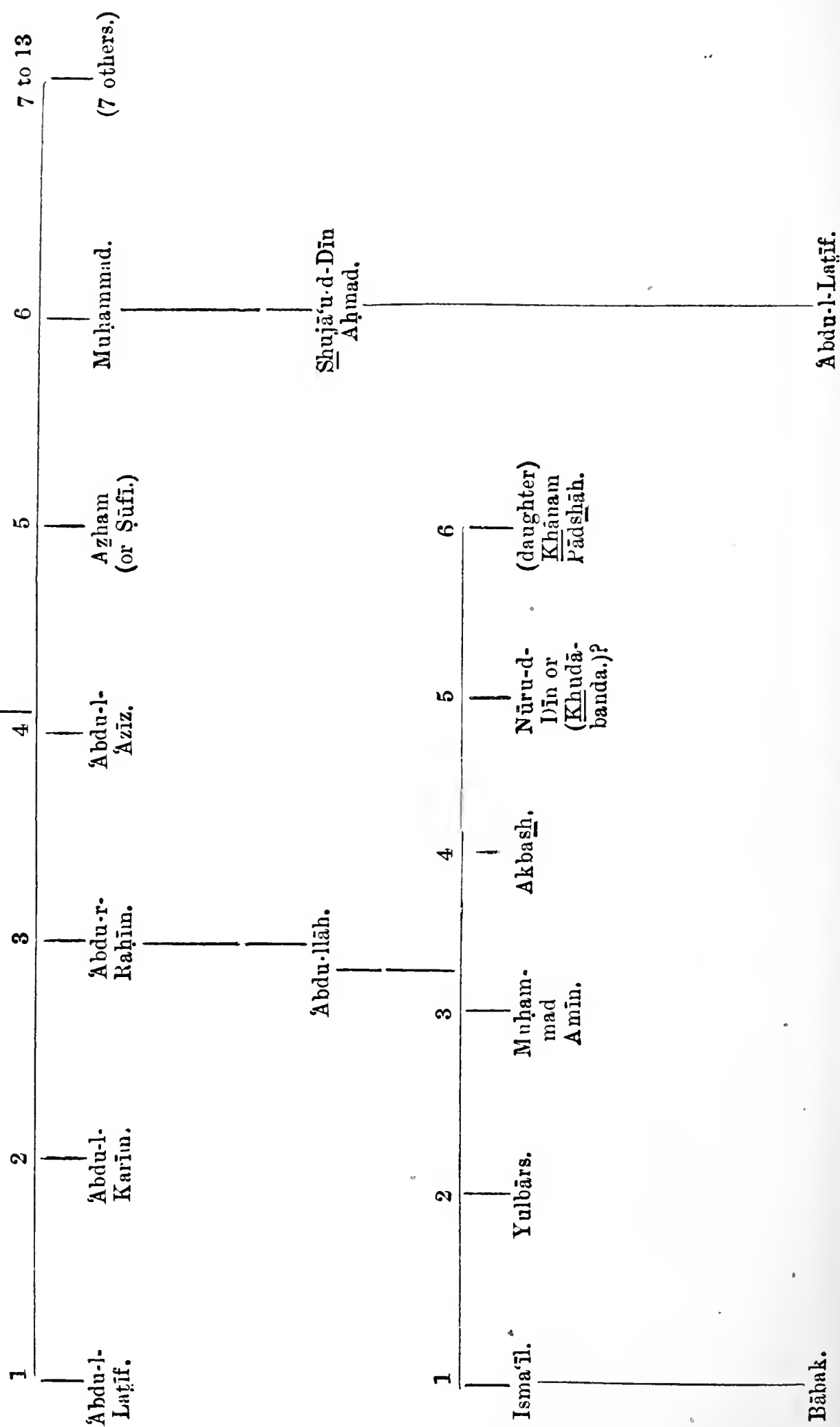
¹ For some remarks on this saint, see immediately below ; and for the remainder compare the genealogical table, attached.

² This name should be ‘Ubaidu-llāh.

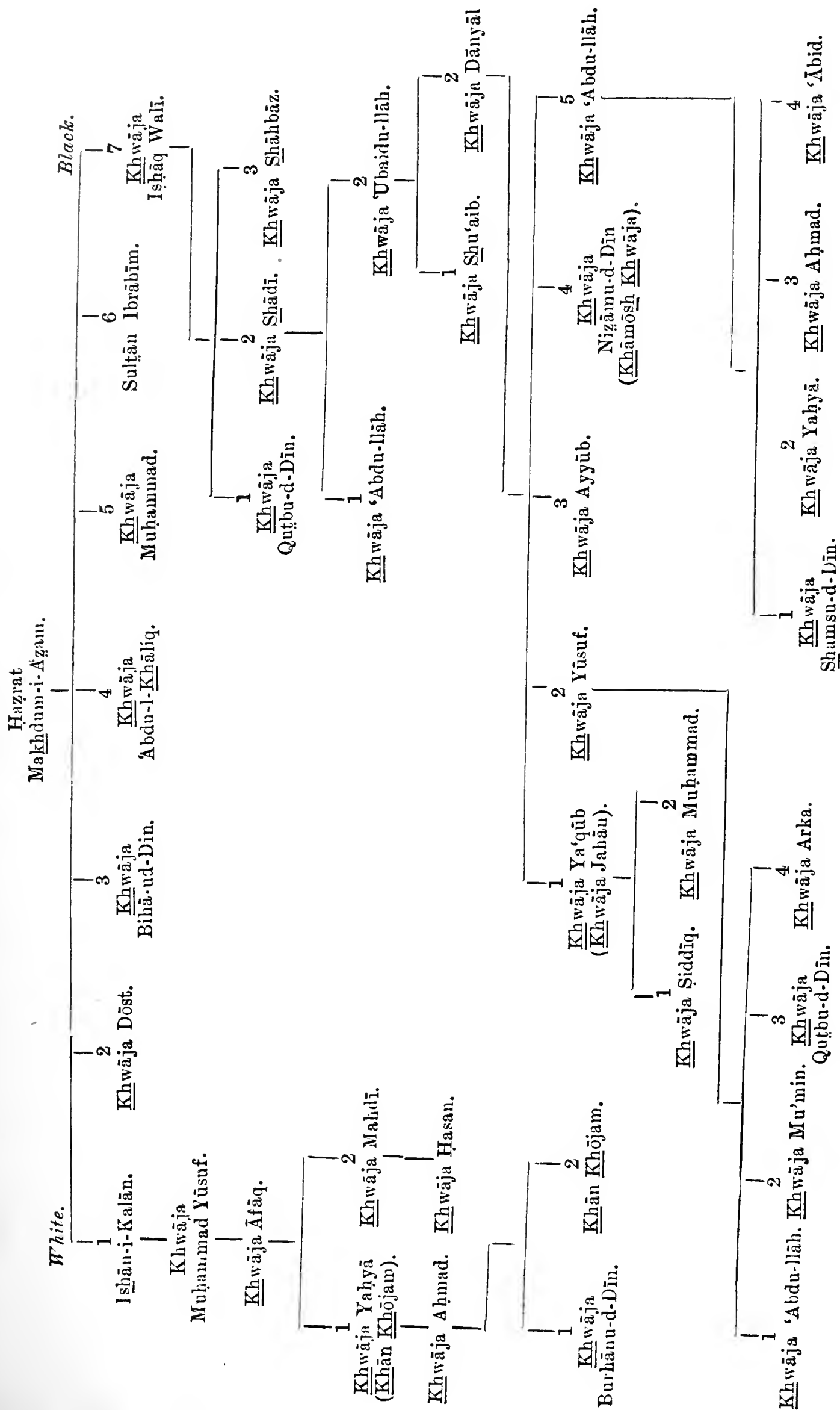
³ He uses, sometimes, Iṣḥāqī for the party of Iṣḥāq Walī, but has no general name for the party of Iṣḥān-i-Kalān.

I.—Genealogical Table of *Moghul Khāns*.

ABDU-R-RASHĪD KHĀN.



II.—Pedigree of the Khōjas.



II.—THE QALMĀQS.

The story of the Qalmāqs as a race is so variously told by ethnographers and historians that it is impossible to follow any one authority exclusively. The sources from which different writers have derived their information have been so scattered, and the points of view from which they have approached the subject so wide apart, that exact agreement could hardly be otherwise than surprising. One has compiled his account from the traditions of the tribes in Northern Mongolia, another from those located, in the last century, on the banks of the Volga, a third from the annals of the Chinese, while a fourth has culled such fragments as exist from the works of Musulman historians. A critical comparison of all original writers by such scholars as Howorth and Bretschneider, however, enables us now-a-days to get a clear view of who the people were who now go by the name of 'Qalmāq' and how they came to occupy the position described by our historian of the Khōjas.

In the first place it may be remarked that the name of Qalmāq (Calmuck, Kalimāk, etc.) is of comparatively recent origin and is not a native one among the nation so called. Its meaning is uncertain,¹ but it appears to have originated with Turkī-speaking tribes who at some time were neighbours of the people they applied it to. Professor Grigorieff tells us that the word is not to be found in the works of Musulman authors previous to the 15th century,² and it is highly probable that it only came into use about that period. But it has since become universally applied to them by the Turkī- and Persian-speaking nations of Central Asia and by Europeans, and has doubtless, in later times, been partially adopted even by the people themselves. On the other hand, the Chinese have never employed the word Qalmāq or any variant of it.

The Qalmāqs' own name for themselves is *Oirā*, though more often seen and used in its plural form of *Oirātā* or more fully as *Durben Oirāt*, that is "Four Oirās"; and it is this word, in various phonetic forms, that the Chinese have always made use of in their writings. Thus we find *Wā-lā*, *Wā-lā-tē*, *Ö-lö-tē*, *Wei-lā-tē*, etc., which European translators from the Chinese have rendered Olot, Ölot, Eleuth, etc., according to differences of ear.³

¹ If it is a real Turkī word, it would mean "to remain, to stay behind." See Shaw's *Turkī vocabulary*, p. 146. But Sir H. Howorth gives reasons for considering it to be synonymous with "unbeliever." (Volume I, pp. 497-498.)

² See Schuyler's *Turkistān*, I, p. 369.

³ Translators from the Mongol seem to read *Oghlod*, or *Ogehled* (See Howorth, I, pp. 676-677.)

The four tribes, or divisions, of the Oirāt have been variously stated and the subject has given rise to some discussion, which there is no need to enter into here. Briefly put, the Qalmāq, or Oirā, people may be regarded as merely the western branch of the Mongol race, while this branch has been divided always into four sections (whence the name *Durben-Oirāt*), which were again more or less subdivided.

As in the case of most, if not all, Mongol tribes, the western, or Oirā, nation originally consisted of two wings, called the “Right-hand” or *Boronghar* and the “Left-hand” or *Zunghar*.¹ The former of these seems almost completely to have disappeared previous to the conquests of Cingiz Khān, at the beginning of the 13th century; though in reality a remnant was left as will appear lower down. Still the sections of the left wing alone have latterly formed the Four Oirāt. Their names are:—

- (1) The Choros (or Cholos—the Cho-lo-sze of the Chinese).
- (2) The Durbet (or Turbatē Tu-rh-po-tē).
- (3) The Turgut (or Turghud—Tu-rh-hu-tē).
- (4) The Khoshot (Ho-Shē-tē).

Thus, when we read of the *Zunghar* tribe (the *Chongkar* of the Chinese), it should mean, properly speaking, the whole of these four tribes, or all that exist of the Left-hand wing of the original Oirāt. The vanity of a chief, however, caused at one period a modification of this simple rule—a matter that has been briefly explained by a Chinese author cited by Dr. Bretschneider.² We are told that on his accession the chief of the Choros tribe, known as Galdan Khān (about 1671) took the title of “Zunghar Khān”, and from this circumstance his tribe and country, especially, became known (for a time it would appear) by the name of *Zunghar*. In this way the whole of the Zunghar seem to have been regarded merely as the Choros under another name, while the latter name had (and has since) almost fallen out of ordinary use. On the other hand, however, the Choros having become the predominant tribe, and being known as *Zunghar*, this last name became subsequently a synonym with Oirāt, or Eleuth—as indeed it more correctly should be. It may happen, therefore, that writings are to be met with where the term *Zunghar* is made to denote the Choros tribe alone, but if so it is incorrect. Our history of the Khōjas is concerned almost entirely with the Choros tribe and its chiefs, so that when throughout the Turkī author’s text³ we read of the “Jungar”,

¹ The Right-hand is always the Western, and the Left-hand the Eastern, Wing.

² *Mediaeval Researches*, II, page 171.

³ This will hardly appear in the Epitome, however.

it is, in fact, to the Choros section of the Zunghar, or Left-hand Qalmāqs that he alludes, though in applying the term to the whole of these Qalmāqs or Oirāts he is strictly accurate.

But in addition to the four sections of Choros, Durbet, Turgut and Khoshot, mention is often found of the tribe of *Khoit* (the Chinese *Huci-tē*) and, with some writers, this has been the cause of much confusion.¹ Mr. V. M. Uspenski, however, has, I think, shown, in an elaborate paper on the Koko-Nor region, that, according to certain Chinese and Mongol authors, the Khoit have never been included among the Four Oirāt, or the Zunghar proper, but that they are a tribe of the *Boronghar*, or Right-hand Qalmāqs. If so, they are probably the only remnant that now exists of that ancient branch of the nation.² But just as these Khoit would, in their own language, call themselves Oirāt, so they are also classed—and rightly so—by their Turkī-speaking neighbours under the general term “Qalmāq.” The Turks, though, are not right when they apply this name, as they do in Eastern Turkistān, at the present day, to all the Mongolian tribes.

The habitat of the Oirāt tribes has varied a good deal in the course of the last five centuries, though it has been, in the main, about the same as at present, that is, the region between the southern frontiers of Siberia on the north, and the chain of the Tien Shan on the south; or, in other words, the territory pretty generally known now-a-days as “Zungharia” In addition to this tract, certain sections of some of the tribes have also occupied parts of the Koko-Nor region, while others again are located on the north slope of the Altai. During the period covered by the history of the Khōjas, the Choros (known as *Zunghar*) was the tribe that held supremacy over the others. They inhabited chiefly the Ili valley, but seem to have been distributed, to some extent, over nearly the whole of the region that might be called Qalmāq territory. Still the centre, or homeland, of each tribe can be fairly well made out, and may be roughly stated as follows:—

The Choros in the Ili valley and North-western Tien Shan.

The Durbet on the Upper Irtysh.

¹ Among the appendices will be found a note by Mr. Shaw on “Tribe Nomenclature” of the Qalmāqs. It was found among his papers and seems to have been intended as an appendix to his version of the *History of the Khōjas*. The particulars it contains were evidently gathered by him at Kāshghar or Yārquand, and though not entirely correct, are interesting as coming direct from the people themselves.

² Mr. Uspenski (in translation at least) is not very clear but I take his “Barin tribe” to be the Boronghar wing. [See *Memoirs of Russian Geographical Society* (Ethnographic Div :) No VI.]

The Turgut ¹ on the Imil river and about Tarbagatai.

The Khoshot in the eastern ranges of the Tien Shan.

The Koko-Nor region seems to have been chiefly the home of the Khoit, though the Khoshot were also largely represented there, and to a certain extent some of the other tribes.

All were, and are still, Buddhists and ardent followers of the Grand Lama of Lhasa. They have also been much bound up with Tibet, and Tibetan affairs, since the middle of the 17th century, and it will be seen further on, how they sometimes made themselves masters of Lhasa.

For the purpose of tracing the story of the Khōjas of Eastern Turkistān, there is no necessity to go further back into the history of the Zunghars than about the year 1676, when the chief then in power over them—the notorious Galdan—first began to extend his influence eastward and to the south of the Tien Shan. The Emperor Kang-Hi, the second of the Manchu dynasty, was then reigning in China, while in Eastern Turkistān, the last representatives of the Moghuls were still nominally exercising the functions of Khāns over the disintegrated provinces of that country, though the actual power lay already with the Khōjas.

This Galdan (or Galdan Bushētu Khān) as his title afterwards became,² was born in 1645, his father, known as the Erdeni Baatur (or Bahādur) having been a warlike chief, who had developed considerable power and had been able to treat, on something like equal terms, with Russia, China and Tibet.³ Galdan was not his eldest son and did not succeed to the chiefship, but was sent to Lhasa to study for the priesthood, whence, after a few years, he returned to his own country as a Lama. Here he soon contrived to make away with his brothers and to set himself up (about 1671) as the tribal chief, with the title of Taishi,⁴ or Kung-Taishi. His turbulent disposition was not long in showing itself, for he

¹ The Turgut are perhaps best known to English readers from DeQuincey's *Flight of a Tartar tribe*. They were compelled by tribal enemies gradually to migrate westward in the 17th century, and finally (in 1703) all settled between the lower Volga and the Ural river. During the reign of Peter the Great they lived there in peace, but unable to endure the rule of Catherine II, and learning that their ancient enemies, the Choros, had been practically exterminated by the Manchus, they returned to Zungharia in 1771—2, and became Chinese subjects.

² The word Galdan is itself only a title, and means, I believe, King. The chief's personal name does not appear to be known.

³ He is also reported to have made a successful raid on the cities of Eastern Turkistān in the year 1634, or about the time when temporal power there, first fell to the Khōjas. (Howork, I, p. 617.)

⁴ The *Tājī* of our Turkī author.

began, very shortly (about 1673), to quarrel with his relations, and his first campaigns—not always successful—were against sections of his own, or closely connected, Qalmāq tribes. Thus in 1677, he conquered the Koko-Nor country, with the result that large numbers of the Qalmāq and Tibetan tribesmen inhabiting the region fled eastward into China and placed themselves under the protection of the Manchu Emperor, who took up their cause, and thereby sowed the first seeds of the long series of wars that he had afterwards to wage against the Zunghars.¹

It was just at this time, also, that an opportunity was afforded to Galdan of extending his influence over the cities of Eastern Turkistān, where, as we have seen above, the Khōjas were already divided into two rival factions, according to their family extraction, though a descendant of the former Moghul Khāns was still the nominal King of at least the western part of the country. This Isma'il Khān, whose capital was at Yārqand was an adherent of the Black Mountain Khōjas, while the leader of the opposing faction was Khawāja Hidāyatu-llāh, more usually known by his title of “Hazrat Āfāq.” The White party being worsted in the struggle, Āfāq fled to Kashmir and thence, it is said (though perhaps doubtfully, as we shall see), made his way to the Grand Lama, at Lhasa, to whom he appealed for aid against his enemies. The Lama, we are told, gave him a letter to Galdan, requesting the latter to render Āfāq the assistance he required for re-establishing his authority in Kāshghar and Yārqand. Galdan seized the occasion, subdued the western cities of Eastern Turkistān in 1678, set up Āfāq as a feudatory, and exacted a yearly sum from him as tribute. At the same time he took Isma'il Khān prisoner and, carrying him off to Ilī, settled him in the town of Kulja.² He also conquered the eastern districts of Turfān and Hāmi immediately afterwards, and proceeded to lend his assistance to certain tribes of Western Mongolia who were then disputing with some of their neighbours. This was in 1679, and the complications into which his intervention in Mongolia led him, together with certain family feuds, kept him actively employed for many years, during which time the Qalmāqs seem scarcely to have interfered with Eastern Turkistān or the Khōjas.

¹ See Howorth, I, p., 623.

² It will be seen in the Epitome, that these good offices of Galdan's were repaid shortly afterwards, by the treacherous Khōja allying himself, with a younger brother of Isma'il, named Muḥammad-Amīn and marching an expedition into Ilī. The date of this expedition is nowhere given, but it seems to have been shortly before the death of Āfāq which occurred in 1105 H. (1693-4 A. D.), and was therefore probably at a time when Galdan was engaged in war with the Mongols or the Chinese. The expedition was successful however, and a large number of Qalmāqs were carried back as prisoners to Kāshghar.

Eventually, about 1688, Galdan's operations against the Khalka Mongols caused the Emperor Kang-Hi to fear that the Qalmāq chief was becoming too strong, and was advancing too near to the limits of Chinese territory. It was known, moreover, that he had intrigued with the Russians on the Siberian frontier, and had promised that, if provided by them with a force of Cossacks and some guns, he would ravage all the borders of China outside the Great Wall.¹ The Emperor was unwilling to go to war with an enemy who was practically master of the desert, and whose mobility his Manchu and Chinese soldiers could not hope to equal. He was, however, forced to take arms in defence of the frontiers of his country as well as of the Mongol Bannermen who inhabited the border region, and who remained true to the throne. He collected a numerous army and despatched it to the north of the Gobi, where it was beaten by the Qalmāqs and their allies, who then advanced to within 80 leagues of Peking. Here a second huge force had been got together, but the battle that ensued can only be described as a drawn one. Matters were patched up by a truce, and Galdan was free to turn his attention to further hostilities and intrigues with various sections of the Mongols and Qalmāqs, at a distance from the empire. Kang-Hi, however, saw that his enemy was by no means disposed of, and employed himself in organising, on a great scale, three new armies. Each of these was reported to number some 36,000 men and they were attended by an incredible host of retainers and camp-followers. One army he headed himself, while the two others were under the command of his most experienced Manchu generals. Early in 1696 this force began to move northward and westward across the Gobi and, after many slow manœuvres and tiresome delays, at length brought Galdan to battle at a spot called Chao-modo,² and defeated him.

This was the end of Galdan's power. Though not entirely crushed, he had, afterwards, to confine himself to the more westerly regions, but even there he was pursued by a force under the Manchu commander, Feyanku; while his family and tribal enemies took advantage of his fall to embarrass him in various ways. His nephew, Tse-Wang-Rabtan, the eldest son of Senghe or Tsenka (the elder brother who had been murdered soon after the Erdini Baatur's death) had long previously quarrelled with Galdan, and, though he had never joined the Manchus against his kinsmen, had lost no opportunity of trying to oust him from the chiefship. Galdan's own son, moreover, had fallen into the hands of the Emperor a few months after the battle of Chao-modo, and was never likely to be released

¹ Howorth, I, p. 628.

² Probably at a short distance to the south-east of the modern Urga.

from Peking. Against these conditions he struggled till June 1697, when he died suddenly and his followers dispersed—the bulk of them going over to Tse-Wang-Rabtan, though some surrendered themselves to Feyanku.

The Emperor at first thought that his troubles with the Qalmāqs were at an end, and withdrew the army under Feyanku, which was then probably in the western part of Kansu, and beyond the Great Wall. Tse-Wang-Rabtan became the successor to his uncle, almost without opposition, and the Emperor offered generous terms of peace, though he required the new chief to give up the mother and daughter of Galdan, together with the dead chief's ashes. This demand was at first resisted and led to a long correspondence and exchanges of envoys; but eventually Kang-Hi had his way and behaved with magnanimity to the prisoners.¹ For a time all went smoothly with China, but Tse-Wang-Rabtan proved to be nearly as restless and ambitious a spirit as his uncle. He was thirty-two years of age on his accession, and from his earliest days had been engaged in the inter-tribal wars, in the campaigns with the Mongols and latterly in operations of his own against Galdan. It seems probable, indeed, that during the last few years of Galdan's life he had been supplanted by his nephew in Western Zungharia (the Ilī region), and even to some degree in the eastern districts of Eastern Turkistān, for Sir H. Howorth points out that in 1696 he had his own garrison of five hundred men at Turfān. Immediately on his succession to the chiefship, moreover, he had to undertake a war with his western neighbours, the Kirghiz-Kazāks,—a war which he had, in fact, inherited from his uncle, and which he brought to a successful conclusion by subduing a large section of the middle horde of that people. He also humbled the Kara Kirghiz (the *Purut* of the Chinese), a tribe that lived in the regions about Lake Isigh-kul, and who supplied the Qalmāqs with a contingent of 3,000 fighting men. A little later again—in 1704—he was equally successful in suppressing the Turgut Chief Sandship,² to whom he was related by marriage, and who had attacked him without any apparent cause. The Turgut, however, suffered for his boldness by the loss of the whole of his followers, for these went over to the Zunghars and proved a considerable increase of strength to them. Even the Russians, the Zunghar Chief was able to beat back from the northern part of his dominions, and Peter the Great was fain to submit to more

¹ Howorth, I, pp. 639 and 642.

² Sandship was the third son of Ayuka, the chief of the Turgut, then settled in the steppes between the rivers Volga and Ural. He had broken with his father and had returned, with a large part of his tribe, to endeavour to wrest his native country from Tse-Wang-Rabtan. (See Howorth, I, p. 567.)

than one defeat, having eventually to relinquish his design of marching a force southward, into Eastern Turkistān.

But these wars, while they augmented Tse-Wang-Rabtan's power and enlarged his influence, had no far-reaching effects, and failed to embroil him with the Manchu Court. The one which was to follow, however, roused the Emperor once more, and brought on a series of campaigns with China which out-lasting the life of the chief, and terminated only with the loss of the Zunghar kingdom, together with its dependencies in Eastern Turkistān. The events which led to the invasion of Tibet and the details of that expedition, need not be gone into here, as they have no bearing on the history of the *Khōjas*. It need only be mentioned, briefly, that the Tipa, or minister of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been a protégé of Galdan's and a Zunghar partisan, had been attacked and driven out of Tibet by one Latsan *Khān*, the Chief of the Khoshots of the Koko-Nor, while this personage is described as a friend, and little more than a tool, of the Manchus. Tse-Wang-Rabtan determined to support the Zunghar influence, and sent an army into Tibet under his brother Chiring Danduk,¹ who captured Lhasa, put Latsan *Khān* to death and ravaged the country.² This was in 1709 or 1710, and it would seem that the Tibetans appealed to the Emperor for succour; for, some three years later, a combined army of Chinese and Mongols was sent quietly westward and appeared in the neighbourhood of Turfān. The Qalmāq, though taken somewhat by surprise, prepared an ambuscade, cut the invaders in pieces and marched upon Hāmi, which town they captured and destroyed. A war with China was thus begun, and Kang-Hi found himself compelled to continue it. In 1717 he sent forth an avenging force to the same quarter, but it met with a similar fate to the first one, and only at a short distance further west. In 1719 he sought to retrieve these disasters by means of a third army, and this time made Northern Zungharia and the vicinity of the Zaisan Lake the objective of his attack. This region was the home-land of Qalmāq tribes and was inhabited almost exclusively by them, while on the previous occasions, by invading Turfān and Karashahr, the Emperor was striking only at dependencies inhabited by an alien people. Though better fortune was met with on this northern expedition, the result was far from a conclusive victory: indeed from this year forward until the date of Kang-Hi's death (1722), a campaign against the Zunghars, more or less desultory, was carried on almost without intermission.³

¹ Probably the Ta Chiring (or Great Chiring) of the Chinese writers; for there were many of the name of Chiring—or perhaps more properly *Tsiring*. *Donduk*, it may be mentioned, might perhaps be better written *Tenduk*.

² Howorth, I, p. 643.

³ See Amiot, in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, I, p. 333.

These campaigns, though a heavy burden on the Manchus, both in men and money, seem scarcely to have affected the power or influence of the Zunghar Chief, for, during the time they lasted, we find him not only holding his own against the Russians, but also retaining his suzerainty over the Khōja rulers of Eastern Turkistān and intervening effectively in their affairs. Since the death of Galdan these factious priests appear, as will be seen in the course of our author's narrative, to have seldom been in want of a cause for quarrel among themselves; yet, as far as their external relations were concerned, we only hear of two occasions when they came into conflict with Tse-Wang-Rabtan. The first of these is not mentioned in any account based on Chinese chronicles, as far as I am aware, nor does our Turkī author refer to it, but Sir H. Howorth cites a German authority¹ on Russian history, who states that on Tse-Wang-Rabtan's accession, the Khōjas attempted to withhold their tribute, with the result that he led an expedition against Yārqaṇd, and carried off the Khān together with other chiefs to the valley of the Ili.² The second occasion was about the year 1713 when the Qalmāqs were seized with a desire to revenge themselves on the Khōjas for the perfidy of Ḥazrat Āfāq in attacking his benefactor, Galdan, some twenty and odd years previously. The invasion of Kāshghar and Yārqaṇd which followed was brought to a favourable conclusion: the reigning Khōja, Dānyāl, and several other members of the Black Khōja family were led captive to Ili, while all Qalmāq prisoners found in their hands were released and restored to their homes. Some seven years later, however, or about 1720, an opportunity was taken to re-instate Dānyāl as Governor over four of the cities of Turkistān, for which favour a tribute was levied from him of the same amount as that originally fixed by Galdan to be paid by Āfāq, viz., one *tanga*³ a head of the population.

The Emperor Yung Ching, who succeeded to the Chinese throne in 1722, being of a more pacific disposition than Kang-Hi, began his reign by reversing his father's policy in the matter of the Qalmāq wars. He saw no advantage in attempting to subdue the Qalmāqs or in protecting the Mongols from them. The tribes of the steppes were to be allowed to settle their own differences, and as long as the Empire was not disturbed, Yung Ching believed that he would have peace. For a time this was the case, and during the five following years, which comprised the remainder of Tse-Wang-Rabtan's life, the western war was practically in abeyance. His death occurred in 1727, as we know from Chinese sources, while our Turkī author tells us that it was caused by poison administered by his wife—

¹ Viz., Dr. Müller who (it seems possible) may be following Uskowski, the Russian Envoy at Tse-Wang-Rabtan's head quarters (p. 645).

² Whether the "other chiefs" were Khōjas or not, is not mentioned.

³ A *tanga* is a small silver coin, worth, usually, about one-sixth part of a rupee.

probably the daughter of the Turgut Chief, Ayuka.¹ Tse-Wang-Rabtan was no doubt the most powerful chief of the Zunghar dynasty, and he is said to have been able to put from 40,000 to 60,000 men in the field.²

Tse-Wang-Rabtan's successor was a son named Galdan Chiring, the child of a Durbet wife. On assuming the chiefship, his first act was to put his step-mother to death together with all her children. He seems then to have taken up the hereditary war of his people against the Mongols under Chinese protection, and to have attained some success; but in 1734, the strife was terminated by the intervention of the Grand Lama.³ At the accession of Kien Lung to the Chinese throne in 1735,⁴ Galdan Chiring sent envoys to Peking to offer tribute and make submission, and for the rest of his life (*i.e.*, till 1745) lived in peace with the Empire. "Charmed with my benevolence," writes Kien Lung, "Galdan was faithful to his promises. But Āchān, his son, the perfidious Āchān, did not follow in his footsteps. He advanced with giant strides on a career of crime . . . and was regarded by the chiefs of the different hordes as a monster of whom it was necessary to purge the earth."⁵ This estimate of the character of Galdan Chiring's successor is borne out by the view of our Turkī author, as will be seen below; but there is little to record of him, for his relations soon began to conspire against him, and finally capturing him, they put out his eyes and threw him into prison.

The sovereignty over the Zunghars now fell to the chief of the conspirators against Āchān, *viz.*, to his half-brother, the son of a concubine of Galdan Chiring's. He was a Lama and his name is usually given as Dardsha, though the Emperor Kien Lung, in his memoir, invariably calls him "the Lama Torgui." Whatever Torgui (or perhaps Torgī) may have signified, it seems likely that it was the name by which this chief was usually known, for it is also the one—in the form of "Lama Tāji"—by which he is spoken of in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's text. In consequence of his illegitimate birth, Dardsha's accession was only partially acquiesced in by his people, or by the princes of his father's house, and it was not long before a

¹ Howorth, I, p. 649.

² *Ib.*, p. 646.

³ *Ib.*, p. 649.

⁴ The reigns of the three Manchu Emperors of China with whom we are concerned here, were:—

Kang Hi	.	.	.	.	.	.	from 1661 to 1722
Yung Ching (son)	.	.	.	.	.	.	from 1722 to 1735
Kien Lung (son)	.	.	.	.	.	.	from 1735 to 1795

Those of Kang Hi and Kien Lung are regarded, by the Chinese, as the most glorious of modern times, resulting, as they did, in a great extension of the Empire.

⁵ Amiot, p. 339.

party had arisen, whose object it was to depose him in favour of the grandson of Chiring Donduk—the brother and chief general of Tse-Wang-Rabtan—whose name has been mentioned in connection with the invasion of Tibet.

This Prince, called Ta-wa-tze by the Chinese, and Dābāji by our author, was considered the legitimate heir, and his claim was actively supported by one Amursana who was not a Zunghar, but belonged to the tribe of Khoit, though he inhabited the same district as Ta-wa-tze, viz., Tarbagatai. After sundry adventures, these two, aided by some Kirghiz tribesmen, fell upon Dardsha, defeated his followers and killed him,¹ when Ta-wa-tze was established as Chief of the Zunghar.² This, however, was not the result that Amursana had intended, and the allies, becoming rivals, soon came to blows with each other, the upshot being that Amursana was worsted and fled to China to seek aid for his cause from the Emperor. On arriving at Peking in 1754, Kien Lung received him with honour, found an excuse for condemning Ta-wa-tze and accorded the fugitive the help he had come to seek, in the shape of a mixed force under a Mandarin named Panti, who was Governor of the provinces of Canton and Kwangsi.³ Within the year following, this army had reached the Ilī Valley, Ta-wa-tze was attacked, and put to flight after scarcely any resistance. He crossed the Tien Shan and took refuge in the Khōja town of Ush Turfān, but was made prisoner by the Hākim Beg of the place, one Khōja Si Beg (the Hokis of the Chinese writers), and delivered over to the Manchu general who despatched him to Peking.

The Emperor treated him with consideration, and appears to have entertained the idea of making use of him against Amursana, whom he evidently mistrusted, but both the prisoner and his son, who had been sent with him into exile, died before events had developed themselves, and with them ended the legitimate line of Zunghar chiefs.

On Ta-wa-tze's removal, his rival Amursana was set up as Khān of the Zunghars, but was kept in leading strings by the Chinese generals and closely guarded by the army which he had been the means of bringing into the country. This consisted now of only a detachment of 500 men, under Panti and one Ngo-yung-ngan, the bulk of the force having been

¹ See Howorth, I, p. 651, also chapter XIV of Muḥammad Šādiq's text, where, however, they are both (erroneously) styled nephews of Galdan Chiring.

² A Chinese author of the last century says Amursana surprised, and killed Lama Dardsha in his tent, then went and offered the crown to Ta-wa-tze, knowing himself to be of too low extraction to wear it. (See Gueluy, *Chine occidentale* in *Le musée*, 1887, p. 103.)

³ According to Gueluy's author this force consisted of Manchus, Chinese, Solons (a tribe of Manchuria) and Chakars (a Mongol people), *Ib.*, p. 104.

withdrawn to China. Thus, as puppet chief, it is not surprising that he should have had little power or influence over the Zunghars; indeed many of the tribal headmen, we are told, declined to recognise him, but continued to profess allegiance to the exiled Ta-wa-tze.¹ Yet, notwithstanding his enforced subjection to the Chinese, he attempted, as our text shows, to recover possession of the towns of Eastern Turkistān from the Khōjas, who had, in the meantime, revolted and set up a divided government of their own. This he was, in a manner, able to accomplish by utilising the services of two brothers—Burhānu-d-Dīn and Khān-Khōja²—descendants of the White Mountain Khōja Aḥmad, who had lived long in Ilī as an exile. In other words, Amursana succeeded in setting one section of the Khōjas against the other. The first named of these brothers was sent forward with a mixed force of Chinese and Qalmāqs, while the other was, at first, retained as a hostage in Ilī. Treachery and dissension arose in the Khōja camp, so that the most important of the cities were captured without difficulty, and the leading Khōjas and Begs were either put to death or made good their escape, and Amursana, as a Chinese vassal, became the over-lord of the country.

It is at this point (about the end of the year 1755 or the beginning of 1756) that our author's history comes to an end, but we may briefly follow the fortunes of the Qalmāqs and the Khōjas for some four years more when they finally disappear.

Amursana's success was short lived, for elated by the advantage he had gained in Turkistān, and unable to endure the restraints put upon him by the Chinese, he determined to shake them off. With the help of those of the Qalmāqs who supported him, and some other allies, he turned upon the force appointed to control him, destroyed it and executed the commanders. He then marched eastward, gaining some successes over other small garrisons of Chinese troops on the northern Tien Shan line of settlements, till he reached Barkul (the "Palikun" of the Chinese) where, apparently, he was shortly afterwards beaten by troops pushed forward by the Peking Government. The Emperor, against the advice of most of his ministers, was now determined to break down the last remnant of Qalmāq power, and despatched some of his best generals and troops to the Zunghar country. Amursana retreated westward and took refuge with the Kirghiz-Kazāks in the steppes to the north of Farghana. The Manchus, in small bodies, pursued him, but after a year of fruitless marching and negotiating, attended by some reverses, Amursana eluded them. He escaped into Western Siberia, where he found a refuge with the Russians at Tobolsk.

¹ Howorth, I, pp. 654-656.

² The *Bouraton* and *Hokitchen* of Gucluy's Chinese authors.

Here, in 1757, almost immediately after his arrival, he died of smallpox, and, on the Emperor demanding the corpse of "the rebel," it was carried to the frontier and delivered over to his envoys.¹

Throughout 1757 Kien Lung had been pressing forward large bodies of troops to the Ilī region. The power of the Zunghars, as well as that of other Qalmāq tribes, had been broken, but this was not satisfaction enough for the Emperor in the humour that then controlled him. "The blood of my slaughtered soldiers," he said, "cries for vengeance," and his vengeance took the form of a massacre of all Qalmāqs—men, women and children, says a Chinese author²—that failed to make good their escape. The land was practically depopulated, and the Zunghar tribe almost blotted from existence. Their country now became Chinese territory, and was, shortly afterwards, to be re-peopled by aliens from Manchuria or the extreme east of Mongolia, and by Musalmans from Eastern Turkistān.

In the meantime Khān Khōja having escaped from Ilī, and joined his brother Burhānu-d-Dīn, these two had become the rulers of nearly the whole of Eastern Turkistān, and were regarded, now, by the Chinese, as their direct dependents. There was, however, no Chinese Governor, but the Commander of the army in Ilī, Chao Huei by name, appears to have acted as the Emperor's representative and, following his master's orders, interfered as little as possible with the affairs of the vassal State.

For nearly a year this state of things seems to have continued, but in 1758 the two Khōjas, thinking themselves secure at a distance from the Manchu garrisons of Ilī, revolted and endeavoured to set up an independent Musalman Government. They declared themselves first at Kuchrā, but, after a long siege, had to fall back on Kāshghar and Yārqand. They were followed, however, by Chao Huei and his Lieutenant Fouté, and many months were spent in intrigues and in a desultory kind of fighting, until at length the Musalman inhabitants would seem to have become weary of the continued disorder and the weakness of Khōja rule.³ At both places, in the summer of 1759, they opened their gates to the invaders, and Eastern Turkistān, from that time forward, became like the Zunghar country, a Chinese possession. The two Khōjas, who had taken their last stand in Yārqand, escaped, together with a number of either

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From this version of the affair have been derived all modern accounts of the final fall of the Khōjas. Seeing, however, that it is based on the despatch of a Chinese general to his Government, it is scarcely likely to be worthy of credit, except in its main outline. The incident is well known, by tradition, even at the present day in the Pamir region, and is in the mouth of almost every Kirghiz, Shighnī and Badakhshī to be met with; but they tell the story without any mention of the sanguinary engagement near Yeshil-Kul, and divide the Chinese figures by about ten. In reality it would appear, the Khōjas had a following of some hundreds of Musulmāns and Qalmāqs of whom many were women, children and slaves. The Chinese party sent in pursuit followed them as far as the lake, but finding that the fugitives had crossed the pass into Shighnān, they cut some characters on a rock¹ and returned to Kāshghar. There was no battle, the Khōjas and their party passed unmolested into Badakhshān, and had reached Argu, below Faizābād, when they were attacked by Sultān Shāh, then Mīr of the country, and taken prisoners. Sultān Shāh plundered the whole party, beheaded the two Khōjas and kept the Qalmāqs as slaves.

On considering the part played by the Qalmāqs in these regions of Central Asia, during the last century, we see how it came about that the remnant of the Moghuls gave place to the Khōjas in Eastern Turkistān, and the latter to the Manchu Emperors of China. Had the Khōjas been independent of the Qalmāqs, it may perhaps be a question whether China would have been drawn so far westward as to interfere in the territory misgoverned by these factious saints. It is possible that one party might have gained so decisive a predominance over the other that a fairly strong and permanent government would have been the outcome. But even had this been the case the Khōjas would not have been long left to themselves.

In 1714 the Russian Governor of Siberia, Prince Gagarin, became possessed of information that Eastern Turkistān, and especially the district of Yārqand was a country whose rivers abounded in gold. In all probability it was Khōtan that he had heard of, for the rivers there contain gold in fair quantities, while in those of Yārqand it is scarcely known; but this matters little. He reported his discovery to Peter the Great and

¹ This was the stone seen by Captain F. E. Younghusband in 1890. It has since been carried off by the Russians. The imaginary fighting on the Pamir, it may be mentioned, is handed down to posterity in two spirited prints in M. Pauthier's *Chine* (Volume I, 1843) representing not one, but two separate engagements of the most approved theatrical pattern. Knights in armour mounted on prancing Arabs charge each other, with lance and battle axe, among the forest trees of the Pamir; while lines of camels, with field pieces pivoted above their humps, teach the reader what the artillery of the day was like.

proposed as the readiest method of mining the gold, the annexation of the country. It belonged, he pointed out, to the Zunghar Chief, then Tse-Wang-Rabtan, and his plan was to advance southward from the Irtysh, by means of a route which he would protect by a line of forts. He sent specimens of the gold-dust which had been brought to him, and so greatly interested the Tsar in the scheme, that the latter despatched a force of some 3,000 men, including artillery, artisans and others, under an officer named Ivan-Buchholz, to commence operations by building a fort near Lake Yamish, and thence to push southward. In 1715 the establishment of this post was begun, but its position being beyond Russian limits, as then recognised, Tse-Wang-Rabtan treated the proceedings of Buchholz as an invasion of his territory. He and his brother Chiring Donduk, therefore, lost no time in collecting their men and laying siege to the half-finished fortress. For several months the communications with Russia were cut off, and the garrison was so nearly starved that sickness broke out and Buchholz determined to retire. The fort accordingly was destroyed, and the troops, reduced by losses and disease to 700 men, retreated northwards to the confluence of the Om with the Irtysh, (the site of the present town of Omsk) whence the commander was recalled to Russia.

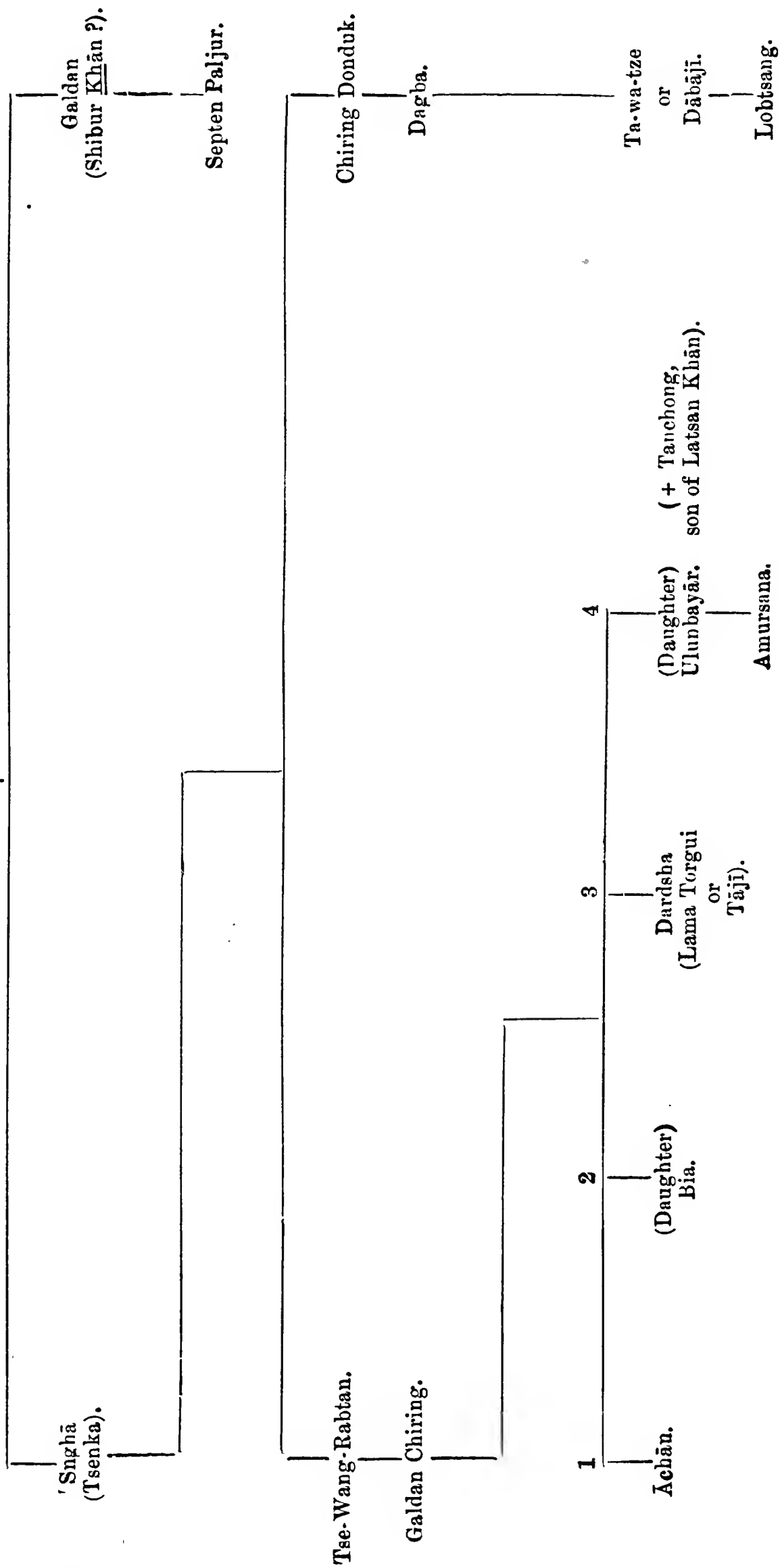
A fresh force was pushed forward in 1716, and again another, in the following year, under an officer named Stupin, while Gagarin was urged by Peter not to abandon his efforts to reach Yārquand. Stupin advanced up to Irtysh for 228 versts above Lake Yamish, and there began, in 1718, the erection of a fort which has since become known as Semipalatinsk. At the same time an officer was sent to treat with Tse-Wang-Rabtan, who was then camped in the Ili valley, but the result was unsatisfactory to the Russians, for nothing was elicited but threats of what the Chief would do if the new post were not at once dismantled. The Tsar, becoming impatient, appointed, early in the next year, a General Likhareff to superintend the proceedings, and sent with him a number of other officers. This party arrived at Semipalatinsk in 1720 and, with a force of 440 men, made their way up the Irtysh, in boats, to Lake Zaisan. The Qalmāq Chief was as good as his word. On the 1st August he attacked the Russians with numerous bodies of tribesmen and after an indecisive battle, which continued for three days, a parley was arranged, when it was agreed that the Russians should abandon their scheme and retire down the Irtysh. They retreated, accordingly, to within 181 versts of Semipalatinsk and there put up a new fort which has since developed into the town of Ust-Kamenogorsk.¹

¹ See Howorth, I, pp. 646-648.

After these events the Russian vision of an Eldorado in Yārqand appears to have been dispelled, for no further attempt was made to reach Eastern Turkistān. Indeed the limits they were compelled to confine themselves to in 1720, have not been greatly overstepped even to the present day ; so that the historical rôle of the Qalmāqs, during their short period of power, was not alone to draw the Chinese forward into Zungharia, but to keep the Russians back within the boundaries of Siberia.

11.—Genealogical Table of Qalmāq Chiefs.

KHUTUGAITU
OR
ERDENI BAATUR.



EPITOME

OF THE

MEMOIRS OF THE KHŌJAS.

Makhdūm-i-Āzam, a very holy man, spread religion from Mecca to China. His great grand-father, Sayyid Kamālu-d-Dīn Majnūn (a descendant in the seventeenth generation from the Prophet) lived at Medina and emigrated to Uz (or Uzkanḍ) in Farghāna. At that time Sultān Iliq Māzi, one of seven kings, was ruler of Utrār, Kāsān, Farghāna, Uzkanḍ and Ush¹. In consequence of a dream the Sultān married his daughter to Sayyid Kamālu-d-Dīn. He returned with his wife to Medina, where after his death, a son named Sayyid Burhānu-d-Dīn Kilic was born to him, who returning, succeeded his maternal grand-father, Ilik Māzi, on the throne of Uz. After a short time he gave up his government and became a devotee, retiring for the purpose to Khōjand. With whomsoever he was angry that person was sure to die. A certain other holy man once came to ask him the reason for this. On approaching the Sayyid, he fell into a trance and saw, hanging from the roof, a naked sword. Flies were constantly striking against its edge and being cut in two. When he returned to his senses, the Sayyid said to him : “ Friend, whose fault is it : the sword’s or the flies’ ? ”

¹ Mr. Shaw notes here that Ilik Māzi was a grandson or descendant of Sultān Sātuk Bughrā. Dr. Bellew in his remarks on the *Tazkira-i-Bughrā Khān* infers him to be identical with Sātuk Bughrā, but this is probably incorrect. Dr. Bretschneider, on the authority of the *Kāmilu-t-tawārīkh* of Ibnu-l-Aṣṣir, makes one Ilik, or Ilak, the successor of Sātuk, but does not mention the relationship ; and it is uncertain whether he refers to the same person as Ilik Māzi. Ibnu-l-Aṣṣir speaks of him as subduing the Sāmānī dynasty in Transoxiana in 1008 A. D., while Sātuk Bughrā is recorded, in the *Tazkira*, to have died only in 429 H.—or 1037—8 A. D. Thus it is quite uncertain to whom the text refers. The dynasty of the Bughrā Khāns was one of original Turks, or Uigurs, who had their capitals at Fālāsāghun and Kāshghar, and flourished chiefly in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. They are known sometimes as the “ Kara Khāns ”, but more usually as the “ Ilak Khāns ”—a circumstance which would point to the word *Ilak* being something more than the name of a single individual, and to the probability of its having been some general name or title. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole says, “ the history of these Khāns is very meagrely recorded.” And it is certain that what little information we have, is obscure and contradictory. It may be added, with reference to what follows in the text, that no such name as Burhānu-d-Dīn is to be found in any of the lists of Ilak Khāns (See Shaw’s *Turkī Grammar* p. 334 ; Bellew in *Yārquand Report* pp. 125-6 ; Bretschneider’s *Mediæval Researches*, I, pp. 252-8 ; and Lane-Poole’s *Muḥammadan Dynasties* p. 134).

Hence Burhān-ud-Dīn obtained the name of Kilic (sword). His son was Jalālu-d-Dīn, whose son was Aḥmad Khwāja, called Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam; then followed Ishāq Walī, then Khwāja Shādī, then Khwāja Ubaidu-llāh, then Dānyāl, then Yāqūb Khwāja (called Khwāja Jahān).²

Burhānu-d-Dīn's son and his grandson, Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam, were lights and pillars of religion.

Makhdūm was married to a certain Bibica Kāshgharī, a descendant of Sātuk Bughrā Khān. From them was born Ishāq Walī.³ While she was *enciente* Makhdūm used always to rise with reverence when his wife approached, but he informed her that this homage was not meant for her but for her child yet unborn. His father, however, did not confer on him the succession as head of their religious house, but he was consecrated (as it were) by another holy man⁴. When he was grown to a certain age he went to Bālkh, whence some of his father's followers [*murīd*] came out to meet him. A certain Khalifa Khurdak, who was one of them, did not pay him this mark of respect. At that time Muḥammad Khān

² The whole of this paragraph seems to have been taken by Mr. Shaw from his "other book." It is not in the original text of Muḥammad Ṣādiq.

³ Muḥammad Ṣādiq recounts the family history thus:—

"Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam had four wives. The first was called Kārsān Sayyid, who had four sons and one daughter. The first son was Ishān-i-Kalān, the second was Khwāja Dōst, the third Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn and fourth Khwāja ʿAbdu-l-Khālīq. But Khwāja Dōst was made chief of the Khalifa; and his august father gave Bahāu-d-Dīn permission to follow his guidance. He also gave similar sanction to ʿAbdu-l-Khālīq and his brother Ishān-i-Kalān. Another wife was the daughter of the Pādshāh of Kārsān, and was called Malika-i-Kārsānī. She had two sons and two daughters: one of them was Khwāja Muḥammad and another Sultān Ibrāhīm. He (Makhdūm) had another wife named Bibica-i-Kāshgharī, who was a descendant of Sultān Sātuk Bughrā Khān Ghāzī. That illustrious child, Ishāq Walī, was born of her." (Kārsān is said now-a-days to be a village some ten *farsakhs* from Bukhārā on the road to Karshī.)

⁴ This is explained by Muḥammad Ṣādiq thus:—"Be it known that while Ishāq Walī had not received clear permission and direction from Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam, his father (to exercise religious functions), Maulānā Luṭfu-llāh, who was Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam's nephew, had attained to this permission and direction from the Makhdūm. The latter had conferred them at the time of his death, when Ishāq Walī was studying at Bukhārā The grace which had been confided to him, in trust, at the prompting of the Holy Prophet, he delivered over to Ishāq Walī, saying to his friends: 'whatsoever was left to me by my teacher, Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam, that I have given to Khwāja Ishāq Walī; now do you demand (instruction) from him.' But the faithful disciples of Ishān-i-Kalān place their trust on this that the succession passed from Makhdūm-i-ʿAzam to Muḥammad Islām, and from him to Muḥammad Amīr and from him to Ishān-i-Kalān." Referring to this portion of the original text Mr. Shaw notes:—

"This passage is written in view of the rivalry which afterwards sprang up between the descendants and successors of these two brothers, as will be seen. An attempt is

was ruler of Bālkh.⁵ At the latter's request, Ishāq went to visit the Khalifa, but the latter was found dead as a consequence of his want of respect to the saint. Ishāq raised from the dead a child of Sultān Muḥammad Khān, From Bālkh he went to Hiṣār and Bukhārā.

Abdu-l-Karīm Khān of Kāshghar, invited him to Kāshghar. After some time the Khān became offended with him. He then retired to the land of the Kazāks and converted many of them, destroying several idol temples. Abdu-l-Karīm then again sent for him. The Khān's son-in-law was named Muḥammad Sultān, who was much devoted to Ishāq Walī, and the latter prophesied that he would shortly become King. The Khān set out with an army for Kanjāfur⁶ against the advice of the saint. This army took panic and fled. The saint then advised Muḥammad Sultān to go, promising him victory. The prophecy was fulfilled but excited the wrath of the Khān. Ishāq Walī prayed for deliverance, and three days afterwards Abdu-l-Karīm died when Muḥammad Sultān became Khān⁷.

here made to show that Ishān-i-Kalān's commission was less directly derived from their father, Makhdūm-i-Āzam, than Ishāq Walī's." It is, in short, the origin of two Khōja parties as explained in the Introduction p. 9 above. In another place Mr. Shaw remarks that:—"An Ishān is also a religious teacher, but not of so exalted a spiritual rank as a Khwāja."

⁵ I cannot trace this Sultān Muḥammad Khān. The date referred to would appear to be within the last quarter of the 16th century: if so, it would be a period when Bālkh generally formed part of the Uzbek dominions of the successors of Shaibānī. But it is possible that Muḥammad was not an independent King: he may have been only a governor under the Uzbek Sultān of the day (at that time probably Abdu-llāh Khān II) who had his capital at Bukhārā.

⁶ Kanjāfur is, no doubt, intended for Kanchou-fu, the capital of the province of Kansu in the extreme west of China. It might easily be confused with Kenjanfu, the Mongol corruption of King-chou-fu, an old name for Si-Ngan-fu, the present chief town of Shensi. This Mongol form had indeed survived till the middle of the 16th century; but for several reasons Si-Ngan cannot be the place here spoken of. Whether Kan-chou was ever invaded by a Khān of Yārquand, I can find nothing to testify, but it is known that by the date in question (which must have been towards the end of 16th century) Chinese power under the Ming dynasty, had fallen very low on the western frontiers. The border province of Kansu was often invaded from the neighbouring Musulmān States of Hami (or Kumul) and Turfān, and it is just possible that the western cities of Eastern Turkistān may have sometimes lent their assistance. On this occasion, according to Muḥammad Ṣādiq's text:—"Muḥammad Khān rode forth with 500 horsemen. He found the King of that country unprepared and captured the city."

⁷ There are apparent discrepancies here but they may be accounted for. Mr. Shaw notes that a Yarlygh, or title deed is still in existence, granted by "Muḥammad Khān, son of Abdu-r-Rashīd," which is dated at Kāshghar in A.H. 996 or 1587 A.D. Yet he also notes that according to "the other book" Abdu-l-Karīm's

Ishāq Walī remained twelve years in Yārqaṇd, Kāshgharī Khuṭan and Aksu, teaching and making disciples, and then went to Samarqand, leaving a disciple named Ushtur Khalifa in his place. The Khān and people of Kāshghar became cool in their devotion and transferred it to a shrine at Turfān. Ushtur went with them thither and sitting a straddle on the grave [stone], kicked it with his heels. A dragon came out to eat him; but the saint who was in Samarqand, becoming miraculously aware of this, offered, in spirit, his son, who was at Aksu in order to save his vicegerent Ushtur. This son, Shāhbāz by name, died at the same instant and Ushtur was delivered.

Abdu-llāh Khān, king of Bukhārā, sent his younger brother Rustam Sultān⁸ with an army of 50,000 men to attack Muḥammad (Sultān) Khān of Kāshghar, who was saved by the prayers of Ishāq Walī. The King of Bukhārā died of anger. After these events the Khān of Kāshghar became much devoted to this saint, who shortly afterwards died and was buried at Isfudik (in Khōkand) and not at Dahbid, near Samarqand,⁹ where Makhdūm-i-Āzam was buried; for his father had said that whoever, hereafter, should be buried in the space between his own and his son's grave, should be a partaker of Paradise.

Ishāq Walī left two sons: (1) Quṭbu-d-Dīn, whose descendants are in charge of the shrine of Ishāq Walī; and (2) Khhwāja Shādī, who was appointed his father's viceregent at Yārqaṇd.

Now Makhdūm-i-Āzam had another son called Ishān-i-Kalān who left a son named Khhwāja Yūsuf, whose son was Khhwāja Āfāq. These came over to Kāshghar and were received with veneration by the people.

death is placed at A. H. 1,000 which fell in 1591-2. But from an extract from the *Haft Iqlīm*, translated by Quatremère, it appears that Muḥammad Khān or Muḥammad Sultān, was Governor of Kāshghar under his brother, Abdu-l-Karīm, as Khān of the country. Thus Muḥammad Sultān must have succeeded to the Khanate about 1592, and it is he who is spoken of by Benedict Goes as the King in 1604. When, in the text above, Muḥammad is spoken of as the brother-in-law of Karīm, the author must have made a mistake. They were both sons of Abdu-r-Rashīd. (See Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits* XIV, pp. 487-8 and Goes in Yule's *Cathay*, p. 565.)

⁸ The 'Abdu-llāh Khān mentioned here is the second of that name in the line of the Shaibān Uzbeks otherwise known as the "Abdu-l-Khhair." Though he only actually reigned from 1583 to the date of his death in 1597-8, he was in power long before the former date. Detailed accounts of his life exist, but in none of them, accessible to me here, is such a person mentioned as a brother named Rustam. Indeed he seems to have had no brother: nor is there any record of an Uzbek invasion of Kāshghar during his reign. It may be noted, however, that the words "younger brother" do not occur in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's original manuscript; they must have come from Mr. Shaw's "other book."

⁹ It appears that both these villages must be near Samarqand. Dahbid is said to be just beyond the suburbs of the city; and Muḥammad Ṣādiq speaks of them

By this time Muḥammad Khān (the king) had died,¹⁰ and Ābdu-llāh Khān was reigning. He had three sons : (1) Yulbars, Governor of Kāshghar; (2) Nūr-ud-Dīn, Governor of Aksu; and (3) Ismaīl Khān, who stayed with his father ¹¹.

Yulbars was disobedient to his father, but he revered the holy men Yūsuf and Āfāq, as did also the people of Kāshghar. Khawāja Shādī died at Yārqaṇd leaving two sons : (1) Ābdu-llāh; and (2) Ubaidu-llāh. Yūsuf Khawāja came to Yārqaṇd to pray over Shādī's grave, when the king and many of the people turned their devotions to him abandoning the sons of Shādī. The adherents of the latter became angry and reproached the king, who said he would give an answer the next day. During the night he dreamed that he saw a large male camel [*bughrā*] which was seized by a small camel [*kiwa*] that came out from the Altun Mazār ¹² where the grave of Shādī was. In the morning Yūsuf departed without taking leave of the king. He fell ill at one day's march from Yārqaṇd and died at Topluk. Ḥazrat Āfāq came and fetched his body and buried it at Yāghdu ¹³.

At Yārqaṇd the sons of Shādī advanced in religious influence. The king (Ābdu-llāh) went away on pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son Ismaīl to rule in his stead, who expelled Khawāja Āfāq from Kāshghar and placed his own son Bābak Sultān, as Governor there.¹⁴ This régime flourished exceedingly; never had there been such prosperity even in the days of the Khāns. For twelve years the people knew not whether there were soldiers in the land or not.

Khawāja Ābdu-llāh (son of Shādī) died, and Ubaidu-llāh became the sole religious chief; but he died before reaching the age of forty, and left two sons—(1) Khawāja Shuaib, and (2) Khawāja Dānyāl. All obeyed them in religious matters.

Āfāq, on being expelled from Kāshghar, went towards Kashmir. He arrived at an idol temple of the Prophet Māni at Ju. He performed

as being separated by a canal, so that Isfudik should be close by. I do not know why Mr. Shaw has inserted the words "in Khōkand" in parenthesis. He spells *Isfiduk*, instead of *Isfudiā*, as it stands in the text.

¹⁰ Mr. Shaw notes here the year of Muḥammad Khān's death as 1018 A. H. or 1609 A.D.

¹¹ Further on in his book, Muḥammad Ṣādiq mentions other brothers of Ismaīl, whose names I have inserted in the genealogical table as sons of Ābdu-llāh, though it is possible that the word "brother" may not be used in a strictly literal sense.

¹² The so called *Golden cemetery*. It still exists at Yārqaṇd, and is much revered.

R. B. S.

¹³ The present shrine of Ḥazrat Āfāq. (See appendix B.)

R. B. S.

¹⁴ The original text adds that Ismaīl himself "ascended the throne at Yārqaṇd."

miracles and asked for help to take the country of Yārqaṇd. When the difficulties of the road were objected to, he asked for an introduction to the Qalmāqs who were of the same faith. Accordingly, a letter was written to the Tura (chief) of the Qalmāqs of Ila, saying :—" Oh, Shibur Khān ! Āfāq is a great personage whom Ismāil has expelled from Kāshghar. You should send an army to restore him." He went and received aid. ¹⁵

When the news of his approach at the head of a Qalmāq army was heard, Bābak Sultān led a force against him, but was killed in an encounter. The victorious Qalmāqs then took Kāshghar and marched towards

¹⁵ As this is one of the most interesting episodes recounted in the book, it may be worth while to transcribe literally the author's complete version of it. He writes :—" Ismāil Khān expelled Khawāja Āfāq from Kāshghar. The Hazrat went on from city to city until he had passed Kashmir. There is a place named Chu in the country of Chin. There the infidels had a Brahman priest (Shaikh) who performed miracles, and, by his teaching, had established his own religion. Hazrat Āfāq arrived there and, by degrees, displayed virtuous habits and miracles, which surprised the infidels. The infidels turned their faces to worship. Hazrat Āfāq, who was determined to protect his faith, also betook himself to devotion, and, by manifesting miracles and revelations, overcame the infidels, who acknowledged his power and asked who he was and where he had come from. The Hazrat replied : 'I belong to the sect of Musulmāns, and am their Khawāja. I had disciples in Yārqaṇd and Kāshghar ; now a man has come and seized those towns and turned me out. I beg you to give me people to recover my country and restore it to me.' The Brahman priest replied :—" It is very difficult to send people from here to that place.' But he gave him the following letter to the Tura of the Qalmāqs at Ila :—" Oh, Shibur Khān. Khawāja Āfāq is a very great personage whose country (Yurt) is Yārqaṇd and Kāshghar. In that country he is the Khawāja of the Musulmāns. Ismāil Khān has seized his country and expelled him. You should send an army, recover his country and restore it to him' Hazrat Āfāq took this letter to Ila and saw the Tura of the Qalmāqs there. Shibur Khān treated him with great consideration. He acted on the instructions contained in the letter, collected a large army and set out for Kāshghar."

In the first place, it would be interesting to identify the *Chu* or *Ju* of the text. Captain Valikhanoff does not mention the name in any form, but says that Āfāq "retired to Kashmir, whence he proceeded into Tibet, where he so ingratiated himself with the Dalai Lama, that the latter despatched him with a letter to Galdan of Zungharia, requesting the latter to re-establish the authority of Āfāq at Kāshghar and Yārqaṇd. Galdan seizing this opportunity conquered Little Fukhārā (i. e., Eastern Turkistān) in 1678" What the writer's authority is for assuming *Chu* to be Tibet, I do not know, nor is there anything to show the source of the date 1678. Still both are possible and even likely ; Howorth, Bellew and others have relied upon the Russian author. If the statement, that Āfāq had passed Kashmir when he arrived at *Chu*, is to be taken literally, it would be necessary to look for the latter place somewhere about the confines of Northern India. But it is possible that Ladak may have been regarded, loosely, as part of Kashmir, and thus the fugitive Khōja may have passed through Ladak into Tibet, which would be a more or less direct route. There is not, however, and never

Yārqand. The Yārqand General, Iwaz Beg, was killed, and by Ismā'il Khān's advice, the people of Yārqand treated with the enemy, conditioning for the exercise of their faith under their two Makhdūm-zādas. This was agreed to. Āfāk was put on the throne and his son Yahyā was given the government of Kāshghar. The Qalmāqs carried away Ismā'il and all his family to Ila. Āfāk agreed to an annual tribute of 100,000 *tangas* payable to the Qalmāqs.¹⁶ Thus the evil custom, which continues to this day was established by Khwāja Āfāk.

But the reign of Āfāk, as King, did not last long, as he found it inconsistent with his religious duties. He put a younger brother of Isma'il's named Muḥammad Amīn,¹⁷ on the throne and married their sister Khānam Pādshāh. War was made on the Qalmāqs and several of their Chiefs were taken. The disciples of Āfāk then became very turbulent, the Khān, Muḥammad Amīn, had to fly from Yārqand, but was killed by his own servants and Khwāja Āfāk again seated himself on the throne.

has been, any name like *Chu* or *Ju* for Tibet, or for any particular province or town in that country, as far as I am aware; though *Chin* is very frequently used as a name for Tibet proper, in Turkistān as well as in the hill regions north of the Panjab. Probably, therefore, as he is said to have gone to *Chin*, Āfāk did retire to Tibet, and it is just possible that *Ju* may stand for *Ju-wo*, which Mr. W. W. Rockhill tells us is the name of the chief temple at Lhasa. If this is the case, the "Brahman *Shaiikh*" would seem to have been the Grand, or Dalai Lama, and his influence over the Qalmāq chiefs would have been, at that time, very great. It has been mentioned, indeed, (in the Introduction above) that Galdan had been a Lamaist pupil at Lhasa.

As regards the authenticity of the date furnished by Captain Valikhanoff, I can offer no suggestion except that 1678 falls within that period of Galdan's life, when such an event as the invasion of Eastern Turkistān might be looked for. Ismā'il had succeeded Ābdū-llāh in the *Khanate*, but all we know is that the latter was reigning up to 1643 (and possibly for some years beyond that date), we know also that more than twelve years of Ismā'il's reign had passed before he expelled Āfāk; while Āfāk's mission to Lhasa (if Lhasa it was), his journey thence to Galdan's seat at Ilī, and the Qalmāq invasion must have occupied some years. Thus the year 1678 may have been reached.

The third puzzle in this passage is the name of Shibur Khān. Captain Valikhanoff assumes it to represent Galdan, and most likely he is right, for not only does the probable date bear him out, but, as explained in the Introduction the real name of the chief known as "Galdan" has never come down to us. Galdan seems to mean "King," but in addressing him, the Dalai Lama of Lhasa would probably use some personal or familiar title.

(See Valikhanoff, *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 169. Howorth, I., p. 623. Bel-
lew, *Yārqand Report*, pp. 175 and 178. Rockhill, *J. R. A. S.*, 1891, pp. 259 and 263.)

¹⁶ Muḥammad Šādiq's text has "4,000 *tangas* a month." Valikhanoff makes it 400,000 *tangas* a month! (*Loc. cit.* p. 170.)

¹⁷ The text has:—"They brought Isma'il's younger brother, Muḥammad Amīn, from Turfān and placed him on the throne." One date can be fixed during Muḥammad Amīn's reign by a reference to the *Tazkira-i-Muqīm Khānī* of Yūsuf Munshī, as

To get rid of the rivalry of the other faction—the adherents of the Makhdūm-zādas—Āfāq sent for their disciples, and having ascertained that the spiritual Chiefs held land, *viz.*, at Faizābād near Kāshghar, Tokuzkent ¹⁸ near Yārqand, Ak-Sarāi near Khuṭan, and Ak-yār near Aksu—he caused a part of the rent of these lands to be applied to the service of the Altun Mazār at Yārqand (the shrine of Khwāja Shādi) and gave the rest of it to the disciples to send to their masters, in exile in Kashmir, with an invitation to them to return. They did return, but their hearts were heavy. When they reached the Tiznāf river, Shu'aib said to his brother:—"Every step I take, my feet turn back. Let not our line be cut short; do thou return and I will go on." Dānyāl returned towards Kashmir, but a party of fanatical devotees of Ḥaẓrat Āfāq came out, without orders, slew Shu'aib and, putting his body into a bag, threw it into the river Tiznāf.

The news of this deed did not reach Ḥaẓrat Āfāq for some time, when one of the disciples of the Makhdūm-zādas came and reproached the saint with it. Āfāq struck his hand on his knee with anger and said:—"Oh ye butchers of disciples of mine. Ye have done this deed against my soul as well as against your own. This reproach will lie against us till the day of judgment." He then went himself and recovered the body, brought it back and buried it in the shrine of Altun. But Ḥaẓrat Dānyāl retired, in safety, to Dahbid near Samarqand, where the tomb of Makhdūm-i-A'zam was. After a dream in which his ancestor foretold the future greatness of his line and consoled him saying:—"Every grief lies between two joys," he went to Khōjand. Here he married, and a son, Ya'qūb, was born to him. His religious instructor gave him the title of "Khwāja Jahān," saying: "He will become a Jahāngir [conqueror] and raise again to dignity the line of the Khwāja."¹⁹

translated by Professor Senkowski. Among other ambassadors who arrived at the court of Subhān Quly, Khān of Bukhārā, in the year 1102 H. or 1693, was one "sent by Muḥammad Amīn, Khān of Kāshghar. His mission was to represent to the Khān that the infidel Kirghiz, having taken possession of the country, Muḥammad Amīn had placed himself under the protection of Subhān Quly, had said the Khuṭba and struck the coin in his name and implored his assistance." The result of the mission is not recorded. (*Supplément à l'Histoire des Turks*, etc., 1824, p. 57.)

¹⁸ *Toquz kent* means "nine villages." Mr. Shaw names them as follows:—Pialma, Guma, Zangoya, Chodar, Sanju, Boria, Dawa, Koshtak and Ui-Tughrak. They all lie to the south and south-east of Yárkand.

¹⁹ Here Mr. Shaw notes:—"Another account says that Āfāq inveigled the young Makhdūm-Zādas away from Kashmir and slew one of them—Ai-Khwāja (*i.e.*, Shu'aib)—at Sanju and murdered many hundreds of their adherents. Afterwards he himself went and increased the pile of fuel in hell, while his wife, surnamed the "Butcher Queen" (Jallād Khānam), carried on his bloody policy. The devotees (Dīwāna) became

To Āfāq were born two sons: Mahdī Khwāja and Ḥasan Khwāja. He repented of having taken the country by the help of the infidel Qalmāqs, but said that he could now hold up his head again on account of the virtues of this Mahdī Khwāja.²⁰ Āfāq presently died and was buried in the shrine called by his name.²¹ His widow Khānam Pādshāh remained at Yārqaṇd with her son, who was then five years old; while Yaḥyā governed at Kāshghar.

The Queen shortly afterwards went to pray at the shrine of her late husband. Yaḥyā's councillors represented to him that a woman was unable to hold the reins of government; the Kirghiz on one side, and the Qalmāqs on the other, were formidable enemies: he should unite Yārqaṇd to his own government and become Khān. He objected that he would be accused of injuring his father's widow, out of ambition; but one of the councillors said:—"Modesty is out of place in affairs of state; by means of modesty the country may be ruined." The wife of a councillor reported this matter to the Queen, on which a quarrel took place.

The Queen returned to Yārqaṇd and made her son Mahdī King there. After six months, this son's adherents murdered Yaḥyā Khān. He left three sons, two of whom were killed; while the third, Khwāja Aḥmad, was hidden away in a cave in the mountains. The Governor of Kāshghar was Zaid Beg, and he also was killed; but some time afterwards Khwāja Aḥmad was put on the throne. Much bloodshed ensued from which the Queen earned the name of "Jallād Khānam"—the executioner, or butcher, Queen. She herself was also murdered six months after the death of Yaḥyā.

After this Akbash Khān, the brother of Muḥammad Amīn, came to Yārqaṇd and slew a thousand fanatics (dīwāna). He put his son, Sultān Aḥmadī Khān, on the throne of Kāshghar²² and married the widow of

unrestrained in their wildness, and finally Akbash Khān came and took Yārqaṇd and restored order. He seized a thousand *Dīwānas* and, at the Kaba-Ghatku gate, (the Aksu gate) cut their throats and made a mill go with their blood."

²⁰ Mahdī was son of Āfāq by his wife Khānam Pādshāh, the younger sister of Ismā'il. But Ḥasan, according to Muḥammad Ṣādiq was grandson of Āfāq—not son. He was son of Mahdī, as marked in the genealogical table.

²¹ This was in 1105 H. or 1693 A. D.

²² Muḥammad Ṣādiq's statement on this point is quite different. He writes:—"the people of Kāshghar brought Khwāja Aḥmad from the cave in the hills and made him their Khān." This Aḥmad, as we have seen, was son of Yaḥyā and was a Khōja. The name of *Sultān Aḥmadī* does not occur in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's text. If he were a son of Akbash, he would have been of the line of Moghul Khāns and not a Khōja; and there is no mention in the text of any son of Akbash. My impression is that the Epitome is in error on this point, and that *Kh*wāja Aḥmad should be the reading, without mention of any relationship to Akbash.

Yahyā. Akbash Khān then retired with the remainder of Āfāk's family to India,²³ having first sent for Dānyāl Khawāja from Khōjand, stating that his ancestors had always been disciples of Dānyāl's ancestors. Dānyāl set out and was well received by the Kirghiz. The Kāshghar people, however, held out for their own religious leaders; so the Kirghiz took him on to Yārqand, where he was accepted as spiritual Chief.

At Kāshghar, Khawāja Ahmad was the nominal Khān, but the real rulers were some Kirghiz Chiefs who carried on a series of raids against the inhabitants of Yārqand. Not having any King of their own, the Yārqand people brought in a Kazāk Khān, called Hāshim Sultān, to reign over and defend them. In one of their raids, the Kirghiz approached the town. Hāshim, though taken unawares, sallied forth, slew one of the leaders and dispersed the rest. Next day the Kirghiz began to treat for the surrender of their chief, thinking he was still alive, but a prisoner; and they promised to give up three hundred Yārqand prisoners in exchange for him. The Yārqandīs, in order to secure this advantage, dressed up the dead man and set him on a horse, tied to a plank. The Kirghiz saw him from a distance and said to one another:—"He hangs down his head: he is ashamed at having fallen into the hands of the Sarts."²⁴ The deceit was successful, for the Yārqandī prisoners had been given up, and the dead body of their chief was all that the Kirghiz got. After this lesson they ceased their attacks on Yārqand.

In consequence of the intrigues of the devotees of Dānyāl Hāshim, the Kazāk Chief retired from the government of Yārqand and returned to his own country, on which Dānyāl became ruler of Yārqand for several years.

Whereas the Qalmāqs of Ila had been attacked by Ḥazrat Āfāk and Muḥammad Amīn, the king of Yārqand, they had preserved a desire for revenge, but were prevented from taking it by troubles of their own. Now, at last, they found an opportunity, in the confusion reigning among the Musulmāns, and with a large army they marched to Kāshghar and thence, without stopping, to Yārqand. Khawāja Dānyāl finding himself too weak to resist, accepted the rule of the infidels; and they,

²³ Here again there is a discrepancy. The author's text makes Khawāja Mahdī, and not Akbash Khān, retire to India. Both in this case and that of the note above Mr. Shaw seems to have followed "the other book." Akbash was obviously at Yārqand throughout these events, and Muḥammad Ṣādiq makes Mahdī take leave of him before setting out for India.

²⁴ The Sarts are the cultivators and townsmen of the lowlands, as distinguished from the Nomads of the hill regions; the word has no ethnographic meaning.

taking him with them, now attacked Kāshghar which, after a short resistance, surrendered. Dānyāl advised the Qalmāqs not to offend the religious feelings of the country by slaying any of the Khōjas. They approved of this counsel and merely imprisoned Aḥmad Khwāja (son of Yaḥyā), Ruler of Kāshghar, and put on a well-wisher of their own in his place; but they afterwards carried both Aḥmad and Khwāja Dānyāl to Ila. Here the Chiefs treated Dānyāl with great respect, but sent Aḥmad to one of their frontier stations, called Īrān Kaburgha ²⁵.

When Muḥammad Amīn had plundered Ila, he had captured thirty thousand people of the country, and from among them had bestowed a Chief's daughter on Dānyāl, who had converted her to Islām and married her. On the Qalmāqs taking Yārqand and Kāshghar, they had released their compatriots, and Dānyāl's wife, then *enceinte*, was given to a Qalmāq Chief, who, however, had no intercourse with her, until her child by Dānyāl was born. The child was a son, whom his mother swaddled in fine clothes and devoted herself to. He was brought up, till the age of seven, in all the learning of the Qalmāqs, without its being known, publicly, that he was the child of a Musulmān.

The mother, at last, found an opportunity to inform Khwāja Dānyāl of the fact, by means of a letter sent through a Musulmān merchant. He appealed to the chief of the Qalmāqs, who sent a man of his own and a disciple of the Khōjas to enquire into the matter. The woman stood to her declaration, but her new husband denied it and would not show the child, telling him that the Musulmāns would eat him. Finally all the parties were brought to the court of the chief of the Qalmāqs. The husband fell at the feet of the *Kongtāji* ²⁶ (the chief) who was a relative of his, appealing to him not to deprive him of his only child, for the sake of the Musulmāns.

²⁵ Muḥammad Ṣādiq adds that Khwāja Aḥmad remained at Īrān Kaburgha, on the frontier of Ila, for seven years. The Īrān Kaburgha district is in the range of hills forming the northern shed of the valley of the river Kāsh — a tributary of the Ilī. The date of these events can be traced, through Chinese accounts of the Qalmāqs, to about the year 1713, if our author's indication of "seven years" is to be accepted. See the next note below.

²⁶ Perhaps a better spelling would be *Kung Taishī*. It was the title of the highest rank among the Qalmāqs and stood for "Sultān" or King. Sir H. Howorth, quoting Pallas, says the meaning of the words is "Swan-like Prince" (I, p. 617-n). The *Kung Taishī* in the present instance was the famous Tse Wang Rabtān, and the date about 1720, for the author tells us, lower down, that the restoration of Dānyāl to the government of Eastern Turkistān took place seven years previous to Tse Wang Rabtān's death, an event which is known, from Chinese sources, to have happened in 1727 (see also p. 20 of the introduction, above).

The *Kongtāji* appointed a day when the Musulmāns attended, dressed in their turbans, etc., and the principal Qalmāqs in their own costume. The suppositious father had warned his child against the "turbaned race," telling him not to go near them, lest they should eat him, and instructing him to come and sit on his (the Qalmāq's) lap. When the two parties were drawn up and the child set in their midst, the *Kongtāji* said:—"Oh child! Which of these two dost thou recognise as thy father?" The boy turned his face towards his Qalmāq father, but when he got close to him, he uttered a sudden cry and ran and fell unconscious into the arms of his real father Dānyāl. The whole assembly was affected at the sight, and the *Kongtāji*, weeping, said:—"Oh Khwāja! The child is yours of right. I give you also the rule over four cities." Thus saying, he dismissed him to his government. Dānyāl gave thanks to God, and leaving his elder son Khwāja Jahān (Ya'qūb) at the court of the *Kongtāji*, set out for Yārqand. He clothed his newly found child as a Musulmān and gave a feast with much rejoicing, bestowing on the child the name of Yūsuf Khwāja.

On arriving at Yārqand, Dānyāl was accepted, with joy, as ruler of that city and province and also of Kāshghar, Aksu and Khutān, as had been ordered by the *Kongtāji* of the Qalmāqs. The yearly sum of 100,000 *tangas* ²⁷ agreed upon by Ḥaṣrat Afāq, as tribute to the Qalmāqs, continued to be paid by Dānyāl, and thus seven years elapsed.

The *Kongtāji* had a daughter whom he was about to marry to the son of the Chief of the Turgut tribe of Qalmāqs. All the Governors of the seven cities (of Eastern Turkistān) with Khwāja Dānyāl at their head, were bidden to the wedding, and went. He demanded from them, as a wedding contribution, Indian valuables, such as pearls, jewels, etc.; but they had none suitable. The *Kongtāji* became angry and threatened them with death. They all fell at the feet of Khwāja Dānyāl and implored his assistance; they also held a solemn night of prayer, in the course of which news was brought that the *Kongtāji* was dead, and that his son Galdan Jirin ²⁸ had become the chief. On enquiring, they found that one of the old *Kongtāji*'s wives, for the sake of raising her own son to the throne, had poisoned her husband. The people sought to take Galdan Jirin's life, but he heard of the plot, and taking counsel with other chiefs, slew his step-mother and her son. God turned his infidel heart, so that he allowed all the captive Musulmāns to return to their homes. Dānyāl was also sent home and was confirmed in the government of the four cities. He had to

²⁷ Muḥammad Ṣādiq speaks of this sum as one tanga per head of the population.

²⁸ That is *Galdan Chiring*. He succeeded in 1727.

content himself with the income from his ancestral lands and to give all the other revenues of the country to the Qalmāqs.

At last Dānyāl fell ill, and when about to die, made his will. After entrusting to his eldest son, Khwāja Jahān, the affairs of the faith, he told him that he himself was dying without having been able to attain the wish of his heart, which was independence of the infidels, but that perhaps God might grant the accomplishment of the desire to him. Then he expired and was buried in the Altun Mazār.

Dānyāl left several wives and five sons, *viz.*, 1, Khwāja Jahān (named Yāqūb); 2, Khwāja Yūsuf; 3, Khwāja Ayyūb; 4, Khwāja Nizāmu-d-Dīn (called Khāmōsh Khwāja); and 5, Khwāja Ābdu-llāh. By order of the Chief of the Qalmāqs, Yārqand was allotted to Jahān; ²⁹ Kāshghar to Yūsuf; Aksu to Khāmōsh ³⁰ and Khuṭan to Ābdu-llāh. They all regarded Khwāja Jahān in the light of their father.

Now the line of Khwāja Jahān was as follows—

Kamālu-d-Dīn (a descendant of Imām Husain in the 15th generation).

Burhānu-d-Dīn Kilic.

Jalālu-d-Dīn.

Makhdūm-i-Āzam.

Ishāq Walī.

Khwāja Shādī.

Khwāja Ubaidu-llāh.

Khwāja Dānyāl.

Khwāja Jahān (Yāqūb).

His apostolic succession (or the descent in the spiritual grace of saintship) was manifested by many miracles.

He was one day complaining of the mutual rivalries and enmities of the holy men of his times, and enquired whether the same was the case in former days, when the following story was told him:—

“In the time of Ābdu-llāh, there were two holy men, between whom no cloud had ever arisen. The Khān, to try them, took them out hunting with him. Taking an opportunity when he was alone with one of them, he asked him :—‘ How is it that your horse is so lively and that of your friend is so slow?’ The saint replied :—‘ Because my friend is such a great saint, that his horse, out of reverence and respect, moves gently and sedately; whereas my horse, knowing what a sinner he bears on his back,

²⁹ Mr. Shaw notes :— “ On the title deeds of a Mazār, he is found to be reigning in 1148 A. D. ” (1735-36 A. D.)

³⁰ In Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s MS., *Ayyūb* is said to have been appointed to Aksu.

dances about and tries to shake him off.' Presently the Khān asked the same question, privately, of the other, who replied: 'My horse is oppressed by the load of sins which he carries in my person, whereas my friend's sanctity is so great that his horse, desiring to fly to the heavens with him, continues to spring up from the earth in his endeavour to do so.' "

Yūsuf's youngest brother was Ābdu-llāh who had four sons:—

1, Shamsu-d-Dīn; 2, Yahyā; 3, Aḥmad; 4 'Ābid.'

Ābdu-llāh lived at Aksu and when his brother, Khamōsh, died there, he gave over his own government of Khutān to his son Shamsu-d-Dīn. He himself also died at Aksu; after which Shamsu-d-Dīn and Yahyā obtained Khutān.

Yūsuf went to Ila.³¹ He found the Qalmāqs in trouble among themselves and concluded that the longed for opportunity to strike for independence was come. He took counsel with Khush Kipak Beg, the Governor of Kāshghar, who was also at Ila and sent him back to Kāshghar to fortify the city and prepare for war, telling the Qalmāqs that this was done as a precaution against irruptions. But he sent a letter to Umar Mīrzā, the Chief of the Kirghiz-Kipchāks, living in the Ila district, and planned an insurrection in concert with them. He could not obtain leave from his Qalmāq masters to return to Kāshghar; so he resorted to artifice. He sent off a servant with orders to go a few days' march and then come back in haste bearing a prepared letter, which reported that the Kirghiz had attacked Kāshghar, and that Yūsuf's presence was required. The Qalmāqs at first decided to send an army, but being themselves in difficulties, they were finally compelled to give up this idea and to depute Yūsuf. He pretended unreadiness and offered to send his sons instead, saying that if they failed, he would go himself. In this way he hoped to release his sons.³² His proposal was agreed to, but, according to a pre-arranged plan, the sons sent back word that the task was beyond them,

³¹ In Muḥammad Ṣādiq's text it is said that Yūsuf used frequently to pay visits to Ila, his chief object being— " to obtain an insight into the affairs of the infidels. He was waiting for a disturbance to take place among them that he might seize the opportunity to use the remorseless sword of Islām On one occasion he found that the Tura (Chief) of the Qalmāqs had been changed, and that dissension and disturbance prevailed among them. " Galdan Chiring's death occurred in 1745, and gave rise to several years of disturbances among the Qalmāqs, as has been mentioned in the Introduction. The occasion of Yūsuf's visit, here alluded to in the Epitome, was apparently at the time when Ta-wa-tze had just become Chief, (*viz.*, 1754) or shortly previous to it, perhaps about 1753.

³² The text of Muḥammad Ṣādiq mentions only one son in connection with this incident, and names him— Khwāja Ābdu-llāh.

and that their father's presence was necessary. This device succeeded, and Yūsuf also started for Kāshghar. He had made one march on this (south) side of the Muzart Pass, when he was met by the Governor of Uch, ³³ named Khwāja Si Beg, who congratulated him, saying that now he was come, Islām would gain ground. Yūsuf put off this interpretation of his proceedings, but advised the Governor not to go on to Ila. This confirmed the latter in his suspicions of Yūsuf's intentions, and he continued on his way to Ila. Yūsuf fearing treachery from this circumstance hastened on to Aksu and Kāshghar.

The Governor of Uch, on his side, pushed on to Ila, and warned the Qalmāq Chief, Dābāji, that Yūsuf's object was rebellion. They sent three hundred men in pursuit of Yūsuf, but they were too late. Finding this to be the case, they despatched a messenger to him, saying,—“The Turas of the Qalmāqs summon you to their assistance. Amursana is advancing against them with a large army.” Yūsuf, on the arrival of this messenger, professed illness as an excuse for not complying. Khudā Yār was Ishkāgha ³⁴ of Kāshghar and held by the Qalmāqs; while another adherent of theirs fortified himself at Artush, and sent to urge Khudā Yār to revolt against Yūsuf. He forged a letter from the Qalmāqs in which they were made to say that a large expedition was advancing against them from China; it also contained an order to the Ishkāgha and his adherents to seize and kill Yūsuf, saying that if their own dominion continued, this would be considered good service; and if the Chinese prevailed, they would certainly reward it. The other Beks, however, would not join the Ishkāgha in this conspiracy, and the messengers took the letter at night to Yūsuf, who armed all his people and remained on his guard. The Ishkāgha perceived that the conspiracy was discovered and shut himself up in his house. Yūsuf then appointed ten Kipchāks and commanded them thus:—“When I say, twice over, *Tamāku sal* (fill up the tobacco), seize and imprison Khudā Yār.” The latter, however, kept away for some days, but had at last to attend the Chief's Court. Yūsuf began reproaching him and then gave the signal. A certain Kipchāk seized Khudā Yār with one hand, and, lifting him up like an apple, forced him, crying out for mercy, down the steps. Yūsuf re-assured the other Beks, telling them that they and even Khudā Yār's children, had nothing to fear. He then ordered a certain man to enquire how Khudā Yār was imprisoned. This man, whether he was a partner in the conspiracy and feared detection, or whether he did not hear the order

³³ Also written *Ush*. The place intended is Ush Turfān.

³⁴ Literally *Lord of the gate*. A kind of mayor or town-Magistrate.

distinctly, conveyed to the Kipchāks an order to slay Khudā Yār immediately, which they did.³⁵

A force was sent against the rebels at Artūsh, who, after firing a few shots, fled to Aksu, by way of Kalta Yailāk and Kalpin. At Aksu they consulted with Abdu-l-Wahhāb, the Governor, and wrote to inform the Qalmāq Chiefs of the events that had occurred, saying that unless troops were despatched at once, they must wash their hands of Kāshghar, Yārqand and Khuṭan. The children of the slain Ishkāgha also appealed for vengeance. The Qalmāqs consulted about sending an army, but refrained on account of Amursana being known to have gone to the Court of Khākān (the Emperor of China) and because an attack from that side might be expected. They determined, however, on despatching an Embassy.

Some time before this, the Kipchāk-Kirghīz, who were passing the summer on the Ila pastures, being instructed by Yūsuf, came down to Kuchār and thence went on to Khuṭan. The Qalmāq envoy, therefore, was sent under the pretext of bringing back this tribe. Now the Qalmāq Government was in a state of disorder—ruler succeeding ruler, as each obtained the power. The envoy, Mudarjī, was nominally deputed to Yūsuf, but he had letters to the Chiefs of Kāshghar and other places, appealing to them to sieze Yūsuf and send him to Ila. He set out with three hundred horsemen in armour, and took the road *viā* Aksu and Ush Turfān. Yūsuf sent a man to find out their intentions and received a report that they were adverse. He made warlike preparations, so that when the Qalmāqs arrived they found everything ready for war, and armoured men everywhere on guard. The attendants were detained at the doors and only five chief men were allowed to penetrate into the presence of Yūsuf. He treated them well and dismissed them to their quarters, telling his people that, although they were Kāfirs, still they must be considered in the light of guests.

When they reached their quarters, they sent for Khush Kipāk, Governor of Kāshghar, and showed him their letters with the red (royal) seal. He repelled their attempts to corrupt his loyalty. He also dissuaded them from their mission, warning them that they would fail. The Governors of Besh Karam and Faizābad were, however, won over; they told the Qalmāqs that without them their country would fall a prey to the Kirghīz. They said it was easy to seize the Khōja of Yārqand, who was a simple Musulmān, but Yūsuf was a sagacious chief whom it was not easy to

³⁵ Mr. Shaw notes here :— “ Another account says he showed Khudā Yār his own letter, and asked him what punishment he was worthy of, who thus conspired against his own Khōja. The criminal replied : ‘ death,’ upon which Yusuf gave orders for his execution.”

beguile. Accordingly, they planned to bring him over to their own quarters on the plea of an interview, there to slay him and show his body to the people. This plot became known to Yūsuf, who, when invited according to previous arrangement, went accompanied by a sufficient guard. Seeing this, the schemers gave up their intention against his life, as impracticable. Finding all their plots unavailing, they took leave and went to Yārqand.

Yūsuf, however, sent to warn Khawāja Jahān of Yārqand against them, and to bid him remain day and night on his guard. The envoys saw that all the Khōja brothers were on the alert, so they contented themselves with inviting Jahān to go to Ila and visit their chief. He excused himself. After a time, with the assistance of Ghāzī Beg, Governor of Yārqand, they succeeded in inveigling him to their dwelling, under the pretence that the chief envoy was dangerously ill and desirous of speaking to him. When he came in, they seized him and closed their doors. Some of his officers, who were outside, gave the alarm, and the palace was made safe and guarded. Some of the Khōjas fled towards Khutān, while a messenger was despatched to Kāshghar to inform Yūsuf. The Qalmāqs and their adherents went in pursuit of Khawāja Ṣādiq as far as the river Zarafshān,³⁶ but he escaped and got to Khutān. He seized Ghāzī Beg's ³⁷ house and family at Khutān, sending off only one of the servants to tell Ghāzī Beg that he was coming, that the Beg should prepare for war, but that if he hurt a hair of Khawāja Jahān's head, he (Ṣādiq) would destroy all his family to the seventieth generation. He then raised a force of some 6,000 or 7,000 men from among the Kipchāks who had established themselves at Khutān, and from the inhabitants of the country.

Yūsuf, on being made aware of what had happened, shut up the messengers and made it publicly known that an army of Kirghiz was coming to attack the town. By this means he induced the people to raise a considerable force, and, at the same time, sent to warn Ghāzī Beg, under a threat of retaliation, not to injure Khawāja Jahān. The messengers bearing this letter presented themselves before Ghāzī Beg and the Qalmāqs. A report spread that Yūsuf was coming with a force of 10,000 men, and was assembling the Kirghiz tribes under his standard.

Letters of reproach also came from other Musulmāns to Ghāzī Beg. He began to repent of his conduct and made an attempt to restore himself to favour, in case of accidents, by causing his own men to dress as Qalmāqs, and feign an attempt on the life of Khawāja Jahān, their prisoner, when he himself came in and pretended to save him at the peril of his own

³⁶ The Yārqand river.

³⁷ Ghāzī Beg was the Governor of the town of Yārkaṇd and had treacherously helped the Qalmāqs to seize the Khōja. Muhammad Ṣādiq says of him "God had made Ghāzī Beg a scoundrel from the day of his birth."

life. His sons, the same night, sent in two swords to their father, so that he might defend his own room until succour should reach him, if an assault were made on the house.

Yūsuf despatched 500 men to Bārcuk to intercept the Qalmāqs, should they attempt to make off to Ila with their prisoner. The Kirghiz also assembled at the call of Yūsuf.

Ghāzī Beg, becoming alarmed at these threatened attacks, released the imprisoned Khwāja Jahān and, obtaining his pardon, prevailed on him to send off members of his family to stop the armies of Khuṭan and Kāshghar. The latter force returned, but Khwāja Ṣādiq, who was met on the way from Khuṭan, refused to believe the messengers and pressed on to Yārqand where he found Jahān released and sitting on the throne. He rewarded his soldiers and allowed them to go back to Khuṭan. Yūsuf, however, formed the idea of attacking Ila and solicited help from Andijān and the Kirghiz.

A wife of Yūsuf had remained at Aksu. Ābdu-l-Wahhāb Beg, a Chief of Aksu, who had not submitted to Yūsuf, showed enmity to this wife, but she was released and sent to Kāshghar by an Ishkāgha.

Yūsuf, falling ill, took leave of his family and started for Yārqand, by way of Yapurghā. The people of Yārqand came out to meet him with a horse litter [*takht-i-rawān*], but he refused to sit in it, and entered the city on horseback. Here he remained for three months, holding intercourse with all the principal people.

At this time Dābājī (Ta-wa-tze) was ruler of the Qalmāqs at Ila, but their country was much disturbed. Amursana was a claimant of the chiefship, but being unable to obtain it by his own strength, he went to the Emperor of China (Khāqān), begged for an army and agreed to pay tribute. Assistance was granted him. Dābājī fled with a small following, and finally, finding no other refuge, betook himself to Ush (Turfān), while Amursana ruled at Ila. The Governor of Ush, who was not subject to the Khōja of Kāshghar, invited him into the town, but seized him as soon as he entered, and sent him to Ila, whence he was conveyed a prisoner to China.³⁸ There, however, he was treated with honour and his

³⁸ This passage, which is one of the most interesting in the book, from a historical point of view, is given by Muḥammad Ṣādiq in greater detail, and may be transcribed here. He writes:—“The cause of the disturbance in Ila was this:—Ghāldan Jirin [Galdan Chiring] was dead and his son Achan succeeded him when only twelve years of age. Being so young, he was not heeded by the infidels. He occupied himself only in amusements with dogs, in hawking and cock-fighting. He carried off Qalmāq women and often committed [other] sins. The affairs of his country fell into disorder.

descendants dwell in China to this day ³⁹.

Amursana, having firmly established his authority by the help of the Chinese at Ila, planned the conquest of the three cities of Kāshghar, Yārqand and Khutan. But the Qalmāqs were in a depressed state, and the Chinese army, having come from afar, was weary, so that the despatch of a sufficient force was thought difficult. Ābdu-l-Wahhāb, the Governor of Aksu and a partisan of the Qalmāqs, advised the following plan. There happened to be two members of the Khōja family at Ila. Let one of

“ Achan had a sister, called Ghulām Biā, who conspired with a Qalmāq named Tamgu Jarghāl, to imprison Achan and for Tamgu Jarghāl to be made Tura. Achan was made aware of the plot, whereupon he seized his sister and her accomplice, put out their eyes, and threw them into prison. Galdan Chirin had a concubine by whom he had a son named Lāma Tājī. Having heard the news of Ghulām Biā’s capture, Lāma Tājī came with a large force. On hearing of this, Achan, out of fear, took to flight, but Lāma Tājī pursued him, seized him, and established himself as Tura. He then put out Achan’s eyes and drove him into the streets where he died.

“ A short time after this, Amursana and Dābājī, who were nephews of Galdan Chirin and belonged to the Tura’s family, heard of Achan’s death and claimed their right to succeed as Tura. They collected an army and moved forward. Lāma Tājī was unaware of their schemes, and when he heard that they were coming, shut himself up and was unable to move out from fright. Amursana’s soldiers entered his tent (*Akoi*) and killed him. They took many captives and plundered the country, while Dābājī established himself as Tura, but Amursana claimed the Turaship for himself and disputed it with Dābājī. He failed, however, in his object and went with 500 Qalmāqs towards Khata (China) and thence arrived at Bājin (Pekin). He asked the Khān (of Khata) for an army. The Khān entertained him with kindness and gave him a thousand troops under the command of a Jang Jung [*Chiang Chün*]. This force accompanied him on his [return] march. Dābājī was not free from the fear of Amursana. For this reason the Qalmāqs were unable to send troops to prevent Kāshghar being plundered”

Further on in the book the author continues on the same subject thus :— “ When Dābājī had become established as Tura, Amursana went before the Khāqān Emperor of China and asked for a large army. He made a promise to take and deliver over Yārqand and Kāshghar. From of old the infidels of China had a quarrel with the Qalmāqs, but no favourable opportunity had presented itself (for action). When Dābājī heard of Amursana’s approach with an immense army his limbs trembled, because there was much confusion and dissension in the country. Not being strong enough to oppose the Chinese he was compelled to take flight and went forth with 300 brave horsemen of his own kindred, but finding no means of escape in any (other) direction he travelled on till he came to the pass of Uch” Thence he went on to the town of Uch, (*i.e.* Ush Turfān) where, for a time, he made himself secure, but the author continues :— “ Now, since Dābājī had fled from Ila, the throne of sovereignty had remained vacant, so Amursana came and occupied it. Khwāja Si Beg (Governor of Uch) took Dābājī prisoner and gave him up to Amursana. The latter was greatly pleased and sent Dābājī under escort of an army, to the Khāqān of China.”

³⁹ Dābājī, or Ta-wa-tze, had only one son, named Lob-Tsang, who died at Pekin

them, he said, be deputed together with an envoy, to Kāshghar, and let it be proclaimed that he has been appointed ruler of the province by the Emperor of China.

Now Khawāja Yahyā (son of Khawāja Āfāq) had left a son named Khawāja Aḥmad, who had two sons: 1, Burhānu-d-Dīn, and 2, Khān Khōja. Burhān was sent with an embassy, accompanied by a force of Chinese, Qalmāqs and hillmen. He was received with joy by the people of Aksu, and took possession of Ush. But the inhabitants of Ush advised an arrangement by which Yūsuf should be left in possession of Kāshghar, as it was reported that all the Kirghiz, as well as the people of Khutan and Yārqand, were assembled for the defence of Kāshghar.

When Yūsuf heard the news from Ila, he was lying ill at Yārqand. He took counsel with his advisers, and it was recommended that he should not wait to be attacked in Kāshghar, but should carry the war into the enemy's country, Ush and Aksu. But Yūsuf did not approve of thus inviting an attack on himself, in case his army should be defeated, and the Kirghiz allies were not to be trusted. However, the general opinion was too strong for him, and a force was despatched from Yārqand, without Yūsuf's knowledge or consent, under command of his brother Khawāja Yahyā. The Kirghiz joined the army at Yangī Hīṣār, and the Governor of that place, who was suspected of complicity with the Qalmāqs, was made prisoner, and taken on to Kāshghar; whence the force proceeded, by way of Artush to Ush. Khawāja Yūsuf died two days after his army had left Yārqand.

Khawāja Jahān, who succeeded Yūsuf, did not approve of this expedition and wanted to recall it. But his Chiefs represented that, having started, it was best that it should go on, lest the enemy should perceive dissensions among them. By his order Khawāja Ābdu-llāh, son of Yūsuf, was made ruler of Kāshghar. He collected a contingent of troops from his province and sent it after Yahyā, whom it overtook at Besh Karam. The united forces then marched by Akshai and Kakshal, to Ush. The invading Khawāja Burhān was amusing himself when news of the approach of this expedition reached him. He was taken by surprise, but ordered his troops to be called together.

Yahyā sent an embassy to Ush. On being introduced to the presence of Khawāja Burhān, they were scandalised at his dress and manners, which resembled those of the Qalmāqs and Chinese. With him were the Governors of Aksu, Ush, Kuchār, Sairām, Dolan and a Kirghiz Chief. There were also 400 Chinese troops under Turumtai Darin, and 1,000 Qalmāqs

immediately after his father, and while still a child. This would have been some twelve or thirteen years previous to the date of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's book, and consequently, it might be thought, within his recollection.

under Dān Jin-Jing.⁴⁰ After reading the letter from the Chiefs of the Kāshghar army, exhorting him to join the side of Islām, he began to mock the feeble intelligence of the Ishāqī Khōjas. He then recounted the deeds and power of his supporters, Amursana and the Khāqān, who had appointed him Ruler of the country, and he recommended the Kāshghar Khōjas to sue for pardon. His words and threats won over the emissaries, who reflected that Yūsuf was now dead. Two of them stayed at Ush and the other two returned to their own army, after making a promise to take the side of the invaders.

On reaching the camp of Yaḥyā, they spoke in exaggerated terms of the strength of the enemy. Yaḥyā professed his readiness to die in defence of the faith, and said:—"We looked upon Khwāja Burhān as our brother, and were anxious to deliver him from the hands of the infidels, but now that he has joined them to attack us, we will resist him to the death."

The troops prepared for war, but without much hope of success. They had before experienced the power of the Qalmāqs, and now the power of the Chinese was added to it.⁴¹ When the fighting began, one portion after another of the Musulmān army went over to the enemy. The remainder, finding their case hopeless, fled.

On their return to Yārqaṇd, Khwāja Jahān was advised to seize the remainder of the Mungi tribe of Kirghiz, who had been the first to go over to the enemy. An attempt was made to take them prisoners, but half of them escaped and fell to plundering the country. Those who had been captured, moreover, succeeded by fair speeches in obtaining their release and joined their brethren in pillaging Yārqaṇd territory.

The invaders then consulted and decided to go at once to Kāshghar, as the Kirghiz were friendly and the defending army broken up. On arriving at the city some of their local supporters worked upon the Kipchāk-Kirghiz guard at one of the gates, so that they agreed to let the rival Khōjas fight out the matter between themselves, without assisting either side. These were a body of Kipchāks who had fled in the days of Khwāja Dānyāl from Ila to Khuṭan. A certain Abdul Majid, a supporter of the invading Chiefs, stood on the bank of the Tumān river and cried out with a loud voice:—"Oh, my Princes! There is no use now in delay. The master of this land has come, now go ye forth!"

⁴⁰ These are intended for Chinese names and titles. *Turumtai* I can make nothing of. *Dārin* should read *Ta-jen*, the ordinary title of any high official. *Dan* would probably be the surname *Tan* or *Tang*; while the office *Jin-Jing* is doubtless meant for *chiang-chün*, or "general".

⁴¹ It is at this point that the MS. of Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Mr. Shaw's printed text come to an end.

After vain counsels, Khawāja ʿAbdu-llāh retired with his followers to Yārqand, and Khān Khōja entered Kāshghar. He immediately prepared to follow up his success by advancing against Yārqand. He was accompanied by a numberless force of Kāshghar, Aksu and Ush men and of Kirghiz under Kubat Bi, to whom the government of Kāshghar had been promised as a reward for success.

Khawāja Jahān, at Yārqand, pitched his tents outside the city and called an assembly of chief men of the place, to whom, after a feast, he made a speech recounting the time he had spent among them as their ruler, and entreating their pardon for any offence that he might have given by word or deed. "Now," he added, "we hear that a descendant of Hazrat Āfāq has taken Kāshghar with the help of the Chinese, and it is probable that he will also seek to become master of Yārqand. As it is not fitting that I and my family should submit to the rule of the infidels, we will carry out our long-formed desire of visiting the holy cities." The chief men of Yārqand tried to dissuade him, saying that if he insisted on going, let him take them with him. Let him not throw them aside in this manner. They would not consent to accept the rule of the descendants of Āfāq, but would fight them if they would not remain content with Kāshghar.

Khawāja Jahān was persuaded to stay, and entrusted the defence of the town to Ghāzī Beg, who had formerly betrayed him. A force of 3,000 men went out from Yārqand, with orders not to attack their brother Musulmāns of Kāshghar, unless the latter should strike the first blow. But when the cavalry of the two armies began to skirmish the Kāshgharīs came on with cries of "kait, kait" (turn back, turn back). Khawāja Jahān was pleased when he heard the news of this, saying:—"As they do not make 'Allāh' their war-cry, we may fight them with a clear conscience. It had long been on my mind that it would not be lawful to attack troops who met us with cries of 'Allāh,' " and he gave orders for the advance.

The Yārqandīs fought so vigorously that the Kāshgharī force retreated a *tāsh*⁴² distance, and made their "salāms" in the direction of Yārqand. A second time the Yārqand troops came out to the attack, and again proved victorious. They were in possession of two European rifles (*Frang Miltak*) which could strike a mark at the distance of a *tāsh*: they had been the property of Khawāja Yūsuf. Khawāja Burhānu-d-Dīn, the Āfāqī, was standing on the Bai-Dubba (or Tippa), a mound about half a mile from the Maskhara Darwāza (gate) on the east side of the city. A shot from the European gun, fired from the gate, struck his standard-

⁴² The *tāsh* is a measure of distance, equal to about four miles. It is the Persian *sang* or *farsakh*.

bearer, who fell with the yak's tail standard (*Tugh*). After further fighting the *Kāshghar* force retired again, and the *Yārqand* officers returned triumphant.

Now when the *Kāshghar* troops first set out, a deputation of *Yārqandīs* had represented to *Khawāja Jahān* as follows:—" *Khawāja Burhānu-d-Dīn*, with the help of the Chinese and *Qalmāqs*, has taken the whole country except *Yārqand* and *Khutān*; but *Yārqand* is, of all, the chief city of *Mughalistān*,⁴³ and its inhabitants, as long as they have one mind, are capable of encountering those of the whole of the other cities put together. But we are doubtful of two men—*Ghāzī Beg* and *Niāz Beg*—who would not scruple to barter their faith for the things of this world. They should be imprisoned till these troubles are over, and should have no share in our arrangements. Afterwards they might be restored to their present dignities." But *Khawāja Jahān* could, with difficulty, be induced to agree even to such precautions as preventing them going out into the field, or sitting in the court (*Urda*) to give their orders.

To return: the invaders finding force of no avail, sent four envoys, two Chinese and two *Qalmāqs*—and they were allowed to come into the presence of *Khawāja Jahān*, who sat on a high throne surrounded by his chiefs. They presented a letter which ran in the name, first of the *Khāqān*, and secondly of *Amursana*, and in which the *Yārqandī* leaders were reproached with their folly in withholding the tribute paid by their forefathers for many generations. Their error was ascribed to *Dābājī*, the expelled *Tura* of *Ila*. All the countries formerly in possession of the *Qalmāqs* had now fallen to the Chinese crown, of right. The *Khān* had sent this embassy to invite them to obedience. If they happened to be victorious over it, he threatened that troops upon troops would come from China and slay down to the very four-footed beasts; and he concluded by exhorting them to lay down their arms, promising good terms and throwing the responsibility of rejecting this offer on *Khawāja Jahān*.⁴⁴

The *Khawāja* tore up the letter and burned it. He then replied, saying:—" *Khawāja Burhān* is eating dirt. If he knows himself to be a

⁴³ It is curious to see this name applied to Eastern Turkistān. At an earlier date the regions to the north of the Tien Shan alone were known as *Mughalistān*, because they were those inhabited by the *Mughals*, or *Mongols*. Early in the 16th century, when a *Mughal Khān* conquered Eastern Turkistān and made *Kāshghar* his capital, the name of *Mughalistān* seems to have extended over the whole of his dominions; while our author, two centuries later, applies it to Eastern Turkistān only. Probably it was not a commonly used name even in his time: now-a-days it is never heard for Eastern Turkistān.

⁴⁴ This expedition to *Yārqand* is not mentioned in the memoir of *Kienlung* on the conquest of the "Eleuths" (as translated by *Amiot*), but the letter, although it is not expressly said to have come from the Emperor, has the real *Kienlung* tone about it.

man, let him learn that others are lions. Our minds have no other desire than to wage a religious war." With this answer the envoys returned.

Afterwards, however, a council was held in Yārqand, when an envoy was despatched to Burhānu-d-Dīn, on the part of Khwāja Jahān, charged with an attempt to win him over to the side of Islām and offering, for the sake of religious peace, to give up the city to him and to go on pilgrimage. Otherwise even if the city walls were of paper, the weapons of defence needles, and the defenders women, still he would not be able to take it. In reply Burhānu-d-Dīn said that a theological disquisition of this kind would not accomplish the work of soldiering: that the Khāqān and Amursana, who had sent him, would not accept such a sermon in lieu of obedience. "I am backed up," he continued, "by these two great mountains and shall not fail to take Yārqand—if not to-day, then to-morrow. Where will it go to escape us?" With these words he dismissed the envoy.

With this envoy had come a follower of Ghāzī Beg, who entered into negotiations with the enemy, on behalf of his master, to betray the city, on condition of obtaining its government. He also opened communications with Niāz Beg. The latter possessed a garden close to the wall of the town, from which he began mining under the wall and throwing the earth into an empty ice-house. It was winter, so no one visited the garden. He had progressed 8 fathoms, making in such a direction as to come out on the face of a bank below the wall on the outside. But among his servants there was one loyal man, and he at last informed Khwāja Jahān, who sent and found the mine as the man had said. Niāz was put into confinement, but his property was not seized, nor was his family injured.

There was another man named Ashur Kozi, a Qalmāq by birth, but much trusted by Khwāja Jahān. He entered into communication with the invaders on behalf of himself and Niāz, advising them to push forward, on a certain night, some 3,000 men; while he would arrange to set fifty men at work, with picks, to make a breach in the city wall. All was in readiness, but a son of Ashur Kozi reproached his father for his treachery, saying that it was better to die righteously than to enjoy the empire of the world. Passing from words to blows, the father wounded him with his sword, and he fled and informed Khwāja Jahān, who at first refused to believe him. But, at his suggestion, the messenger of his father was seized and he confessed. Then Ashur was arrested, his house was searched, and the letter bearing the seal of Khwāja Burhān was found.

Next day Ashur was brought out before the people and his crime declared. He made a public confession and acknowledged that death

was the penalty he had incurred. Khawāja Ābdu-llāh interceded for him, saying that if he were killed, no son would, in future, reveal his father's conspiracies. Khawāja Jahān then proclaimed to the people that the son had begged for the father's life from him, and he (the Khawāja) now begged it from the people. The assembly, however, replied that unless somebody's life was taken, the city would not be safe; so the messenger was executed.

The enemy were greatly dejected, because these two schemes had failed; and they were defeated daily in the open field.

Now Ghāzī Beg's station in the defence was from the Khānaka gate to the Maskhara gate. It was reported to the Khawāja that Ghāzī's spies were constantly coming and going, and a petition was handed in that he might be imprisoned. The Khawāja replied:—"It is of no use. Our destruction is decreed: it is only delayed, not averted." Ghāzī Beg then planned to procure a defeat of the Yārqand army. The Khawāja consented to an attack being made and the whole male population of Yārqand, from twelve years of age to seventy, was sent out. Some people said that they numbered as many as 40,000 as they sallied forth.

Burhānu-d-Dīn's army retired before this mass. The Kirghiz, Kubat Bi, the accursed one, stood looking on. But Ghāzī Beg was marshalling the Yārqand troops, when a small force rode at him. He fled with his standard, and the Yārqand men being taken with fright at this defection, fled, and pressed on one another up to the gate. Khawāja Ābdu-llāh tried to get out of the city to stop the rout, but could not make his way through the crowd of fugitives. Ropes were then thrown over the wall and as many as possible were taken into the town; the rest were all slain by the enemy.

After a few days of despair, the Khōjas and the chief people of Yār-qand sallied forth with the intention of taking refuge in the mountains. Some on horses, some on camels, some riding two together on one horse, they set out and reached the Zarafshān (the Yārqand river); but it was frozen so insufficiently as to be impassable on the ice, moreover night had set in. They turned aside to a place, above, called Kara-Yun-tagh, and there began to cross. Then the Kirghiz in the enemy's army discovered their movements and went after them.

Ghāzī Beg finding the people had left the town, beat the drum of rejoicing and sent out to Khawāja Burhān who pushed forward 500 men to stop the flight. This party, together with the Kirghiz, overtook the fugitives. Some of the latter were trembling with cold and wet, some were burdened with children in their arms; but none were capable of showing fight, although there were about a thousand of them. One of

Khwāja Jahān's wives gave birth to a child during the night and could not follow.

Khwāja Abdu-llāh managed to collect a few men to check the pursuit, but it continued nevertheless till the afternoon of the next day. At the upper crossing of the river, the Kirghiz seized the passage and opened fire with their muskets. Abdu-llāh alone showed courage, but what was one against so many? The fugitives crowded into the river, so as to dam up the water, but again it broke through them sweeping many away with it. Abdu-llāh saw the dead body of Yūsuf Khwāja's son being borne past, but he could not even cast a second glance at it in the confusion. After a long struggle they reached the other bank and stopped to recover themselves. Looking round they counted up their losses: one had lost his wife, another his father, and a third his child; cries of grief went up to heaven.

The Kirghiz now offered them quarter if they would surrender. With the exception of Abdu-llāh, all the princes agreed to do so, provided the chiefs of the Kirghiz would bind themselves to good faith by an oath. But Abdu-llāh's pride would not consent to a surrender on any terms. Khwāja Jahān exhorted him to submit and not to fly from death, for life was only a prison to the faithful, though a paradise to unbelievers. Abdu-llāh replied:—"Oh my king, suffer me and a few others to make a fight for liberty. If we all fall into the hands of these infidels, none of our line will escape. I say not this as desiring to avoid death. In our present circumstances death is our best refuge. But firstly our lineage will be destroyed by our being taken, and secondly I would rather die in fight than after falling into the hands of these men."

While they were discussing thus, the Kirghiz crossed the river and coming up, with respect, to the old Khwāja, suggested that if he did not believe their word, he should send his son Yahyā with them to the camp of Burhānu-d-Dīn, to obtain assurances from him in person. So Yahyā was sent off with them.

The Musulmāns were wet, hungry and cold, and night was coming on. Some of them killed their horses, and lighting fires, cooked the flesh and ate it. Abdu-llāh then begged the Khwāja's permission to try and escape with his two children, lest the line of the Khwājas should be cut short, and God threw dust into the eyes of the Kirghiz so that he got away safely, with one child before him and the other behind him, on the same horse.

In the morning the Kirghiz approached and said:—"Oh Khwāja, let us come away into the presence of Khwāja Burhān and see what city he will appoint to you as your Government." But the princes said to themselves:—"It is a question of what death they are going to inflict, not

what city they are going to give." Afterwards the Kirghiz asked:—"What need have you now for your fire arms and accoutrements?" and so took them from them.

With many indignities and sufferings, they were brought in by the Kirghiz, who, cruelly and for sport, slew many of the children and carried their bodies on their spears. In this way, they passed one night at the village of Ak-tam and another at Urda-Ustang, where there were but four bare walls to sleep between. At this place they were separated from one another to be led into the city, and they never saw one another more.

What happened after this, there is no strength to relate nor to listen to.

APPENDIX A.

HIERARCHY OF THE MUSULMĀN RELIGIOUS ORDERS OR GUILDS.

The technical terms in the text require a little explanation. Among the Musulmāns of Eastern Turkistān, who follow chiefly the rule of the *Naqshbandī* order, the head of the hierarchy is the *murshid* or *pīr*, generally a descendant of the Prophet. The spiritual succession "*nisbat-i-ma'nā*" is handed down usually in the family of the Founder or Missionary Apostle, but sometimes is vested in one or more of his chief disciples, especially at what may be called "out-stations." He has a congregation or body of disciples (*murīd*), consisting of the lay chief and population descended from those who were originally converted or recruited by his ancestor's preaching. These are considered hereditarily subject (in religious matters) to the *murshid's* descendants or representatives. He has also a special band of more closely united disciples or apostles called "*khalīfa*," i.e., vicegerents (vicars) who may be considered the clergy of this church, although their speciality merely extends to preaching and expounding and not to any priestly ministrations, for Islām recognises no priesthood. These form a sort of court around the spiritual superior and his family; and from them are chosen his representatives and successors when his own progeny fail.

The *waqf*, or church lands, given by devout laymen, are vested in this hierarchy. When such a church or order is formed, whether out of the general body of Musulmāns or by the conversion of tribes of a different religion, the initiatory process is called "*inābat*," i.e., conversion or religious submission, or "*irādat*," i.e., devotion. The commission, or ordination, by which the *Khalīfas* are inducted into this office, is called "*rukhsat*" (permission) or "*irshād*" (direction). Hence "*murshid*" a spiritual director. These churches or orders do not, I believe, differ *doctrinally* from one another among the orthodox Musulmāns. They even belong to the same one out of the four so-called sects of the Sunnis. But they profess a particular method of exciting devotion among their members. This is called their "*ṭarīq*" (road or path). Some of them, especially the *Naqshbandī* (to which the *Khōjas* of Kāshgharia belonged), have particular signs by which they can recognise their brethren in the faith among strange Musulmāns. There may be many such churches or congregations belonging to the same order or guild, but tracing their spiritual descent through a different line. The members are sometimes scattered in different countries. In such cases the superior will often send a *Khalīfa* or will travel himself into the places inhabited by them, to confirm them in the faith and to raise contributions. Thus Ghafūr Shāh Naqshbandī, belonging to a family originally of Tāshkand, but now established in Kashmir, several times visited his flocks in Turkistān, and often wrote to the chief members. In return these people and other Turkistānis when they visit Kashmir are entertained by his sons (he is now dead) in quarters,

especially devoted to this purpose at the ziārat or shrine of which he is guardian. So also Aghā Khān of Bombay (a Shīā sectary) has many adherents in the valleys of the Hindu Kush. Of course in some cases such an organisation is used for political purposes.

APPENDIX B.

A VISIT TO THE SHRINE OF ḤAẒRAT ĀFĀQ.

The following account of a visit paid by myself and an English companion to the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Āfāq, in December 1874, may be interesting as illustrating the text.

After crossing the Tumān River by a wooden bridge, just below the south-eastern angle of the wall of Kāshghar city, we rode for nearly a couple of miles chiefly through a large cemetery—a perfect city of the dead—where numerous begging dervishes, single, and even in families, had established their dwellings in the niches and under the domes of the tombs, and came out at the approach of our cavalcade to ask for alms with loud invocations and deep reverences. Presently the road became a walled lane, overhung by the branches of tall trees growing in a large park-like domain, which extended on either side and in front. This lane ended at a gateway where we all dismounted, and left our horses under the charge of a number of boys and young men, who were hanging about there for the purpose of holding the horses of visitors and pilgrims. The hereditary guardian of the shrine, a Ḥājī, accompanied by his retinue, met us at the gate and conducted us into the interior. We passed numerous collegiate buildings, the quarters of students who come to study theology here, and other buildings indicating the existence of quite a little religious colony. In summer it must be charming under the shade of the venerable trees, an air of religious and scholastic repose pervading the whole. After a short walk we reached the shrine, a square building with a barred gateway enclosing a small courtyard in which were more than seventy tombs of the members of the Āfāqide branch of the Khōja family. Among them is a tomb marked only with the initials K. Sh. (*Kāf*, *Shīn*). This is the *nom de plume* under which is known the writer of certain poems and semi-poetical biographies of Ḥaẓrat Āfāq and his ancestors, which are in my possession.

The shrine is marked by four tall masts decorated with *yak* tails (*tugh*) and flags inscribed with Arabic texts, and by numerous huge horns of the *Ovis Poli* (or rather *Ovis Karilini*) found in the neighbouring mountains. These are ranged along the top of the walls surrounding the shrine, and the finest are formed into two heaps, in front of a little pavilion where pious worshippers sit and meditate on the virtues of the saint. These fluttering *yak* tails and heaped-up horns are strange features for a Musulmān holy place, although commonly found associated with grave-yards in Turkistān. They remind one of the cairns and built-up pillars or monuments, similarly adorned, which are found in all notable spots throughout the mountainous region between India and Eastern Turkistān,¹ and which are variously called *Dēvīs* (the haunts, that is, of female deities) in the Hindu region, *Shāto* (*i.e.* demon-dwellings) in the Buddhist region (where they are not considered

¹ And even in Mongolia. See Perjevalski, *Mongolia*, volume I, pages 76, 283. Volume II, page 257. They are there called “obo.”—R. B. S.

to be connected with orthodox religion)² and *Pīr* or *Mazār*, respectively, in the Kāshmirī and Turkī Musulmān regions, where they are explained to be the tombs of holy men. As, however, they occupy precisely corresponding positions in all these regions (positions where it is generally eminently improbable that they could be graves, or which indicate some other associations, *e.g.*, summits of passes, peaks of rock barely accessible, turns of a valley where one first comes in sight of a tall precipitous cliff or of a remarkable three-pointed mountain) it is, I think, more probable that they all owe their existence to some common origin (*e.g.*, a primitive local demon worship) than that in the Musulmān region alone they should be due to some cause which could not have operated in the other regions. Stray traces of a local demon worship underlie the existing religions all along the Himalaya and far as into Burma, where "nat" worship is interwoven with the orthodox Buddhism.

Now if the above hypothesis be true, we have an explanation of these curiously un-Musulmān features, *viz.*, the fluttering tails and rags and heaps of horns. They merely carry on the local pre-Musulmān mode of showing reverence for traditionally hallowed spots, which has been extended to more modern holy rites such as graves; and, on the other hand, the designation of graves has been carried back to explain the reverence exhibited for the older sites, which Islām refuses to honour as the abode of local demons or deities.

Thus the Shrine of Ḥaẓrat Āfāq would be but a magnified and glorified adaptation of the rough cairns and pillars so often found in Tibet and in the Indian mountains; a survival of the customs of a primitive local demon-worship, in fact.

We were led round outside this shrine, in a circuit, keeping it on our left side (*i. e.*, moving against the course of the sun) which seems to be the usual way of showing respect to it. Afterwards we were conducted over a newly erected mosque with wings, enclosing a square flagged court-yard, sufficiently large to contain several hundred worshippers. The Ḥājī pointed out, with pride, that the building could boast of nineteen low domes, and was all built of burnt bricks. It had been constructed within the last four months, for the festival, or 'Īd, which closes the Ramazān or month of fasting, and hence was called an 'Īd-gāh, or "place for celebrating the 'Īd."

We were then conducted into a raised and carpeted platform under some trees on the bank of a large tank or reservoir. Here an open marquee had been erected

² In the Buddhist countries—Western Tibet, China, etc.—these cairns on the tops of hills and cliffs are usually put up in connexion with the supposed functions of good and bad spirits, or benign and evil principles. In some places the hills, or other natural features, are believed to favour the passage and operations of beneficent spirits or influences, in others to obstruct them or to attract evil ones. The cairns are placed so as to divert the malicious currents and to facilitate those regarded as propitious. In short, they are devices of the spiritualism prevailing among the inhabitants of the regions in question—their ancient superstition that existed long before Buddhism was introduced, and which underlies the Buddhism of the Lamas to this day. The spiritualistic "teachers," or mediums (who are usually Lamas in Tibetan countries) ascertain the proper positions for the marks, or cairns, by mystic methods known only to themselves, and are employed to erect them by the people of the villages for grazing grounds, who regard them as a measure of protection. The Mongolian *obo*, alluded to in Mr. Shaw's footnote, is not quite the same thing.—N. E.

for us, and we were treated to a repast, beginning as usual with fruit and bread, and ending with 'pilāo' and soup. Our host was not able to join us in the meal, as it was fast time; but he presented himself again afterwards, and seated himself with humility on the furthest edge of the carpet, nearer than which nothing could induce him to approach. I discovered that he also was related to the saintly family, to some member of which, the charge of the Shrine and of the College and of the landed estates attached to the Shrine, is always confided. He complained that the place had been sacked repeatedly by the Chinese and Kirghiz within the last decade, and even its library of old books destroyed.

Opposite to where we were sitting was an old mosque with carved wooden ceiling and pillars, and open, as usual, in front and at one side. When the hour of afternoon prayer arrived, the Hāji, our host, ran off to stop the mu'azzin who was going to call to prayers. When asked why he did this, he answered: "Because I fear the English gentlemen may be offended by the sound." On being assured of the contrary, he permitted the prayers to begin, but he could not be induced to go and join in them himself until I assured him that I should be pleased if he did. He then went up the steps of the mosque with my own Musulmān attendants, but between every prostration he would look round to see whether we were showing no signs of displeasure, and would make signals to his pages to keep pouring us out more tea.

On rising to go away I gave him a little gold compass, or "Qibla-numā," with which he was much pleased, saying that it would enable him to be more exact in fixing the direction of Mecca for the new mosques which he was about to build. He accompanied us to the outer gate where he parted from us with many salutations.

This reception by the Chief or Guardian of the most celebrated Shrine in Eastern Turkistān, which one might suppose to be a refuge for the conservative and religious sentiment of the country, rather belies the usual idea of Musulmān fanaticism and intolerance in Central Asia, and is of a piece with all my experience of Eastern Turkistān.

APPENDIX C.

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS IN EASTERN TURKISTĀN.

Colleges and schools are very numerous in Eastern Turkistān, though they are devoted to religious education, and only teach reading and writing as incidental to that purpose.

Every founder of a college must provide a building and an endowment in land, after which he executes a title-deed which is countersigned by the authorities, and makes it over to the Principal or *Ākhund* nominated by himself.

The following is the usual establishment: 1st, the *Ākhund* or Principal; 2nd *Mudarris* or Master; 3rd, a *Mutawallī*, i.e., Steward or Manager; 4th, a number of *Jārūb-Kash*, literally "sweepers" who are hereditary servants or slaves attached to the foundation and who perform the menial service of it.

The *Mutawallī* collects the revenues of the endowment lands annually, and hands them to the *Ākhund*, who divides them into ten shares, which are distributed somewhat in the following manner, viz., to the *Ākhund* and *Mudarris* four shares; to the *Mutawallī* one share; for repairs, etc., one share; to the sustenance of the *Jārūb-Kash*, and sometimes of the students, four shares. Total ten shares.

In the city of Yārquand there are over sixty-two collegiate buildings, of which twenty-nine are kept up in good order, while the others are abandoned. I have a list of the twenty-nine with particulars of each. The earliest of them was founded in A. H. 903 (A. D. 1497). The *Ak-madrassa*, mentioned in the text, is put down in my list as situated in the *Altun Mazār*, and as having been founded in 1172 (A. D. 1661-2) by Khān Khōja; also as being endowed with fifty *Patmans* of land in the townships of Poskgām, Karghalik and Yārquand. It is stated that no public education is carried on in it now, but that its Qāzī (?*Ākhund*) takes private pupils. Neither the date nor the name of the founder agree with the text, so it is probable that Khāmōsh Khōja's bequest must have been used merely to enlarge an existing college and to increase its endowment (which is perhaps indicated in the text by the expression "widened the endowment lands").

The total endowment of these twenty-nine colleges amounts, according to my list, to 3,670 *Patmans* of land (each *Patman* being as much as it takes about 1,000 lbs. of grain to sow), and 198 houses or shops, whose rents form part of the revenues. Judging by some whose income is known, the total revenues of the Yārquand colleges must be about 400 *yambus*¹ of silver, or about £6,800 per annum. These particulars are gathered from the college title-deeds. There only appear to be a little over four hundred students educated at these colleges, a good number of them carrying on no education, but merely affording snug retreats for the learned, such as they are.

¹ The Chinese *Yuan Pao* or shoe of sycee silver.—N. E.

As for primary education there are *maktab khānas* or schools in every ward or sub-division of the cities and attached to most of the mosques. Here the children, both male and female, may be heard repeating their lessons in the usual sing-song style, while they rock their bodies to and fro. In the bitter winter weather they have a curious way of providing for the warmth of these little bodies. Along one or more sides of the school-room runs a long sort of earthen trough, or manger, with a broad lip. This trough is filled with straw and the children squat in this, putting their books before them on the rim. They learn to read and to repeat their religious exercises. The girls do not often go further than this. Some of the boys learn to write and read as far as four books in Persian or Turkī, and those that have a liking for knowledge continue their education at the colleges. Some of the elder girls learn the Qur'ān at home.

APPENDIX D.

TRIBE NOMENCLATURE OF THE QALMĀQS.

The following note on the modern tribe nomenclature of the Qalmāqs, as given by themselves, may be interesting as throwing some light on this difficult question.

There are two grand divisions called by the Turks, respectively, the *Sarygh* (or yellow) Qalmāqs, and the *Kara* (or black) Qalmāqs. The latter seem to be the Eastern Mongols of European writers; the former the Western Mongols or Qalmāqs.

The following tribes of *Sarygh* Qalmāqs are in and about the Ila region, north of the Tien Shan mountains, but they state that they originally came from *Bē-tu-dāze*¹ (or Mongolia):—

1. *Chungur* (which seems to be the tribe known to western nations as *Sunghar* or *Zunghar*).
2. *Turghut* who live in the south of Ila and have only recently (*circ.* 1870-72) been driven out of the Yulduz pastures by the incursions of the Tunganis or Dungans. The Turghut tribe is said to include (i) the *Khosot*, (ii) the *Barluq*, who inhabit Tarbagatai, (iii) the *Khoiti*, who migrated to Russia and back again in the last century.
3. *Turbet* (? *Derbet*).
4. *Chalus* (? *Choros*).

Then there are two other tribes of more Eastern origin:—

1. *Solan* which includes the sub-tribes *Dāghur* and *Un-gar* (? right and left hand). They are said to have immigrated from *Saghalan-Ula*.
2. The *Shiba* or *Shibar* who also are said to have come from the East (from the mountains of *Liu-dung* or *Liuchung*,² they say) more recently than the rest and who now occupy the north of Ila.

The *Solan* and the *Shibar* are said to have been located here by the Chinese in the 15th year of the Emperor Ja-Ching,³ for the purpose of overawing the other Qalmāqs. They are reported to have enjoyed certain privileges. They call themselves Manchus and the Turks call them *Manchu Qalmāqs*.

The tribes about the Koko-Nor and Sining are also called Qalmāqs by their Turkī neighbours. All the abovenamed Qalmāqs are Buddhists and revere the Dalai Lama of Lhassa.

This is, I believe, a Chinese compound, *viz.*, *Bē*=north, *tu*=land, *dāze*, (or *tha-tse*) is the name commonly applied to the Mongols. (*See* Howorth, I, pages 701-2, where *tha-tse* is put forth as a probable origin of *Tartar*.)—R. B. S.

² *Liwo-tung*.—N. E.

³ *Kia King* or *Chia Ching*—The fifteenth year of whose reign would be 1810.—N. E.

The tribes denominated *Kara* (black) *Qalmāqs* by the Turks live further East. They include the *Kalkas*. They are said to call themselves *Ald* or *Angul*.

This account was given to me by a *Shibar* *Qalmāq*. Another account makes the fourfold division of the *Sarygh* *Qalmāqs* as follows :—

1. Chalus.
2. Durbet.
3. Khoshot.
4. Turghut.



